

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 22

Monday, May 31, 1965

Price 10c

## Pentagon Pushes Vietnam Build-Up

By David Herman

MAY 24 — The United States' direct involvement in the war in Vietnam continues to grow at a rapid pace. President Johnson promised a "blank check" for U.S. military forces in Vietnam on May 18 and released a memorandum by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara on the planned spending of the latest "emergency" appropriation of \$700 million for the war.

While no equivalent "blank check" for troops has yet been signed, plans for the vast expansion of U.S. forces are certainly being considered, and steps in that direction are being taken.

Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert for the *New York Times*, reported in the May 19 issue of that paper that U.S. ground forces may be utilized in an "inkblot" strategy for reconquering territory held by the National Liberation Front. The plan involves the U.S. occupation of several areas of South Vietnam, each centered on a port city from which the troops could be supplied. As troops and supplies were built up, the occupied areas would be expanded. Thus they would spread out "inkblot" fashion until they finally coalesced. Such a strategy would require years of fighting and ultimately involve an estimated 500,000 U.S. troops, Baldwin reports.

Part of this strategy is already being implemented. U.S. combat troops are already assigned to several coastal enclaves. Plans are well under way to send the equivalent of an army combat division to Vietnam next month, according to Jack Langguth in the May 24 *Times*. This would increase U.S. forces to well over 60,000 men.

There are indications that the government plans to increase U.S. military strength generally. The *Wall Street Journal* of May 12 reported:

"When crisis clouds appeared over the Dominican Republic, about 30 large Air Force transports were pulled off the urgent transpacific Vietnam run . . . But had a much hotter Dominican uprising drawn in a far larger U.S. force, the strain on airlift capacity, and sealift too, would have been felt half a world away in Saigon."

The *Journal* article goes on to describe a multibillion-dollar armada of fast air and sea transport that military officials plan to have built by the early 1970's.



Robert McNamara

Baldwin points out in the May 23 *Times* that the Vietnam war has already caused military officials to worry about the personnel situation in all of the services except the Air Force. He reports that one of the measures tentatively planned to meet the Navy's problem is the mandatory extension of Navy enlistments if the present call for voluntary extensions does not work. Other possibilities being considered by the services include: utilization of the draft by the Navy; an increase in the Marine Corps of 3,000 to 5,000 men; a small increase in the Army; and a limited call-up of reserves in any or all of the military branches.

Baldwin quotes an "informed source" as saying that the recent extra appropriation of \$700 million for the war in Vietnam "just scratched the surface" of what is needed.

The air losses over North Vietnam have been played down in the press. "Official figures show that for Air Force fighter-bomber sorties, not including flak suppression missions, the loss rate has been about two per cent, as compared to an average loss rate of nine-tenths of one per cent for all fighter-bomber sorties flown in World War II," reports Baldwin.

The pretense of the U.S. government that it seeks a negotiated settlement rather than greater involvement in the war was further exposed when the Canadian government denied the reports emanating from Washington that Canada was acting as a go-between in contacting Hanoi. These Washington articles appeared during the "lull" in the bombings of North Vietnam, and suggested that the White House made contact with Hanoi "through the Canadians." Now the Canadian press is wondering whether any contact was made during the "lull."

### THE DOMINICAN CRISIS

## Why Johnson Moved to Crush the Workers

By Barry Sheppard

MAY 25 — The armed workers of Santo Domingo, who have been battling the forces of the United States and U.S.-backed military juntas for over a month, have written a heroic chapter in the long history of Latin American resistance to U.S. domination.

The rebellion which swept Santo Domingo was not another palace coup taking place over the heads of the masses of people. The backbone and strength of the revolution were the poor themselves, who received arms from the rank-and-file soldiers in the first days of the uprising against the military dictatorship. The fact that the workers were armed opened the possibility that the revolution would not stop at smashing the hated police and military apparatus left over from Trujillo, but would proceed to raise the demands of those same armed workers for a fundamental change in their horrible economic and social conditions.

The potential was present for

# 15,000 Cal. Students Protest Vietnam War



WANT PEACE. Part of crowd of 15,000 that gathered in Berkeley, Calif., to protest against U.S. war in Vietnam.

By Hal Verb

BERKELEY, May 22 — Some 15,000 people from all over the West Coast participated in the 34-hour marathon teach-in and protest against the Vietnam war that began at noon, yesterday, at the University of California campus here.

Throughout the meeting three empty chairs were prominently placed on the speaker's platform with a huge sign reading "Reserved for the State Department." The State Department originally had agreed to present its case at the Berkeley Vietnam Day, and was going to send William Bundy as part of a "truth squad." But William Bundy pulled out, just as his brother McGeorge did at the Washington teach-in.

Berkeley professor Robert Scalapino, who pinch-hit for McGeorge Bundy in Washington, backed out of presenting the Johnson side at the Berkeley teach-in. Scalapino and another pro-administration professor, Eugene Burdick, who also backed out, complained that the teach-in was not "balanced" but was in reality a "protest." No one defended the administration.

*Realist* editor Paul Krassner, who was one of the speakers, commented on Scalapino and author Burdick: "There is a new book out by Eugene Burdick — It is called *I Was a Teach-in Dropout* . . . I understand they changed the menu in the student cafeteria — instead of veal scaloppini, they're having chicken scalapino."

Professor Steven Smale, Professor Hirsch and Jerry Rubin, the three organizers of the Vietnam Day Committee, said, "They (Scalapino and Burdick) refuse to take part because they fear four aspects of the meeting: 1) Vietnam Day is giving a platform to intellectuals who are not favored by the State Department as Scalapino is, but who nevertheless have much to say about Vietnam; 2) the meeting goes beyond the narrow definition of academic experts and challenges the authority of professors Scalapino and Burdick; 3) the meeting will spread some dangerous ideas to masses of people; 4) the protest movement against the war is successful and spreading."

The first speaker, I.F. Stone, set the tone of the protest. After receiving a standing ovation from

the crowd, Stone attacked U.S. policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Praising the students who are voicing their protest, he stated, "It is you who are fighting to preserve American traditions and not your detractors."

When asked from the floor why the U.S. was in Vietnam, Stone replied, "We are there because the U.S. is trying to seek the domination of the world . . . We don't want a democratic government in South Vietnam, we want a military base."

Other speakers hit hard on the same theme of American imposition of its will on small nations, with both Vietnam and the Dominican Republic receiving most of the attention. The editor of the hard-hitting liberal Catholic magazine *Ramparts*, Edward Keating, charged that U.S. morality rests upon power. "No man has the right to pull the rest of civilization down because of his stupidity and barbarism," he said.

Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska received a standing ovation on the night of the first day of the talkathon when he called

(Continued on Page 5)

the armed workers to follow the trail blazed by the Cuban masses in their revolution. The Cuban revolution, too, began as a struggle against a hated military dictatorship. Once the rebel army under Fidel Castro smashed the Batista dictatorship with the aid and support of the workers and peasants, the Cuban revolution turned to the problems of land reform, unemployment, poverty, disease, illiteracy — problems which are universal in Latin America and in the Dominican Republic in particular. Under a leadership which proved its revolutionary mettle in action, the Cuban workers and peasants carried out a series of reforms beginning with the land reform and culminating in the creation of a workers' state with a nationalized and planned economy.

The big capitalists in the United States dominate, own and control the important sectors of the economy in all the Latin American countries, except Cuba. The land-owning oligarchies and native cap-

italists are junior partners with the U.S. capitalists in the exploitation of Latin America.

Any movement to change the condition of the Latin American masses, who suffer under this imperialist system, comes into conflict with both the U.S. capitalists and the native capitalists. Land reform, which is acutely needed throughout Latin America, cannot be won without a struggle against the land-owning oligarchy and the U.S. financial interests they are intertwined with. In the Dominican Republic the important sugar industry is controlled by U.S. interests, and the land reform must come into head-on collision with U.S. big business and its agents, the land-owning oligarchy.

An indispensable condition for the victory of the Cuban revolution was the destruction of the Batista army and police, which defended the positions and property of the U.S. corporations and the Cuban capitalist class. As the revolution deepened, the rebel army

was augmented by the armed workers and peasants, who defended gains of the revolution against both the U.S. and the native capitalists.

When the U.S. ruling class saw that the workers in Santo Domingo were armed and had routed the military regime, they decided to intervene to prevent a development similar to Cuba. The initial victory of the armed workers created a situation of "disorder" for the U.S. capitalists, because there was no armed force left in the Dominican Republic pledged beforehand to defend the interests of U.S. capitalism.

The swift and brutal U.S. intervention has made it crystal clear that there is no "middle road" in Latin America between U.S. domination on the one hand and freedom through the kind of revolution carried out in Cuba on the other. The action by the U.S. Marines demonstrates once again the lesson of the Cuban revolution that every movement for social

(Continued on Page 4)



# Cowardly Textile Union Heads Anger New England Workers

**By George Audet**  
 BOSTON — On April 16, six mills belonging to the "big four" of the cotton-rayon industry were struck by 6,000 New England textile workers. When the strike began, workers said they would "rather starve" than accept the company offer of a five per cent wage increase. The strikers wanted a 15 per cent wage hike, which would have raised their wages to a level 50c an hour below the national average for industrial workers. However, the strike lasted less than four days, when the union leadership gave in on the company offer.

Such action is not new for the leadership of the Textile Workers Union of America. For a number of years militant sentiment has been increasing within the TWUA, and the bureaucratic leadership, being anything but militant, has had to use every trick, lie and pressure possible to keep this sentiment in check.

One bureaucratic gimmick is to encourage every local to settle with its own company even if other locals desire to strike. The locals that decide to strike must go it alone, without support from the national office (the meager strike benefits cannot be collected until the sixth week of the strike). The only communication link between locals is the bureaucracy, which makes no attempt to relay militant sentiment from one local to another. Consequently, every local feels that it faces the bosses alone.

The strike began with three locals not participating because they had already accepted the company offer. With the union split, the companies opened a barrage of full-page ads in the local press "explaining" the strike and attacking the union. Union bureaucrats made little attempt to publicly justify the strike, but in-

stead went from one general union meeting to another, trying to persuade the strikers to postpone further action pending "recommendations" of a special union advisory committee.

At these meetings the bureaucrats had to contend with the rank and file. They were jeered, booed and laughed at as they tried to defend their position of allowing other locals to sign contracts in spite of the strike. In the end, they out-talked and wore out the opposition, which had little faith in the "annual side show" in the first place.

The decision of the advisory committee to accept the company offer was announced late Saturday, April 17. With the leadership officially and publicly deserting the rank and file, the strike withered.

The defeat of the strike did not settle accounts. Each new "contract time" finds the rank and file more vocal, and the bureaucracy more unpopular.

During the 1950's textile workers made wage "concessions" to keep the "ailing" industry alive. Consequently the wage scale in textiles is the lowest of the mass production industries. The new prosperity has not affected the wage scale, and no effort has been made to compensate the workers for past sacrifices. In fact, with inventories dwindling and orders pouring in, work loads have been heavily increased and automation has been displacing workers at a high rate.

The union bureaucracy is in a difficult position. During the recent strike, there was more rank-and-file anger directed against the bureaucracy than there was against the companies. Similar moods preceded the recent upheavals in the steel and electrical unions, and TWUA president William Pollock must be acutely aware of it.

## Labor Bureaucrats Look to Johnson

# Will Taft-Hartley Law Be Revised?

**By Tom Kerry**

When the union-busting Taft-Hartley measure was enacted in 1947 it was stigmatized by the labor leaders as a "slave labor" law. They avowed then that nothing short of outright repeal would be acceptable to the organized labor movement. In the 1948 presidential campaign, Harry Truman set out to garner labor support by writing into the Democratic Party platform a plank calling for repeal of Taft-Hartley. After hooking his fish, Hiroshima Harry dismissed the platform promise as so much boob-bait.

In subsequent presidential campaigns, the labor statesmen, priding themselves on being "political realists," jettisoned the demand for outright repeal and begged only for amendments to eliminate some of the more repressive provisions of Taft-Hartley. Half a loaf, they reasoned, would be better than nothing. Such a strategic retreat was presumed to be the last word in political wisdom.

The net result was an additional boot in the backside with enactment of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law which further strait-jacketed the unions by tightening government control over organized labor.

Having learned a lesson in practical politics, the labor "strategists" abandoned their "half-a-loaf" approach in the 1964 presidential election and pleaded only for a few crumbs with which to nourish the illusion that coalition politics was in the best interests of the working people. With magnanimous gesture the Democrats wrote into their platform the pledge to repeal section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley under whose provision 19 states have enacted the so-called "right-to-work" laws.

### Closed Shop

Under Taft-Hartley a strict ban is imposed upon the closed shop. The closed shop provides that only members of the union can be hired by employers operating under a closed shop contract. While declaring the closed shop illegal, Taft-Hartley permitted union shop contracts.

The union shop provides that non-union workers can be hired but must join the union after a

brief "trial period" in which the company determines whether or not the employe is to be retained on a permanent basis. The union shop contract usually contains a checkoff provision under which dues are automatically deducted by the employer and forwarded to union headquarters.

However, under section 14(b), Taft-Hartley grants the states the right to impose further curbs on the union shop. While a few state "right-to-work" laws had been enacted prior to 1947, the adoption of Taft-Hartley led to a rapid extension of such state laws. Under "right-to-work" statutes, the union shop is banned. Even where a union has won a National Labor Relations Board representative election and bargains for all the employes in the bargaining unit, only those employes are obligated to join or retain membership in the union who do so on a voluntary basis.

### Source of Victory

State "right-to-work" laws cut across industry-wide contracts between the large corporations and the bigger unions, and created sources of friction which tended to unsettle national union-management relations. That is why big business, as a general rule, has not been too openly identified with the National Right to Work Committee which has spearheaded the movement.

To get around the problem, many of the larger corporations had entered into "agency shop" agreements to circumvent "right-to-work" restrictions on the union shop. Under the agency shop agreement, employes are not obligated to join the union but their dues are "checked off" and forwarded to the union.

This mollified the top labor brass but in a Supreme Court ruling handed down in the spring of 1963 it was decided that states with "right-to-work" laws had the authority to ban agency shop clauses in collective bargaining agreements. This threat to the dues income of unions operating under agency shop clauses in "right-to-work" states, alarmed the labor leaders and led to increased pressure for repeal of section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley.

Repeal was given top priority by the union heads on the list of legislative demands for the present session of Congress. However, in deference to Johnson's expressed wish to postpone "controversial" issues, it was agreed to delay the introduction of the administration's labor proposals to Congress. They were submitted on May 18 in a message which played the "recommendation" for repeal of section 14(b) in low key. The "right-to-work" champions did not seem to be unduly alarmed.

The May 15 issue of *Business Week* quotes chairman Frederick C. Fowler of the National Right to Work Committee who affirms that "we do not expect the president to take an active part" in the repeal fight. To bolster his contention, Fowler asserts that Johnson has been "on record definitely in favor of right-to-work in years gone by."

### Johnson's Record

He then cites the record which shows that Johnson "backed the 1947 Taft-Hartley law containing 14(b), voted to override President Truman's veto, voted in 1950 for the equivalent of an anti-union-shop clause in the Railway Labor Act, and in 1960 ran on the Texas Democratic platform that 'had strong praise for retention of the right-to-work law' in that state."

If Johnson was lukewarm in his "recommendation" for repeal of 14(b), he was stone cold to labor's proposal to boost the present low \$1.25 hourly minimum wage to \$2.00, and downright frigid to the union demand for a reduction in the workweek from 40 to 35 hours. This doughy champion of the

"war against poverty" thus bestowed the kiss of death on the only two meaningful items in his "labor message" which held any promise of combatting unemployment and raising the standard of living of the underprivileged poor.

Furthermore, as the May 22 *Business Week* points out: "Because of the president's long delay in advancing his labor program, it appeared unlikely that wage-hour law amendments or the unemployment compensation proposals would get very far by adjournment — particularly in view of the opposition they were certain to arouse."

While the "right-to-work" forces are mobilizing for a bitter campaign to hold the line against repeal of section 14(b), the labor statesmen are relying primarily on their "friends" in the Johnson administration to win the fight for repeal. By their collusion with the White House in shunting aside the struggle for a higher minimum wage and shorter hours, the labor brass has forfeited the support of large sections of the working class, organized and unorganized, who are largely indifferent to what they view as a conflict involving primarily the narrow interests of the union bureaucracy.

The Hottest Record in America

## MALCOLM X



## 'Message to the Grass Roots'

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

Afro-American Broadcasting Co.  
 Suite 503 - Tobin Bldg.  
 1308 Broadway, Detroit 26, Mich.  
 12" LP

Please send me.....records at \$4.98

each. Enclosed find M.O.....

Name .....

Address .....

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

### MILITANT FUND

## We're Not Alarmed, But . . .

**By Barry Sheppard**  
Militant Fund Director

MAY 25 — There are only three weeks left in the Militant Fund Campaign, and we still have 40 per cent of our total to raise. While Boston, Chicago, and Detroit have already fulfilled their quotas, and Oakland/Berkeley and Denver are doing well, most areas are considerably behind where they should be at this point in the campaign.

The deadline for raising the funds which are absolutely necessary to keep *The Militant* publishing is June 15, which means that we should have collected 77 per cent of our \$20,300 goal by now. We are only at 60 per cent, and we are that far thanks to Boston, Chicago and Detroit.

Each area which is below 77 per cent needs to put on a burst of steam to catch up. Those areas

below 50 per cent are in real trouble and will have to concentrate their energies in the next few weeks (and that's all that's left!) on raising money and sending it in to us right away. Every area has got to make its quota, or the paper will have to suffer because of the scarcity of funds.

Only \$429 came in during the past week. With a little effort, we should see a big increase when the scoreboard is printed again in next week's issue — and it's time for *Militant* supporters to see that this is so.

Every individual who is a *Militant* supporter but not part of a supporter group, is encouraged to send in his contribution to The General. Send contributions to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

## Weekly Calendar

### AD RATES

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

### LOS ANGELES

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., June 1, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., June 2, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

COME HOME YANKEE! End Johnson's Policy of Intervention and Escalation! Speaker: Hayden Perry, socialist lecturer. Fri., June 4, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East Fourth St. (4th St. exit Santa Anna Fwy.) Door donation. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

CAN A NATIVE BORN CITIZEN BE DEPORTED? Hear defendant Joseph Johnson, Twin City SWP organizer, just back from national tour. Fri., June 4, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

This will be the final forum of the season. We will resume our regular forums in Sept. Regular classes on socialism will be held during the summer.

### NEW YORK

THE CURSE OF AMERICAN CULTURE: WHAT IT DOES TO AMERICAN CHARACTER. Speaker: Constance Weissman, contributor to *The Militant*. Fri., June 4, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$ 900	\$ 900	100
Chicago	1,800	1,800	100
Detroit	1,400	1,400	100
Oakland/Berkeley	900	650	72
Denver	300	204	68
Twin Cities	1,400	900	64
Allentown	200	125	63
Cleveland	800	490	61
New York	5,800	3,330	57
Milwaukee	400	179	45
St. Louis	200	87	44
Newark	200	85	43
Los Angeles	4,000	1,419	37
San Diego	250	88	31
Philadelphia	300	87	29
San Francisco	900	220	24
Seattle	500	50	10
General	250	319	127
Totals through May 24	\$20,300	\$12,130	60



# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA**, by Adolfo Gilly. *Monthly Review*, May, 1965, pp. 9-40, 50 cents.

Adolfo Gilly has done it again. In this article, which can be best understood if one is acquainted with his book, *Inside the Cuban Revolution*, he gives testimony to the impact the Cuban Revolution has had on the consciousness of the most advanced elements of the anti-imperialist struggle. Gilly spent several weeks with the guerrillas in Guatemala in January and February this year.

The Guatemalan people suffered a severe setback in 1954 when the mildly reformist government of Jacobo Arbenz, having refused to give the people arms, was overthrown by a U.S.-sponsored coup. The spirit of resistance was reawakened by the Cuban successes and Guatemala, through several years of testing under fire, has produced an influential guerrilla front with a firm base among the peasantry.

As guerrilla leader Antonio Marco Yon Sosa told Gilly, the purpose of the guerrilla movement is organization of the peasantry for mass struggle; armed confrontation of the guerrillas themselves with government soldiers is secondary.

The peasants welcome the guerrillas, saying "One of these days I might pick up my gun and join you in the mountains."

They bitterly point out the lessons they learned from the Arbenz regime's experience: "The land over there," a peasant told Gilly, pointing, "was distributed. Then came the 'liberation' [the reactionary coup] and it was taken away. The land over there," he pointed in another direction, "they didn't distribute. It's the best land, belonging to rich people, so they didn't touch it."

In his discussions with the peasants and with the guerrilla leaders, Gilly found that the "peaceful road" had been abandoned: "The electoral path is barred in Guatemala not only because the bourgeoisie cannot provide democratic elections and continue to remain in power. It is also barred because the workers and peasants do not believe in elections; they have no illusions . . ."

The program of the guerrilla movement — "a government of workers and peasants, based on a people armed and organized in committees, unions, and communes — meets with immense response because it defends itself with arms . . ."

One of the most revealing parts of Gilly's article is an interview given him by Amado Granados, a guerrilla leader, in which the socialist position of the Guatemalan revolutionaries is contrasted with the program of the Moscow-oriented Communist Party of Guatemala:

"In the revolutionary struggle the goal determines the means . . . If the goal is a government of 'national democracy,' which no one has as yet defined — after all, Marxism recognizes only two kinds of states, in the present epoch, the bourgeois and the workers state — then the means will be tailored to this goal. Such a government, it is said, would be made up of a four-class bloc: workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie. To begin with, there is no national bourgeoisie in Guatemala; furthermore, to specify the formation of this bloc as one's goal means to exclude all methods of revolutionary struggle appropriate to the working class . . . It would lead to defeat or to an impasse . . ."

"In all alliances it is not subjective interpretations that determine each group's role, it is the program. If the program is bourgeois, then the forces of the bourgeoisie will exercise leadership, however tenuous it may be, Lenin taught us this. If the proletariat is to assume leadership in any alliance, it must do so through its own program . . ."

The impact of the Cuban Revolution and the Sino-Soviet dispute on the editors of *Monthly Review* is evident in the introduction they have written to Gilly's piece. So far as the colonial world is concerned, their position is moving closer to that of revolutionary socialism. They are to be congratulated not only for printing Gilly's articles but also for understanding their importance.

— Jay Garnett

## Labor Herald Recommends Preis' Book

*Labor's Giant Step — 20 years of the CIO* by Art Preis, received a very favorable review by Sandy Munro in the *Labor Herald*, a Baltimore weekly. The long-time labor editor of *The Militant*, Preis died last December shortly after his book appeared.

The *Labor Herald* review quotes extensively from the book to indicate the nature of its contents and characterizes it as "different from all the other books on labor published in recent years . . . It is written . . . from a point of view not seen for more than a generation."

"The author is partisan," the review says, "and is proud of the fact."

"The younger generation," it adds, "will appreciate this book far more than their elders, because here is recorded the things which are hard to find in the staid books on labor."

The reviewer found the book valuable because it is "a forthright narrative of a period of American history. It has the facts and figures which students of labor history will want for reference. While it is partisan in scope, it does contain material not found in the placid kind."

"With time," the review concludes, "*Labor's Giant Step* will become more appreciated by inquiring minds."

The book, which is 538 pages long, may be purchased for \$7.50 from Pioneer Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003.



Art Preis

## 2 Critics of Black Nationalism

# Did White Press Make Malcolm X?

By Robert Vernon

[This is the second of two articles discussing the criticism of the late Malcolm X by Bayard Rustin and Tom Kahn. Their article appeared in the March 24 *New America*, a Socialist Party periodical, under the title of "The Mark of Oppression," and in the *Spring Dissent* under the title of "The Ambiguous Legacy of Malcolm X."]

### Attitudes on Non-Violence

Non-violent "love" and opposition to it is a crucial and complex topic, and our two liberals present the usual line that "the only alternative [to non-violent love] is passivity." This provincial argument is a narrow view with a civil rights protest focus, naively implying that outside the protest movement per se there is no struggle worth talking about. While non-violence philosophy and non-violent Gandhist tactics have been prominent in the Southern integration struggle, there is no evidence that this approach has been essential (except in the sense that, if more flexible tactics were brought into play, the liberals might cut off the money and thereby cripple the movement).

But it has been possible to build a mass protest movement on a non-violence basis (or despite the rigid limitations of that approach) in the rural South. This is not true for black ghettos in the North — or even in the South, as Birmingham proved. In the ghetto situation, the non-violent approach has little or no appeal to black militants or to the black masses, and even meets with hostility and disgust.

### Should Probe Question

Instead of sneering, condemning, and dismissing proponents of non-violent philosophy as masochists, cowards, etc., or dismissing opposition to non-violent philosophy as loud talk by passive onlookers, etc., it would be useful to probe the question *why* non-violent philosophy appeals to many activists and *why* it repels many other activists in disgust. "Manhood" or "cowardice" have nothing to do with the matter.

Jay Jenkins, who was shot to death by cops in the Harlem "riots" of July 1964, allegedly for hurling bricks at the cops, was a hero who died with his boots on, facing the enemy. No less a hero was James Chaney, brutally mangled and murdered at the hands of fiendish Mississippians the same summer. Whatever different attitudes these two fallen brothers may have had on non-violence, white allies, integration, Negro leaders, etc., reflect differences in the history and nature of the struggle and the different problems black people face in Harlem and in rural Mississippi.

The flourishing of non-violent philosophy in the South is encouraged by attempts to win the "love" of Southern whites, or at least neutralize their obsessed overt sick racism, by the limita-

tion of goals to civil rights and integration, and by the need to hold the "friendship" of white liberals. Cautious tactics are often dictated by the relationship of forces and the unrestrained brutish violence of Southern racists.

In big-city ghettos, on the other hand, there can be no illusion about solving problems of housing, schools, police brutality, unemployment, poverty, through reaching the hearts of whites. "Love" goes wasted, there is nobody to get non-violent with. Whites in big cities do not particularly hate Negroes, nor are they obsessed all day long with keeping each and every individual Negro in his place: "We don't hate niggers, we'd just rather not have them around," as the lady told the *Newsweek* opinion pollsters.

### "Let It Be Our Blood . . ."

Picture a Harlem father trying to work the non-violent love bit on a rat about to chew up his baby's arm. "If any blood must be spilled, dear Lord, let it be the blood of my black baby, and not the blood of our rodent brothers." That approach will get him nowhere with the rats, or with the landlord, the police, his boss, or any other problem related to the society.

Since the non-violent approach fills no emotional need, is out of tune with the feelings of ghetto residents, and is obviously useless in the solution of ghetto problems, it is not only rejected but rejected with suspicion and disgust.

But rejection of Martin Luther King's peculiar version of Gandhism is not in itself a program, for North, South, or anywhere. It is only a minor prerequisite, and a negative one at that, for reaching the mass of black people and developing a meaningful and live program. Those ghetto militants who rely on blatant supermilitancy, shock tactics, and wild talk (or wild acts) are trying other futile ways of impressing whites, instead of getting down to the serious business of organizing black people and raising the political consciousness and power potential of the ghetto masses.

Malcolm X, as soon as he broke free of the Nation of Islam, addressed himself to the difficult task of getting an organization off the ground, of developing a program for the immediate struggle and a long-range program for the long haul, of soliciting and sifting through new ideas and fresh thinking, making contacts with allies abroad. Yet Rustin and Kahn, who should know better and who give the impression of being informed on things, attribute to Malcolm X the infantile posturing, obsession with violence and bombastic militancy which were alien to him.

### British Interview

But what else should we expect? In an interview published in the *British Laborite Tribune* last Dec. 4, this is the way Bayard Rustin "analyzes" the psychology of ghetto dwellers who fought back against police attack in the long, hot summer of 1964:

"Rather like a child who feels he's unloved and so creates a tantrum by screaming and yelling; he is saying, essentially, 'Mother, father, I am in need of love, care and affection. I insist that you hear me, I insist that you attend to me.'"

Isn't that a damn shame! Bayard Rustin is so obsessed with the need to appeal to the "conscience" of white America, wallows so deep in morbid dependency and child-parent relationship to the liberal power structure and to Big Daddy in the White House, that he cannot help projecting his own outlook on life onto a strange people whose ways and thoughts he is in-

capable of comprehending or penetrating.

Among the other potshots fired by Rustin and Kahn, there is an attempt to equate Malcolm X to Booker T. Washington. "Washington was appointed the Negro leader by white philanthropists . . . Malcolm's public image was largely the creation of the white press." Our two liberals also feel a compulsion to lash out at Malcolm X's "conception of manhood and dignity," which, they find, "at least during his career with the Black Muslims — was thoroughly petit bourgeois."

These attacks are fascinating. Over and over again we hear experts and authorities (on us) tell it that the Muslim ideal of manhood — holding down a steady job, wearing clean, well-pressed clothes, studying and learning, keeping away from alcohol and other vices, protecting black women, etc. — is petty-bourgeois, that is, middle-class.

According to these experts, if you are a family man, if you stay sober instead of getting high on cheap wine, and bring the paycheck home instead of gambling it away, you have gone stone middle-class. Is it possible to express greater contempt for working-class people in fewer words?

But how did our two liberals get into this argument? Rustin and Kahn are petty-bourgeois in social outlook, petty-bourgeois in their politics and ideology, petty-bourgeois in their livelihood, write articles in petty-bourgeois publications to a petty-bourgeois audience — there is nothing about them that is not petty-bourgeois. So eager are they to get at Malcolm X's manhood that they stumble into a degrading attack on their own selves.

### Booker T. Washington

The same applies to the parallel with Booker T. Washington. Brother Booker T. trod the welcome mat at the White House in his day, he was built up by the white communications media as a great and responsible Negro statesman, and was backed by white greenery. That much can be said of Negro civil rights liberals today (with the important difference that today's responsible leaders do participate in mass protests for civil rights). Here again, Rustin implicitly sneers at his own self in his eagerness to deprecate Malcolm X.

In contrast, the savage treatment of Malcolm X by the white media could hardly be called a "build-up" (except for physical murder). The organizations founded by Malcolm X subsist on nickels and dimes from the ghetto poor, not on subsidies from opulent white sugar daddies. And Big Daddy no more entertained the notion of inviting Malcolm X to see the interior furnishings of the White House than he would have thought of inviting Fidel Castro.

No finer compliment could be paid to Malcolm X.

## A Correction On Malcolm X

We deeply regret having printed the wrong date of Malcolm X's birth, which was May 19, 1925.

We also regret typographical errors in last week's article, "Previously Unpublished Remarks by Malcolm X." In two places the omission of a subhead made the end of an answer to one question run into the start of an answer to another question. The subhead, "The Seduction of God," should have appeared just before the 4th line from the bottom of the second column of the article. The subhead, "The John Brown School," should have appeared before the 25th line from the bottom of the fourth column. **ERROR.**

## Now Available

1964 BOUND VOLUME  
**THE MILITANT**

\$8.50

send check or money order to

The Militant  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y. 10003



# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 29 - No. 22

345

Monday, May 31, 1965

## A MILITANT INTERVIEW

# Fighter for Dominican Freedom

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, and the Trujillo dictatorship that followed it, forced many Dominicans to leave their country. In the United States alone there are an estimated 80,000 Dominican exiles. Last week one of the most prominent of the anti-Trujillo exiles granted an interview to *The Militant*. He is Dr. Octavio Elias Moscoso, a member of one of the oldest and most distinguished families in the Dominican Republic.

Seventy-five years old and at the present time suffering ill health, Dr. Moscoso gave the interview because of his intense concern about the present U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.

### Family Background

A descendant of Elias Rodriguez, the first Catholic bishop of the Dominican Republic, Dr. Moscoso's father, Juan Elias Moscoso, was a justice of the Dominican Supreme Court, an ambassador to Haiti, and later secretary of state.

The fortunes of politics have caused Dr. Moscoso to live most of his life in the United States. But he retains the charm and warm courtesy that seems to be a Latin American characteristic. Even while emphatically condemning U.S. aggression against his country, he remained soft-spoken and gracious.

Educated at the University of Santo Domingo and Columbia University, Dr. Moscoso worked as a journalist here, serving as editor-in-chief of a Spanish-language edition of *Vogue* and other magazines.

### Returned Home

When the Marines occupied his country in 1916, he resigned his position and returned home to offer his services to the Dominican president, Dr. Francisco Enriquez y Carvagal. He collaborated with Enriquez until the U.S. forces squeezed him out of the presidency by taking control of the country's financial system and withholding the funds needed to meet the government payroll.

Dr. Moscoso then returned to the U.S. where he became active in the movement to win withdrawal of the U.S. forces from his country. In this he worked closely with the late Senator Borah, the Idaho Republican who opposed U.S. intervention abroad. During

### Why Washington Unleashed Imbert

One of the main reasons the U.S. permitted the forces of Dominican Gen. Imbert to attack the Constitutionalist was a desire to retain the repressive army apparatus that held the Dominican people down so long. This is confirmed by New York Times correspondent Max Frankel who reported from Washington May 21 that a principal consideration in unleashing Imbert was "the judgment that Washington could not afford to do anything to destroy what remains of the Dominican army . . ."

this same period the Dominican unions nominated Dr. Moscoso to represent them at the International Labor Organization which was then an agency of the League of Nations.

Before the U.S. withdrew its forces from the Dominican Republic, it made sure it had a puppet ready to rule in its behalf. That puppet was Trujillo.

"I opposed Trujillo from the outset," Dr. Moscoso said, "even though his crimes were not yet fully known to us. I opposed him because he had served the American occupation."

Trujillo was apparently well aware of Dr. Moscoso's attitude toward him. During his first weeks in office he tried him in his absence and sentenced him to 30 years in prison. Dr. Moscoso learned about this as he was about to address an anti-Trujillo rally in New York. He told the rally: "Later on, when my children ask me, 'And what were you doing during the terrible regime of Trujillo?' I shall be able to tell them with pride, 'I was condemned to 30 years.'"

### U.S. Guilty

The guilt for Trujillo, Dr. Moscoso emphasizes, lies with the United States. "They created Trujillo," he said. "They appointed him Commander of the National Guard which was created by the United States before they left there. And Trujillo served them well. To the end he served the purposes of the State Department

## ... Dominican Republic Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

reform will meet with the unhesitating opposition of the U.S. imperialists. This lesson has been brought into sharp focus for the masses in the Dominican Republic and throughout Latin America by the U.S. intervention.

The U.S. so fears the development of social revolution in Latin America that it now feels it cannot tolerate for a moment any genuinely popular movement for even the single goal of democracy, out of fear that such a movement will begin to fight for the interests of the poor and oppressed. This lesson, too, is bound to be drawn by the masses in Latin America.

### Another Lesson

There is another lesson of the Dominican revolution which the people of Latin America are learning. The U.S. hoped it would be able to break up the uprising and take control of the island in a swift, powerful move of occupation. But the armed people of one city, Santo Domingo, were enough to hold the U.S. at bay for over a month now. Their determination to fight, their spirit and will to resist made their military defeat possible only through a bloodbath. This forced the U.S. into a

— the sinister purposes of the United States."

Continuing his indictment of U.S. policy, Dr. Moscoso said: "When he was killed, our revolution — we were 33 years fighting him — was not allowed to win. And that's the main cause of the present-day troubles. Instead of permitting the defenders of democracy, which we were, to take over, the United States manipulated things in such a way that the Trujillo forces are still in power there."

Discussing Juan Bosch's brief period as president, Dr. Moscoso put his finger on the key fact of Bosch's downfall. The U.S., he said, "retained the old army of Trujillo and the whole setup of the Trujillo government. When Juan Bosch didn't prove as subservient as Trujillo, the United States decided it would be better to restore altogether the Trujillo regime."

### At Their Mercy

"Juan Bosch," he continued, "couldn't do as Fidel Castro did in Cuba. Juan Bosch had to govern with the same Trujillo army supported by the United States. So he was at the mercy of the group that overthrew him later on."

He thinks the present intervention was ordered because "the power structure is panicky about the Cuban revolution extending to the Dominican Republic. Or rather, of the Dominican Republic going the same way as Cuba did five years ago."

But he also feels that, by their very efforts to prevent a new Cuba in the Dominican Republic, the U.S. is convincing more and more Latin Americans that the Cuban road is their only hope.

"The actions of the United States," he said, "are convincing many people in Latin America, and the Dominican Republic, of course, that the only way they can get rid of the American intelligence and the Pentagon and all those other calamities, is by doing what the Cubans did — proclaiming a socialist state and becoming a member of the bloc that is protected by the socialist countries."

"The result of the intervention," he added, "will be to the contrary of the wishes and purposes of the United States. Today the number of people who believe in the necessity of establishing a socialist regime is increasing."

He believes the Constitutionalist forces of Col. Caamaño Defió did the right thing in arming the people, although he doesn't feel they can win against the U.S. power. He thinks some of the Caamaño forces will resort to guerrilla warfare and that there may be a prolonged period of guerrilla warfare in the country.

### No Illusions

He has no illusions about the immediate prospects for his country. "A government will be appointed," he said, "which will be manipulated by the OAS and the Marines. It will contain the remnants of the old Trujillo forces. The same forces which represent the old Trujillo regime will continue in power."

But he remains optimistic about how things will turn out in the long run. More and more people, he says, are learning from such experiences as the Dominican intervention. Indicating the extent of such thinking, he smiled and said:

"I speak here frequently with diplomats, with presidents and ex-presidents of Latin American countries, and many of them who didn't have the slightest interest in ideological questions before are beginning to say, 'Well, we notice that Cuba, by siding with the socialist countries, is the only free government in the Western Hemisphere.'"

## A GI's Letter Describes What It's Like in Vietnam

The following is a letter a member of the Chicago Area Women for Peace received from a friend's son who is stationed in Vietnam. The boy's father sends him the Women for Peace bulletin. The letter has been mimeographed and distributed by the Chicago women's peace group.

\* \* \*

April 4, 1965

Dear —  
I don't know if you remember me but I never forgot you. I'm ———'s oldest boy. I'm in Vietnam and every day I pray for only two things — to be out of this hell and back home or to be killed before I might have to kill someone.

So far everything you wrote in your bulletin is true about Vietnam, but we want you to write about a few things none of the papers are writing.

The going here is pretty rough and all the dirty fighting isn't on one side. A week ago our platoon leader brought in three prisoners. I was part of the group that brought them in. They set up a questioning station and someone from Intelligence was doing the questioning. This was the first time I saw anything like this and found out that we use dirty methods too.

This guy from Intelligence had all three lined up. One was a woman. He stripped her down to the waist and stripped the two men all the way. He had a little gadget

I thought was a walkie-talkie or something. He stuck one end of this wire to the lady's chest and it was a kind of electric shock because she got a real bad burn. From what she was screaming my buddy and I could figure she didn't know anything.

Then they took this same wire and tried it on the lady's husband and brother but on their lower parts. I grabbed the damn thing and stuck it to the backass of the guy from Intelligence.

Ever since that day I've been sick to my stomach and haven't been out on patrol or anything. My Sgt. tells me I'm suffering from battle fatigue and might get sent home.

No one from our group wants to bring any suspects in for questioning. We don't know what to do. Some of the Viets are good friends to us. Some we know play both sides but we don't want anybody tortured and killed. One of the guys from another platoon said he saw this happen before a few times and once the guy was killed by it.

Anyhow tell your Women for Peace we are with them. We wish we could send you a couple of those electrical gadgets to use on the powers that sent and keep us here. This must end soon or a lot of us will go nuts. We'll try to do our part to try to keep down the war if you keep up your part back home to end it.

## Columbia University Censures 50 Anti-War Demonstrators

By Doug Jenness

NEW YORK — Fifty Columbia University students were censured by the school's administration for their participation in a demonstration on the campus May 7 against Columbia's Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps.

The administration described censure as "more severe than probation and just short of suspension." The students were warned that "any subsequent actions of yours which result in infractions upon the traditional freedoms of any members of the Columbia community will subject you to the possibility of immediate dismissal."

No curtailment of the students' academic or extracurricular activities was made, however, and those who are seniors will be graduated as scheduled on June 1.

Twelve of the students testified before a special board of the administration last week about their activities in the May 7 demonstration. The other 38 students submitted statements to the administration saying that they were equally responsible for the demonstration.

The 50 students were among nearly 200 who demonstrated on May 7 and forced the administration to cancel its annual NROTC awards ceremony. The demonstration was called by the Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

At Cornell University in Ithaca, N. Y., 64 undergraduates were reprimanded by the administra-

tion for participating in a similar anti-ROTC demonstration. The decision will be reviewed this week by the university's Faculty Committee on Student Conduct.

The Cornell protest was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee on Vietnam and had about 100 participants.

## Lewis Mumford Blasts American Aggression

Lewis Mumford, president of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, took the occasion of the Academy's annual awards ceremony in New York May 19 to denounce U.S. policy in Vietnam as a "moral outrage."

"I would gladly remain silent," he said, "if one could do so and maintain one's self-respect, and keep faith with the generations that are still to come . . . We have a special duty to speak out openly in protest on every occasion when human beings are threatened by arbitrary power: not only as with the oppressed Negroes in Alabama and Mississippi, but the peoples of both North and South Vietnam who must now confront our government's coldblooded blackmail and calculated violence . . . All our government's unctuous professions of reasonableness, peacefulness and restraint have been undermined by the incontinent actions it has taken," Mumford asserted.



**THE SOCIAL CRISIS IN BOLIVIA**

**Tin Miners Wage Heroic Fight**

By George Saunders

"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. Like the Dominicans, the Bolivian workers are waging a heroic armed resistance against a frontal assault by a U.S.-instigated military junta, that of Gen. René Barrientos. The aim of this full-scale military drive is to crack the labor unions and snatch away the economic gains that workers have long held, thanks to their revolution of 1952.

The eruption of this conflict, which has been simmering since the overthrow of Paz Estenssoro last November, comes at a time

not so favorable for Washington; the battle could result in a major advance of the Bolivian revolution, and thus of the Latin American revolution.

For the spirit of Santo Domingo is in the air throughout the hemisphere. The stubborn resistance of the Dominican people in armed conflict with the "all-powerful" Yankee Marines has inspired the masses of Latin America and brought to a head social conflicts just under the surface in several countries.

For example, in Ecuador a general strike has defied the military dictatorship. In Colombia, day after day, tens of thousands of students battled police, and a state of siege was declared. In Guatemala, a state of siege has been in force for two months; fear of a revolution was heightened by the gunning down of the number-two man in the military regime.

The Bolivian crisis was touched off by the exiling of Juan Lechín Oquendo, secretary general of the 30,000-man miners union, the country's biggest and most important labor organization. Lechín was exiled to the bloody dictatorship of Paraguay as part of a drive to crack the unions, but also because the unions, and the workers' parties based on them, represent the rallying center for opposition to the pro-U.S. policy of Barrientos in the Dominican crisis.

For reasons of both internal and foreign policy, the junta feels compelled at this time to try to wipe out the independent power of the workers. The armed miners militia and the miners union have been a power in the tin-mine districts ever since the workers rose up in 1952. Arms in hand, they drove out the tin barons and nationalized the mines. The regime of Paz Estenssoro, which came to power on their backs, carried out a partial land reform and accepted workers' participation in the running of the mines.

Bolivia's tin, however, is its greatest wealth and makes up 90 per cent of its exports. U.S. big

business interests have eyed this wealth greedily for years. Through the powerful lever of economic "aid," U.S. interests penetrated and bought over the Paz regime. Paz undertook a drive to make the mines more efficient and profitable in return for U.S. and West German investment under the so-called Triangular Plan. This drive was the main source of his unpopularity, of his resort to repression, and eventually of his overthrow.

Now the Barrientos clique has ordered the army to occupy the mines. The miners are resisting; their radio stations call on the workers and peasants of the country to smash the military dictatorship. The key mines are at Catavi and Siglo Veinte; it was miners from those mines, with Trotskyists of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [POR] in the vanguard, who turned back a column of Paz's troops at Sora-Sora last November. That skirmish marked the turning point in the fate of Paz.

In a May Day message of exceptional interest as an anticipation of these events, the POR declared:

"... North American imperialism demands even more drastic measures to refasten its chains of oppression. It has refused \$20 million to finance the third phase of the so-called Triangular Plan until the mines are 'put in order'..."

"This 'order' signifies the use of force and violence against the workers and military occupation of industrial centers and workers areas... 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..."

"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."

**OAAU Harlem Rally Marks 'Malcolm X Memorial Day'**

NEW YORK — A "Memorial Cultural Tribute" to Malcolm X was held May 19 at the Rockland Palace in Harlem. About 250 people attended the meeting sponsored by the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

The day of May 19 was chosen for the meeting because it was Malcolm X's birthday. Mrs. Ella Collins, president of the OAAU, declared May 19 "Malcolm X Day."

James Shabazz, president of the Muslim Mosque Inc., opened the memorial program with a eulogy of Malcolm X.

Mrs. Collins, the main speaker, announced that the OAAU planned to establish "The Malcolm X International Memorial Center" in Harlem. Its purpose would be to establish unity between Africans,

Asians and Afro-Americans, she said. She explained that it would include a library, hall of fame, a school where African languages were taught, and residential quarters for Africans and Asians.

A number of Africans participated in the memorial. Sidi Ali, secretary of the Pan-African Students Association, spoke. The Ghanaian delegate to the UN spoke on behalf of President Kwame Nkrumah and the government of Ghana.

Among the other speakers were: Bill Epton, vice president of the Progressive Labor Party; LeRoi Jones, poet and playwright; and Mae Mallory, of the Harlem Unemployment Center.

A great variety of entertainers performed, alternating with the speakers.

**Supreme Court Voids U.S. Mail Interference**

NEW YORK, May 24 — The U.S. Supreme Court today unanimously upheld the suit of Dr. Corliss Lamont against the Postmaster General of the United States. The Court held that a federal law, which requires persons sent "Communist political propaganda" from abroad to make a special request for its delivery, is unconstitutional. In this test case of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Dr. Lamont, who is chairman of the ECLC, was represented by Leonard B. Boudin, the general counsel of the Committee.

Dr. Clark Foreman, the director of the Committee said:

"The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is delighted to have had a part in the deliverance of the American people from an unconstitutional invasion of their private affairs by the Postmaster General... Now, presumably, all those who have been harassed by requests for written permission to deliver mail addressed to them will get the mail reasonably promptly."

**Los Angeles Socialists Urge Support for Negro Candidate**

LOS ANGELES, May 21 — The Socialist Workers Party has urged its supporters to vote for Rev. James Edward Jones, who is running as an independent candidate for the Board of Education Office No. 2 in the May 25 election. Rev. Jones is also supported by the United Civil Rights Committee, an organization of Negro, Mexican-American, labor and civil liberties groups.

If elected, Rev. Jones will be the only Negro on the Board of Education. His opponent, Marian Miller, is a former FBI undercover agent and favorite of extreme right-wing groups.

While expressing Socialist Workers Party support for Rev. Jones, SWP organizer T. Edwards noted inadequacies in his program in relation to the need for desegregation, decent facilities at all levels, upgrading of teachers regardless

of color or racial origin, unionization of the teachers and free speech on the campuses. The candidate also has no binding responsibility to the many organizations that put him forth as a candidate.

"Nevertheless," Edwards said, "a vote for James Edward Jones is a vote for the principle of representation in government for an oppressed minority. The election of a Negro to the Board of Education would be a step towards achieving adequate representation for all minorities at all levels of government. This is necessary as an elementary democratic right and part of the struggle for civil rights for all."

Rev. James was similarly endorsed by Irving Kirsch, Young Socialist Alliance representative who received 31,115 votes as candidate for Board of Education Office No. 6 in the April 6 election.

**...15,000 Protest on Vietnam**

(Continued from Page 1)

upon the audience to "keep up our protest... these are the kind of meetings and demonstrations we need."

Isaac Deutscher, biographer of Trotsky and an avowed Marxist, put things in their perspective before a hushed and rapt audience. The West, he said, was "sick with the brainwashing of nearly two decades of cold war." Deutscher traced the history of the cold war and punctured widely held myths of the Western powers. He was given a prolonged standing ovation.

Staughton Lynd, professor from Yale and director of the Mississippi Freedom Schools last summer, spoke on the second day of the talkathon. He began by reading the "Declaration of Berkeley, May 21," that called for the recognition of the government of Colonel Francisco Caamaño Deñó as the "true and only duly constituted government of the Dominican Republic." (A table was set up on

the grounds of the meeting where people could sign up to give blood to be sent to the revolutionaries in Santo Domingo.)

Lynd criticized Scalapino for his stand on the Vietnam Day. "I too believe in precise intellectual discourse. But annihilation in a Brooks Brothers suit is still murder." He called for a massive civil-disobedience campaign that would force Johnson, McNamara and Bundy to resign. "We cannot wait until the next presidential election — we must vote with our feet."

**Other Speakers**

Other speakers included Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, Paul Potter, president of Students for a Democratic Society; Norman Thomas; Levi Laub from Progressive Labor; Norman Mailer; Willie Brown; Paul Jacobs; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Mario Savio; John Burton; James Aronson from the *National Guardian*; Bob (Moses) Parris of SNCC; Mike Myerson of the DuBois Clubs; Felix Greene; Dave Dellinger; and Dick Gregory. Taped messages from Bertrand Russell and Ruben Brache, a representative of the Dominican revolutionaries, were played.

**World Events**

**Nahuel Moreno in Danger**

The Peruvian government is trying to extradite a leading Argentine revolutionist to Peru for alleged participation in revolutionary events in Peru in 1962. The case involves Hugo Bressano, well known in Latin American radical circles under the pen name "Nahuel Moreno" and the central figure in the movement formed around the Buenos Aires socialist weekly *Palabra Obrera*.

Peru charges that Bressano transported guerrilla fighters in the Cuzco region in association with peasant leader Hugo Blanco. It also charges him with involvement in a bank holdup in a Lima suburb in 1962 organized by a Peruvian guerrilla group.

The odd thing about both charges is that the Peruvian authorities have never brought the Peruvian defendants to trial, but have kept them rotting in jail for well over two years. Because of the political popularity of what the Peruvian defendants stood for, the regime dares not try them publicly.

Bressano's defense has argued that the Peruvian bid for extradition involves political offenses. The Treaty of Montevideo rules out extradition in political crimes. In the first round of the case, the lower court judge upheld the defense contention. However, recently the federal appeals court, instead of upholding this principle, reversed the lower court.

The defense has appealed the decision to the Argentine Supreme Court. If the Peruvian government is allowed to have its way,

a dangerous precedent would be set for the entire Latin American radical movement. Revolutionists could be extradited by any military dictatorship and held indefinitely without trial in obscure prisons, without rights or recourse of any kind.

**Apartheid Fighters 'Guilty'**

An apartheid court in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, found two more political oppositionists "guilty" April 26. Leo L. Sihlali, former president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, was sentenced to two and a half years. Louis L. Mtshizana, former chairman of the East London branch of the Society of Young Africa (affiliated to the Unity Movement) was sentenced to four and a half years. They were charged under the notorious "Suppression of Communism Act" and accused of trying to leave the nation-size prison which is South Africa. Their "crime" was leaving their home towns, to which they had been "banned," or restricted.

**'Queen and Country' No**

In the 1930's there was a widespread antiwar movement among British students, as it became apparent that the capitalist rulers of Western Europe and the United States were heading for a worldwide slaughter. The movement centered around a motion picture passed by the Oxford University debating club that it "would not fight for King and country." Today, as the Vietnam crisis signals the readiness of Western rulers to plunge the world into disaster once more, the Oxford Union has

brought the issue up for debate again. A motion not to "fight for Queen and country" narrowly missed passing May 21 in a vote of 493 to 466.

**Mussolini Law Still Used**

The courts in capitalist Italy still recognize laws passed under the fascist dictatorship of Mussolini. Nine leaders of a railway workers union have been indicted in Florence, Italy, under a Mussolini law providing jail for those who keep trains from running on time. The union called 90-minute slowdown strikes last November.

**Japan Unions Oppose War**

A nationwide movement opposing 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 May 12. The union leaders hold that the U.S. has violated the Geneva Agreement and seriously threatens world peace. Sohyo also stated that the Japanese government is supporting U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The federation announced earlier that it would send a mission of solidarity to the workers of North Vietnam and begin collecting material aid, including medical supplies for North Vietnam.

**Gas in Santo Domingo?**

Agence France Presse reported that U.S. 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 he couldn't say. — **George Saunders**

**Socialist Vote Reported In Denver Elections**

DENVER — The socialist candidates for Denver's school board, Barbara Taplin and Harold Wallace, got between one and two per cent of the vote in the May 18 election. Mrs. Taplin received 546 votes for the two-year term, and Wallace received 829 votes for the six-year term.

Proportionately, their vote was higher than that gotten in Denver last November by the presidential and congressional candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

The election was considered a victory for the conservative, pro-school-administration forces.

A key pamphlet  
**In Defense of the Cuban Revolution**  
An Answer to the State Department and Theodore Draper  
By Joseph Hansen  
32 pages 25¢  
**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
5 East Third St.  
New York, N. Y. 10003



## FREEDOM FIGHTERS

## Spartacus, Leader of Slave Revolt

By George Lavan

Modern man's heritage contains names from ancient history which have become symbolic. Thus *Caesar*, the name borne by the emperors of ancient Rome, was converted into Czar and Kaiser by the monarchs of Russia and Germany to stress their omnipotence; and only 25 years ago Mussolini strutted the stage of Fascist Italy proclaiming himself a modern Caesar.

Just as the name *Caesar* symbolizes tyrannical power, another name from Roman history — *Spartacus* — symbolizes rebellion. Spartacus was the slave who would not submit, who rebelled and fought to the death for freedom. For all time he personifies the slave who refuses to be a slave any longer.

Significantly, there has been a revival of interest in Spartacus in our times. His story lends itself to fiction (three novels and a movie) because of its drama and the sparseness of the facts which have come down to us. Also, the information we have is from a biased source — the Roman slave-owning class. It is as if there would be no other sources of information about the present freedom struggle in the South than what the Dixiecrat officials and their approved writers saw fit to record.

## Known Facts

Nevertheless, we shall leave guesswork about Spartacus to the novelists and, in this article, stick to the known facts. (These, along with an analysis of Roman slave revolts, may be found in *Spartacus, the Leader of the Roman Slaves*, by the British socialist author F. A. Ridley. Available from Pioneer Publishers, \$1.)

The Roman social system was based on slavery. The principal loot of Rome's wars of conquest was an endless supply of slaves. Enriched by these wars, Rome's wealthy classes squeezed out the small independent farmers and converted Italy into a land of *latifundia* (huge estates) worked by gangs of slaves. Slaves also manned the merchant fleets and toiled in the mines under conditions so terrible that their life expectancy was reckoned in months.

A certain number were trained as professional gladiators — to kill or be killed by wild beasts or by one another for the public entertainment of the Roman crowds.

## Previous Revolts

There had been slave uprisings before, especially in Sicily, but none shook the Roman world like the one led by Spartacus from 73 B.C. to 71 B.C. It began like a modern prison break, in Capua in southern Italy. A band of 74 gladiators, armed with knives and



Spartacus

spits from the kitchens, broke out of their quarters and fought their way to the city's outskirts. Coming by luck upon some cartloads of arms in transit, they were able to repulse the soldiers sent to capture them and made their way on to the wild and wooded slopes of Mt. Vesuvius.

There they lived as bandits and a Thracian gladiator named Spartacus emerged as their leader. As word about them spread, other runaway slaves joined them. To restore law and order in the area, the Roman Senate sent a general with 3,000 men. He found the slave-brigands had taken up a position whose rear was a sheer precipice and whose front was a narrow pass where only one man at a time could enter. Not desiring to fight a series of single combats with the gladiators, the Romans decided to block the pass and starve out the defenders.

## Daring Move

Spartacus led his comrades down the precipice in a desperate descent, with ropes improvised from vines. They attacked the Romans from the rear, destroyed them, and won a plentiful supply of arms. More important, their fame as victors over Roman troops heartened innumerable slaves to join them. Spartacus soon found himself the leader not of hundreds but of an army of thousands.

In the next two years he was to prove himself a military genius. He maintained discipline, yet retained the voluntary support of his men. A master of guerrilla warfare and a superb tactician in pitched battles, he defeated the ever-larger armies sent against him.

After smashing two Roman armies of 20,000 each in successive battles on the same day, he dealt the high-and-mighty Romans a

savage turnabout psychological blow. To mark the funeral ceremonies of a fallen slave leader, he made 300 captured Romans fight a gladiatorial combat to the death.

## Far-Ranging

His army now ranged Italy from the Alps to the extreme south. From the south he tried to arrange transportation to Sicily where the tradition of slave revolts was strong. But the pirates who accepted payment never brought the ships; possibly they were bought off by the Romans. Rome sent more armies and called back to Italy the legions fighting in Spain.

Before the final battle, Spartacus killed his horse in front of his army. "If we conquer," he said, "we shall have all the horses we desire; if we lose, we shall not need them." He led his men into battle on foot and fought to the death. The counter-revolutionary revenge was terrible. Along the 150-mile road from Naples to Rome 6,000 survivors of Spartacus' army were crucified as an object lesson for other slaves who might harbor rebellious thoughts.

## A Failure?

But then, the success-minded middle-class American will say, Spartacus was a failure and it would have been better never to have begun the revolt. The oppressed of the world, then and now, do not see it that way. The alternative was acceptance of slavery. The Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Gabriels, the Nat Turners, who led slave revolts centuries later, may never have heard of Spartacus but they shared his indomitable spirit. And today's Freedom Now forces sing: "And before I'll be a slave I'll be buried in my grave."

The freedom fighters of the socialist movement also draw inspiration from the example of Spartacus. The martyred leaders of the German Revolution of 1918, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, named their party the *Spartakus Bund*. And in this country a forerunner of the present Young Socialist Alliance proudly took the name, Spartacus Youth League.

## Back in Print: America's Road to Socialism

All of us acquainted with somebody who would benefit from learning something about the nature and aims of socialism should consider it good news to be told that Pioneer Publishers has just reprinted that modern classic, *America's Road to Socialism* by James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

Here, in 80 pages and for only 50 cents, is the finest possible popular introduction to the main ideas of revolutionary socialism, by the best writer the American socialist movement has produced so far.

By "popular" we mean readable, easily understandable, pungent, humorous, moving — but without any sacrifice of content, lack of precision or concessions to backwardness and ignorance. These are the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, brought up to date by an outstanding American supporter of those ideas and presented in English that most Americans can understand, whether they agree or not.

## 6 Lectures

Originally presented in the form of six lectures to the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum around a dozen years ago, the pamphlet's scope is as broad as socialism itself. Here is how some of the material is described in the table of contents:

Analytical review of world

## 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 welcomed and encouraged.]

**What is your answer to the claim that there are no classes in the U.S., or that they are rapidly disappearing, or that America is approaching a classless society, if not already there?**

The facts disprove the assertion that the United States is classless, and demonstrate, as we shall see, that there are two major classes in our society, workers and capitalists.

Who are the capitalists? The word "capitalist" doesn't mean the same thing as "rich man," although almost all capitalists are rich. The capitalists are those who own the factories, mines, railways, giant farms and all of the other means of production. They own for a living, as contrasted with those who work for a living.

Some people contend that classes are disappearing because ownership of corporations is being spread over wider and wider sections of the population through the sale of stocks. However, at most about ten per cent of the population owns some stock, and most of those own only a few shares. Owning one or two shares of stock, as many workers for the telephone company do, brings a yearly dividend of only a few dollars, and gives the owner virtually no control over, or say in, the corporation.

The real capitalists are the tiny minority who own enough to live off the profits. The concentration of economic power and wealth rests not in the ten per cent who own some stock, but in the small group which owns most of the stock and other investments, and controls every corporation. The National Bureau of Economic Research says 1.6 per cent of the population owns 80 per cent of the stock of corporations, virtually all of the state and local government bonds, and 30 per cent of the total wealth of the country (which includes everything from factories to the shirt on your back). The long-range trend is for

this concentration of ownership and control to increase.

At the top of this small group of capitalists is an even smaller group of the very rich families. They have names such as Rockefeller, Harriman, Mellon, duPont, Astor, Whitney, Ford, Kennedy, etc. These very rich families, with fortunes extending up into the billions of dollars, control the big corporations which do most of the business in the United States (less than one per cent of the corporations employ nearly 60 per cent of all paid workers in the U.S.).

On the other side of the class picture in the U.S. are the 87 per cent of the people living in families who depend upon one or more workers in order to live. A worker is someone who sells his ability to work to the capitalists in return for a wage. A worker's wage doesn't come anywhere near the average profit of an individual capitalist. Within the working class are the tens of millions who even the government admits live in poverty in this country.

Between these two fundamental classes there is the middle class, composed of people who don't live off the work of many workers as the big capitalists do, and who don't hire themselves to the capitalists as the workers do. Professional men, small shopkeepers, farmers, etc., fall into this middle category that stands between the two fundamental classes. Some of them are poor, too.

It is the working people who produce the wealth of our country through labor of the hand or brain. The capitalists, by virtue of their ownership and control of the means of production, live like parasites off the labor of the workers.

So we see that our society is split into two very different classes, one which owns and controls the economy, and dominates and exploits the other.

— Barry Sheppard

## And Don't Forget, This Was Before They Had TV!

The capitalist bourgeois calculates: "While I have in my hands lands, factories, workshops, banks; while I possess newspapers, universities, schools; while — and this is most important of all — I retain control of the army: the apparatus of democracy, however you reconstruct it, will remain obedient to my will. I subordinate to my interests spiritually the stupid, conservative, characterless lower middle class, just as it is subjected to me materially. I oppress, and will oppress, its imagination by the gigantic scale of my buildings, my transactions, my plants, and my crimes. For moments when it is dissatisfied and murmurs, I have created scores of safety-valves and lightning-conductors. At the right moment I will bring into existence opposition parties, which will disappear tomorrow,

but which today accomplish their mission by affording the possibility of the lower middle classes expressing their indignation without hurt therefrom for capitalism. I shall hold the masses of the people, under cover of compulsory general education, on the verge of complete ignorance, giving them no opportunity of rising above the level which my experts in spiritual slavery consider safe. I will corrupt, deceive, and terrorize the more privileged or the more backward of the proletariat itself. By means of these measures, I shall not allow the vanguard of the working class to gain the ear of the majority of the working class, while the necessary weapons of mastery and terrorism remain in my hands."

—Leon Trotsky, 1920

"Terrorism and Communism"

should have two copies always at hand — one for personal enjoyment and enlightenment, the other for your new acquaintance who needs to find out what the future will bring and how he can speed it along.

The new edition has a more attractive cover, better binding and whiter paper than its predecessor. But it deserves better typography. And in future editions the author and publisher should consider omitting the first chapter, dealing with the meaning of the 1952 elections, which was useful in the early '50's but may prove to be an obstacle for new readers today.

— George Breitman

Books and pamphlets mentioned in this page may be bought from

**Pioneer Publishers**  
5 East 3rd Street  
New York 10003

America's Road to Socialism.....50c  
Terrorism and Communism.....1.95  
Spartacus .....1.00

Every reader of *The Militant*



# 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.]

## Heavy on the Ham

New York, N. Y.

Now that you have reported what Lady Bird ate in Virginia, I think it's only fair to give her husband equal time.

When he dropped into Senator Harry F. Byrd's home in Berryville, Va., (and I say "dropped"

advisedly — he came by helicopter) last Sunday, he was just in time for a country-style dinner.

Although he passed up the fried chicken, Mr. Johnson "loaded his plate with country ham, crab meat, peas, biscuits and gravy. He polished off the luncheon with a mountainous strawberry shortcake with whipped cream."

I guess killing innocent people in Vietnam and Santo Domingo doesn't spoil his appetite much — although he *did* pass up the chicken.

R.S.

## Fan Mail

Philadelphia, Pa.

Please note our change of address as indicated. Thank you.

We look forward to receiving each issue, and eagerly read it to find out what's really happening in the world — something we can't learn from any other paper. Keep up the good work.

Mr. and Mrs. E. C.

## Gruening's Dominican Stand

New York, N. Y.

I think we ought to note the rapidity with which Senator Gruening — one of the three outspoken Senatorial critics of the U.S. war policy in Vietnam — has lined up beside U.S. imperialism in the Dominican Republic. In fact, Gruening is playing the role of administration apologist in the Senate.

Gruening was himself one of the architects of the Rooseveltian Latin American policy, that put Batista in power in Cuba and protected Trujillo's Dominican dictatorship.

"The situation in the Dominican Republic," Gruening stated May 10, "is totally different from the one we face in Vietnam. For one thing it is at our front door in the Caribbean. It is not on the continent of Asia."

"I commend the President for his swift action in the Dominican Republic, both for humanitarian purposes — the saving of lives — and for heading off Communist takeover in the Caribbean."

Gruening then attacked the U.S. press for implying that the United States "overacted" in the Dominican crisis and called upon the testimony from the Special Committee of the State Department-controlled OAS to "prove" that a Communist takeover in Santo Domingo was imminent.

What Gruening's thinking boils down to is this: The United States blundered in Vietnam by letting the revolution get out of hand. The U.S. is so unpopular in Vietnam that her continued presence there will drive the people into the Communist camp.

But, thinks Gruening, the same problem can be prevented in the Dominican Republic if the revolution is militarily crushed *right now* — before another Vietnam develops. And if "liberal" Senator Gruening has anything to do with it, General Wessin y Wessin's planes, bombs, tanks, and guns won't be "too good" for the Dominican people.

D.R.

## Genocide

Brooklyn, N. Y.

In 1948, the anti-genocide treaty was signed by all UN members with the single exception of the U.S. government.

The present policy of U.S. imperialism of "better dead than red" in Vietnam, Laos and other

parts of Indochina makes the refusal of 1948 most interesting and comprehensible.

Jerry Alberti

## Tax Protest

San Francisco, Calif.

I have refused to file an income tax return for both 1963 and 1964 in protest against the cold war and nuclear arms race and the vicious war carried on by the U.S. government in Vietnam. Today I received the first written communication from the District Director. In the "Preliminary Statement," this sentence appears:

"Taxpayer refuses to file a tax return because of pacifist beliefs."

A letter I am sending him indicates firmly that I am not a pacifist. I believe in fighting against the enemies of the American people and I believe that the true enemies of the American people are those now in power in our national government.

I must act because of my own personal convictions, but I do not advocate tax refusal as a practical revolutionary technique because the broad masses of American citizens living in "freedom" have their taxes forcibly removed from their wages — obviously the government does not trust the American people whom it is so viciously and irresponsibly cheating and exploiting. Perhaps your readers will

be interested in my struggle with the Internal Revenue Service.

The United States is responsible for murdering Vietnamese children, You and I and every adult citizen of these United States share this responsibility.

If we do not find the correct techniques to arouse the American people to revolt, then our blind and irrational leaders, men of the caliber of Lyndon B. Johnson, Robert S. McNamara, Curtis LeMay, Thomas Powers, Eastland, Wallace & Co., the Bundy Brothers, Inc., etc., will continue to murder and abuse innocent people both abroad in Vietnam, the Congo, the Union of South Africa, etc., and right here at home in Alabama, Mississippi, Harlem and Detroit, etc., and they will eventually lead us into a most destructive World War III.

The time to organize a truly revolutionary movement for world peace, racial equality and a planned economy through socialism is NOW!

Tom Brewer, M.D.

## Seek Data on Cuba

Detroit, Mich.

For an article we plan to write, we are seeking information about Cuban planning of urban, industrial, educational and residential

centers. We would like to correspond with any persons having information of this kind. Those wishing to correspond can write to us c/o Young Socialist Alliance, Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201.

Matt Perara  
George M. Bouse

## Criticizes Morse

Pittsburgh, Pa.

After hearing the nationwide teach-in in Detroit over the weekend, and especially the speech rendered by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, I do think it is time for publications such as yours to expose the "administration dissenter" for what he really is.

Time and time again both in the afternoon Washington session, and even more evident in the speech by Morse, was the argument that we (U.S. government) should stop bombing Vietnam and start a massive dose of economic aid to this region.

This is merely switching from immediate subjugation to a more criminal type of indirect subjugation. The *Shark and the Sardines* of our Latin American friends can attest to that.

I must call for *The Militant* to expose Morse for what he is — a yanqui imperialist with dollars instead of guns.

S.W.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

### MISSISSIPPI NEGRO LEADER LYNCHED BY "UPTOWN KLAN"

— The campaign of racist intimidation carried on by the White Citizens Councils has resulted in the brutal shotgun murder of Rev. George W. Lee, militant Negro leader of Belzoni, Mississippi. Lee, the first Negro to register to vote in Humphreys County, was murdered on May 7.

Local authorities tried to hush up the murder and actually entered it on the records as a traffic accident. Only on May 20, after Northern newspapers had revealed the true facts, a coroner's jury in Belzoni was forced to retract its "traffic accident" version and admit Lee had been shot.

Lee was a local leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Earlier on the day of his murder he told another Baptist minister that "someone at the courthouse" had warned him to remove his name from the list of registered voters and to tear up his poll tax receipt. He refused and restated his intention to vote. — May 30, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

### SYRIAN PEOPLE FIGHT TROOPS OF FRENCH COLONIAL RULERS

— In the first colonial uprising to spring up in the wake of Germany's defeat, the people of Syria are engaged in fierce street battles with the troops of French imperialism. Acting Premier Mardam of Syria stated on May 28 that French troops had "fired upon the people of Hama," north of Damascus. In self-defense "the people attacked the French garrison." He stated that there is now fighting in the streets and that communications are cut off.

Syria and Lebanon, grabbed by the French government from Turkey after World War I, were promised their freedom in 1939. However when the war broke out the British, in connivance with the Free French Government, marched in to take control of this strategic territory on the Mediterranean with its valuable oil fields. The date for independence was moved forward to June 1, 1944.

Although since that date the French government has pretended that Syria and Lebanon are free, French garrisons in these countries have been augmented by Senegalese troops and native Syrian conscripts. In a week-long series of strikes, the Syrian people protested against the use of these troops to enforce French domination of their country. The explosive situation culminated in armed conflict last Saturday night when French troops fired upon the people in Aleppo, Syria with eight light field guns. — June 2, 1945.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Secret Ballot for Dominicans** — Johnson may have hit on the perfect method for holding "free elections" in the Dominican Republic. According to columnist Robert Allen, no less an organization than the CIA is secretly polling Dominicans on whom they would prefer to head a new government. The report adds: "... it is highly conjectural if these CIA findings will be revealed."

**Bosch a Trotskyist?** — Extending its witch-hunting operations to the Dominican Republic, racist Senator Eastland's Senate Internal Security Committee is said to be readying a report that will characterize Juan Bosch as "definitely an ideological Trotskyist." Bosch's consistent support of capitalism isn't fooling Eastland who is supposed to have dug up information that the former Dominican president has a son named Leon Trotsky Bosch.

**Hanging Cancelled** — The chairman of the 250th anniversary parade committee in Morristown, N.J., announced that due to public protest there would not be a public hanging at the celebration. The idea had been dreamed up by the local sheriff who thought use of a 200-year-old gallows in the town would add a lively feature to the festivities. He had volunteered one of his deputies to be hanged while being supported by a parachute harness.

**Music Hath Charms** — The Inter-American Music Festival is financed largely by firms doing business in Latin America, with Standard Oil the biggest single supporter of the various orchestras and chamber groups. Samuel Rosenbaum, general chairman of this year's festival, told newsmen: "It is wise of corporations to stem the rising tide of hatred in the Americas. Other companies besides Standard Oil should learn that the festival offers 'good buys.' It

is a way to sprinkle rosewater on their reputations."

**Ask the People in Harlem** — Residents of Mount Vernon, a well-to-do New York suburb, borrowed a leaf from the civil rights movement and staged a protest slowdown on a parkway that the state plans to convert into a superhighway. Cops dragged the demonstrators off in their usual rugged way. One woman displayed reddened wrists that had been twisted by the cops, and angrily asked: "Do the police always do this?"

**On the Food Front** — We're happy to report that not only are LBJ and Lady Bird eating well (see letter elsewhere on this page), but Congressmen are doing nicely too, with some even getting an ecclesiastical assist in doing so. Last week a ten-bus caravan of Congressmen with their families and aides made their annual tour of New York. At the World's Fair they plowed into a buffet that the *New York Times* reported, "ran from salads through several categories of fish and meat to heaping bowls of fresh strawberries and whipped cream." The report added: "Someone even phoned the Washington Roman Catholic Archdiocese... and arranged a dispensation so that Catholic members could enjoy the roast beef, too, on the Friday tour."

**Beatles Meet Art Standards** — The Beatles will be listed in the

new edition of *Who's Who in America*. A spokesman for the publication said they will be included because their humor and music are "refreshingly creative" and, he added, "commercially advantageous."

**New National Costume?** — We are indebted to the British Information Services for this fascinating fashion note: "Need a washable, drip-dry bulletproof vest? They are being made in England by Wilkinson Sword Ltd., the firm that pioneered the stainless steel razor blade... The vests, made of overlapping plates of rustproof titanium in a nylon casing, are lightweight and flexible. They can be scrubbed down and are therefore particularly useful in tropical climates... The armored vests are made with white nylon for underwear. Colors are also available."

**Humorous But Thrifty** — We recently advised that Good Humor salesmen were being readied to ply customers with jokes as well as ice cream. Now we learn that this added service will be offset by elimination of the napkins customarily served with the ice cream on a stick. A spokesman said this would help combat littering and would be, incidentally, an economy for the company. Now if they eliminate the sticks and wrappers and make sure no one gags on the jokes, the product will be absolutely litter-proof.

## SPECIAL 50¢ INTRODUCTORY OFFER



To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the Freedom Now Movement we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for 50¢. (\$1.50 outside of the U.S.)

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

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

Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.

## Thought for the Week

"... more Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954. The black slums are not narrowing but expanding. The gap between white and Negro unemployed is increasing. And more Negroes are working at unskilled jobs, highly vulnerable to displacement by automatic machinery, than ever before." — James Reston in the May 26 *New York Times*.



# Wagner-Lindsay Race in N. Y. Opens Door for Independents

NEW YORK, May 25 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York City, said today that dissatisfaction with Mayor Robert F. Wagner offers "forces which should be outside the Democratic and Republican parties the greatest opportunity in many years for a breakthrough in independent political action."

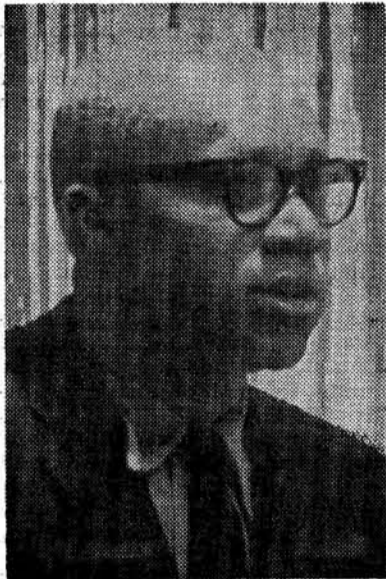
DeBerry said the nature of the campaign being mounted by Republican John V. Lindsay, "using heaps of liberal demagoguery," is a recognition of "the deep and widespread opposition to Wagner by Negroes, Puerto Ricans, tenants groups, and sections of the labor movement."

The Lindsay campaign, said DeBerry in a press conference here, actually represents an effort by both the state and national Republican machines to regain a more moderate image and recoup their losses in the 1964 campaign. "They have no more intention than Wagner," said DeBerry, "of representing the common people instead of the real estate sharks, bankers and sweatshop operators who profit from the mess New York City is in."

## The Issues

"The discontent with Wagner," said DeBerry, "centers around issues Lindsay can't solve and can't even really offer a serious program to solve." DeBerry said these issues include slums "which are getting worse," a shortage of 200,000 units of public low-rent housing, "the deteriorating school system where segregation is actually increasing," and job discrimination and low wages in some of the city's major industries. "Perhaps the most sensitive issue," said DeBerry, "is police brutality and plain police bone-headedness which has reached the proportions of a major scandal."

"Radicals can offer effective answers for these issues," DeBerry



Clifton DeBerry

said, "and this is a real opportunity for the left to utilize this disgust with Wagner to make a breakthrough for independent political action."

Referring to the talk about a return to the days of LaGuardia with a "fusion" ticket of liberal Democrats and Republicans around Lindsay, DeBerry said "for the left to go for that would be a farce which has been acted out before as a tragedy."

It was around the LaGuardia fusion move, DeBerry recalled, that "the tradition — and it was a good one — of independent working class political action by the left in New York City was derailed." DeBerry continued: "The socialist and 'left wing' union leaders at that time broke with the tradition of independent political action to back LaGuardia. They started out with LaGuardia and ended up with Wagner."

"But these problems exist in New York City because they enable a certain stratum of the population to increase its wealth. No

capitalist candidate, however personable, can defy the big business interests that control the Democratic and Republican parties. The big job which was derailed in the 1930's, and which still has to be done, is to create a political party which is controlled by and responsible to the working people, the civil rights movement, the tenants groups and their allies. And any candidate who says he is for the tenants and the real estate sharks at the same time is lying through his teeth."

## Speaks to Groups

Last week DeBerry spoke on "Community Problems and the Mayor," before the Harlem Parents Committee, a community group active in the school desegregation fight. He also spoke before the Harlem Freedom School, which provides youngsters education in Afro-American and African history among other subjects.

DeBerry pointed out that if the city, state and federal governments really wanted to eliminate the slums and segregation they could easily take massive action to do so. "Johnson always finds it hard to enforce the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation because of a hundred technical excuses, but he cuts right through the red tape — and the Constitution while he's at it — and has no trouble at all intervening quickly and massively in the affairs of Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic."

Commenting on the resignation of Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy, DeBerry said: "It's about time, but there's no reason to expect much better from Wagner's new appointee, Vincent L. Broderick." What the city needs, said DeBerry, is "citizen control of the Police Department with elected independent community police review boards that have the confidence of the people in the communities and the powers to discipline the police."

# 1,000 Chicago Pickets Denounce HUAC Probe

CHICAGO, May 25 — Nearly a thousand people, mostly students, demonstrated outside the Federal Court of Appeals today as the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) opened its three-day witch-hunt "investigation" here.

The demonstration was organized by the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, which invited all interested groups to bring their own signs with organizational identification and join the protest. Participating organizations so identified included the Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, DuBois Clubs, Women for Peace, Friends of SNCC, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Some of the signs carried by the demonstrators read: "Protest HUAC—Twentieth Century Witch Hunters," "Johnson — First President to Endorse HUAC," "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All" and "HUAC and KKK — Brothers Under the Sheets."

Several people were arrested when they engaged in civil disobedience to protest the hearings.

A small counter-demonstration was held in support of HUAC. Participants included members of the Young Americans for Freedom.

To insure a friendly audience inside the hearing room, Rep. Willis from Louisiana, chairman of HUAC, made sure that only a few protestors got passes to observe the hearings. Most of the passes went to right-wingers.

Eleven people have been subpoenaed to testify before the witch-hunting committee in closed, executive session. Thirty others have received letters informing them that HUAC has "testimony" which names them as members of the Communist Party, and inviting them to testify voluntarily.

On May 23, nearly a thousand people representing peace, civil liberties and student groups held a rally at First Congregational Church in opposition to HUAC and its "Chicago investigation."

Speakers at the rally included Mrs. Donna Allen, a leader of Women Strike for Peace, recently convicted of contempt of Congress for defying HUAC; Fred Shuttlesworth, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James Forman of SNCC; Frank Wilkinson of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC; Dr. Robert Havighurst, head of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, which is leading the fight against the present HUAC hearings; and Rev. G. G. Grant of Loyola University.

All underlined that the real purpose of the hearings is to

smear, slander and harass those who are engaged in activities on behalf of civil rights, peace and civil liberties.

The audience responded with strong approval to Mrs. Victoria Gray of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party when she declared, "HUAC is nothing but a dressed-up version of the Ku Klux Klan."

Forman and Wilkinson both pointed to Johnson's hypocrisy in asking a Southern-dominated and illegal committee to investigate the KKK.

The rally adopted a resolution asking Mayor Richard Daley and Gov. Otto Kerner to oppose HUAC's visit to Chicago.

At least three of the eleven served with HUAC subpoenas are members of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO.

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, nationally-known specialist in heart ailments who was also subpoenaed, together with his assistant, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, filed suit in federal court seeking an injunction to halt the HUAC action. The injunction was denied. Dr. Stamler and Mrs. Hall have been active in civil rights activity.

## Indicted Student Tours Detroit

DETROIT — Ralph Levitt, one of the three Indiana University students indicted in 1963 under the Indiana "Anti-Communism" Act, spent the week of May 11-16 here publicizing the case and raising money for the legal costs involved in fighting the case.

An audience of 60 at the Friday Night Socialist Forum heard Levitt discuss the issues of the case, along with Henry Herrmann, professor of education at Wayne State University, and Ernest Mazey, Michigan director of the ACLU. Mazey called the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students "the most impressive committee of this type formed in the post World War II period," and he urged generous support to CABS.

Levitt spoke at various campuses in the area, including Michigan State University, Bentley High School, and the Wayne State University Law Students Civil Rights Group.

A folksong hootenanny at Wayne State on May 16, and a party later that same day, raised over \$300 for the defense.

Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan face up to three years' imprisonment because of their socialist beliefs. For more information on this important civil liberties case, write to: Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 213, New York, N. Y. 10003.



Ralph Levitt

## Case Smells Worse Every Day

# Cop Hatched Statue of Liberty 'Plot'

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, May 25 — The trial in the Statue of Liberty bomb-plot case is turning out to be an embarrassment for the New York City Police Department.

The case first hit the headlines last Feb. 16 when Police Commissioner Michael Murphy called in some 100 newspaper and TV reporters to announce that his department, with the aid of the FBI, had "cracked" a plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell and the Washington Monument.

Arrested were three New York Negroes — Robert S. Collier, Walter A. Bowe, and Khaleel S. Sayeed — and a French Canadian woman, Michelle Duclos, who police said brought a case of dynamite to New York from Canada.

## A Field Day

Newsmen immediately had a field day denouncing "fanatical extremists" in the Afro-American freedom movement. Much was made of the role of a "loyal" Negro "hero cop" — Raymond Wood — who had infiltrated Negro organizations to uncover the "plot." But it has become increasingly clear, especially since the trial of the three Negroes began last week, that the Police Department and its agent Wood not only "cracked" the case, but created it

so they would have something to crack.

Before the trial began, Miss Duclos pleaded guilty to the single charge of illegally transporting dynamite, but not to the charge of conspiracy to bomb the monuments. This charge against her is expected to be dropped when she is sentenced, according to the newspapers, which no longer give prominent coverage to the case.

The conspiracy trial against the other three "is a dud," comments New York Post columnist Alvin Davis May 24. Police agent Wood, says Davis, is not expected to be able to stand up against defense charges "that he didn't infiltrate, he led; that he didn't observe, he guided."

Even according to Wood's direct testimony, he played the key role in the "plot" himself. Wood testified he participated in conversations with the defendants in which many wild ideas were raised on how to expose American hypocrisy. Wood testified he himself told the others he thought the idea of defacing the Statue of Liberty was a good one and suggested ways to do it. He admits he provided the money (from the police) for the trip to Canada to arrange for dynamite and that he drove there with Collier. When Miss Duclos brought the dynamite to New

York, she contacted Wood to arrange delivery. Wood then "broke" the case.

Aside from revealing the role of a typical *agent provocateur*, the trial points up the fact that the police make it a practice to infiltrate all sorts of organizations in the Negro community. Wood testified he had first been assigned by the police to join Bronx CORE, where he headed two committees, and later the Freedom Now Party, where he became co-treasurer, before contacting Collier's Black Liberation Front.

## Bobby Traps

Wood testified he gave Collier materials — paid for by the police — for making booby traps for city officials, and Molotov cocktails for "training" Negro youths. These materials were found unused when Collier was later arrested in the Statue of Liberty case.

Murray Kempton comments in the May 19 New York World Telegram: "Collier had not bothered either to trap the booby or to instruct the acolyte incendiary. Yet there are men to whom the statement that you are going to do something amounts to the act itself. . . . It's altogether hard to see where the revolution would have been without the help of the cops."

## Dealer Offers Special On Frozen Funerals

Jessica Mitford's expose of the high cost of dying (*American Way of Death*) has only prodded the funeral merchants and allied entrepreneurs to new sales horizons. Life after death has traditionally been the operational sphere of the church but Juno, Inc., a Springfield, O., firm, is moving in. It has developed a method of freezing corpses and a metal capsule to bury them in.

The purpose is to preserve the bodies in case scientists some day develop a method of reviving people after they die. A company spokesman said a hitch in the freezing deal is that so far no one knows how to thaw out a body without causing damage. Undeterred by this, the company plans to produce 20,000 capsules in its first year of production. They will sell for \$6,000 to \$7,000.