

Socialist Workers Convention Urges All-Out Drive Against Vietnam War

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Sept. 14 — The national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held here last week, devoted itself to marshaling forces for the struggle against the war in Vietnam. The convention branded it "a miserable and dangerous adventure that can end in a nuclear war and the conversion of the world into a radioactive desert."

In a political report outlining immediate tasks, the party's national secretary, Farrell Dobbs, declared: "Our job is to give full participation and support to the antiwar movement which we have every reason to expect to go forward, particularly as students return to school this fall."

Dobbs pointed out that in spite

of the lack of apparent movement in the unions at present, "younger workers are not indifferent to Vietnam, they are draft bait too." Discussing the Watts uprising, Dobbs noted "the striking parallel of the situation of the oppressed, poverty stricken, police repressed black people of Watts and the oppressed, poverty stricken, police repressed yellow people of Vietnam."

The relation between these two struggles was discussed under a report by Robert Vernon on the Negro movement. "Black people," said Vernon, "are opposed to the war and the civil rights organizations which are not providing leadership on this point are going to be bypassed." Vernon said Watts showed the limitations of the civil rights movement. "A large section

of the Negro population in the U.S. is faced with the struggle for civil rights," he said, "and a large section is not, and those who are not are ready to go much further. The black people cannot be bought off with 'civil rites.'"

The central theme of the convention was set forth in an opening report on the international situation by Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*. Since the last convention two years ago, said Hansen, the most important event on the world scene was Johnson's decision to escalate U.S. intervention in Vietnam. This, Hansen said: "faced the American people, particularly the working class, with truly fateful issues, not the least being the moral question. Let us recall the feelings of many Americans when they learned

about Hitler's gas ovens. How could it be, they asked, that the German people felt no moral agony, did not react as they should have, in accordance with those higher laws of humanity that de-

mand rebellion at any cost against a government guilty of such crimes?"

"Let Americans today search their own hearts as American
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Photo by D.G.

GREEK DEMONSTRATION. Scene in Omania Square in Athens on Aug. 17 when 60,000 demonstrators demanded an end to the monarchy. As Greek crisis continues to simmer without resolution the danger grows that if the working class parties do not take decisive action to realize popular aims the movement will be crushed by right-wing forces.

India vs. Pakistan

An Editorial

The war between Pakistan and India is one more explosion of a powderkeg planted by imperialism. In this case, it was planted by the British and stuffed with extra high explosives by the U.S. which has tended to replace British imperialist interests on the Indian subcontinent as well as elsewhere in the world.

After World War II, the British realized they would no longer be able to hold on to India in the old fashion. The wave of demonstrations and strikes and the Royal Indian Navy mutiny of 1946 supported by the Bombay workers made it clear that the British

New revolutionary socialist party formed in India. See report from Bombay page 5

could not long hold on by a military and repressive apparatus. So the wily British imperialists applied the principle of which they are past masters — divide and rule. They granted nominal independence politically while maintaining ownership of much of the economy.

To assure themselves plenty of room for maneuvering to defend their control of mines, plantations, industries and banks against the nationalist aspirations of the people in the area, they partitioned the country along arbitrary lines into India and Pakistan as they granted independence. Thus they superficially satisfied the nationalist feelings of the people and diverted their hostility toward imperialism into communal strife between Hindu and Moslem, strife which caused uncounted hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of deaths in the migrations and riots which followed partition.

The creation of two artificial countries, each without economic or even geographic unity, weakened the area virtually beyond
(Continued on Page 4)

Muslims Win A Round in L. A. Court

Charges of assault with intent to commit murder against 19 Black Muslims who were arrested during a police raid on their mosque at the time of the Watts uprising were dismissed Sept. 7 when a defense attorney was about to expose the Los Angeles police by showing motion pictures of the mosque's interior which he said would "reveal the most heinous, reprehensible destruction of property." Efforts by the Los Angeles police to smear the Muslims continued, however, with a statement by Police Chief William H. Parker Sept. 13 that the spontaneous outbreak in Los Angeles last month had been exploited and aggravated by an "organization." Though he declined to name the "suspected" organization, the only organization he did mention in connection with the uprising was the Black Muslims.

No Evidence

Municipal Judge Armond M. Jewell ruled there was no evidence that any of the 19 Muslims had assaulted police with intent to kill. He also said there was no evidence before him that the police raid on the Muslim temple without a warrant constituted illegal search or seizure.

Police claimed that they received an anonymous phone call early in the morning of Aug. 18 that guns were being taken in and out of the temple. They claimed that they were shot at from the temple when they arrived, whereupon they fired hundreds of rounds into the building. Judge Jewell said: "The only evidence of any shot having been fired from within the mosque are statements of some witnesses that they either heard or saw flashes of reports or puffs of smoke."

No Weapons Found

One policeman testified that he and others were already inside when they heard the first shots fired. Police found no weapons in the mosque, but they arrested the Muslims anyway.

Police Chief Parker's statement was made before a committee of the Los Angeles City Council which has requested testimony on the uprising from a number of city officials. Parker offered a glass milk bottle with a gray cloth wick in it as evidence of organized activity. He said that the bottle was an "expertly made" Molotov cocktail — one of a dozen that had been seized in a single lot.

Committee Maps Plans for Oct. 15 Vietnam Protest

By Hal Verb

BERKELEY, Calif. — Final preparations are being made by the Vietnam Day Committee located here in Berkeley for the October 15-16 "International Days of Protest" serving as a focal point of a world-wide co-ordinated effort to protest the war in Vietnam.

The VDC is an outgrowth of the massive Vietnam teach-in held on the University of California Berkeley campus May 21-22 which attracted some 20-30,000 people.

Target center of the Oct. 15-16 protest here will be the Oakland Army Base which is the main West Coast supplier to the American forces in Vietnam. Although the specific details of the protest action have not yet been ironed out, the VDC is planning a dramatic move that will culminate in a massive civil disobedience action centering on the Oakland Army Base. This act will be preceded by a teach-in that will originate out of the Berkeley campus similar to last May's event.

In issuing its call the VDC urged organizations throughout the world to "move beyond single demonstrations and rallies to one massive internationally coordinated action." It added: "American involvement in Vietnam transcends questions of politics. Indiscriminate bombings of peasant villages by the world's most massive military machine has outraged the conscience of the world. The time has come to go beyond debates about the politics of the war; it is time for the peoples of the world to say to the USA: STOP!"

As the international headquarters and one of thirty-three member groups of the National Committee to End the War in Vietnam which was founded August 7-9 in Washington, D.C., the VDC has been among the most successful of the antiwar groups that have mushroomed across the country — particularly on campus. Last June it organized a demonstration in San Francisco when President Johnson addressed the UN on its 20th anniversary. More recently demonstrations have centered on military cargo being sent to Vietnam from West Coast loading ports and also on troop trains destined for duty in Vietnam.

Of significance is the reaction the VDC has received many times

from some of the troops aboard these trains who have welcomed the demonstrators and at great risk have displayed signs reading: "We're with you — Keep it up!"

On Aug. 25, General Maxwell Taylor, former ambassador to South Vietnam and a chief architect of the war, was singled out by the VDC when he appeared at the Hotel Fairmont in San Francisco to deliver a talk before the Commonwealth Club, a wealthy businessmen's luncheon group.

As he drove up to the hotel, Taylor's car was besieged by antiwar pickets. So nettlesome did the demonstrators prove to be that at one point they managed to block the elevator Taylor was on thus delaying his arrival to his suite. Five members of the Committee were arrested.

VDC is also participating in less heralded "grass roots" activities such as community projects designed to enlist students as well as non-students in a door-to-door campaign to encourage people to take a stand against the war in Vietnam.

Of much talk lately is the ability of the VDC to mobilize large numbers
(Continued on Page 3)

SWP Candidates On Television

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee announced that its nominees would appear along with the candidates of the other parties on a series of five weekly broadcasts over TV Station WNDT (Channel 13). The series will be broadcast for five Tuesdays in a row beginning Sept. 21 from 8:30 to 10 p.m. The first broadcast will feature the candidates for Council President. The mayoralty candidates will appear twice, on Oct. 5 and Oct. 26.

On each program the candidates will make brief opening statements and will then be questioned by a studio audience including political volunteers, reporters and other interested persons.

Mississippi Negroes Ousted from Congress

By Ed Smith

SEPT. 14 — The attitude of the U.S. government towards black Mississippi citizens was graphically illustrated yesterday when 250 representatives of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party were refused admittance to a House Elections Subcommittee hearings on the challenge of Mississippi congressmen which the MFDP is sponsoring.

The Democratic liberals on the subcommittee wanted to work out a deal to appease their Dixiecrat colleagues behind closed doors — without the embarrassing presence of the very people the bill is supposed to represent.

As we go to press, the challenge has been rejected by the subcommittee and there are reports that it may be voted on the House floor later in the week.

There is no question that this challenge is the most important piece of civil rights legislation before the U.S. Congress and will establish to a much greater degree than the Voting Rights Act of 1965 just how serious the Democratic Party is about improving the conditions of the oppressed black people in Mississippi.

The challenge to unseat the five "duly" elected congressmen from Mississippi is based on the fact that in the 1964 elections, racist laws prevented Negroes from voting. If there is any meaning to the new rights Act, such a challenge is entirely justifiable because the Act makes it illegal to discriminate against voters.

To prove their case — if any proof was necessary — the MFDP recruited a staff of over 100 lawyers to interview Mississippians who had been discriminated



Fannie Lou Hamer
Leader of Freedom Democrats

against at the places of voting.

But the House, which is completely controlled by Johnson Democrats, and has passed record-breaking legislation from the Johnson Administration, has given the MFDP the run-around all year, topped off by the latest refusal to allow their representatives into subcommittee hearings.

In voting to dismiss the challenge, the House Election Subcommittee recommended that the House "scrutinize" future Mississippi elections. This action coincides with a deal previously reported in the making with some liberal Democrats in the House.

This is a fraud. Even if there were a meaningful scrutinizing of future elections — which is highly dubious — it would mean two more years, and in some cases more, before there would be any action. Meanwhile the racists maintain their seats of power and ability to continue their terror against black people. A principal aim of the campaign of terror will be to make the brave Mississippians who challenged the racist power structure pay dearly for their "crime."

Socialists Back Negro Nominee In Cleveland

CLEVELAND — The Cleveland Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have announced their support of Franklin Anderson, independent candidate for Cleveland City Council in Ward 20.

Anderson, 28, is a militant young Negro with much experience in the civil rights struggle. He explained that he is running as an independent, "because you can't represent the people any other way. They always ask allegiance to the party rather than to the constituent. Running as an independent is the only way to accomplish anything and be for the people."

Anderson's program calls for a complete investigation of Urban Renewal in the Hough area, which so far has accomplished little but demolition and boarding up of buildings and financial gain for slumlords. Also, enactment of rent control legislation by the City Council with a 30 per cent reduction in rental rates; establishment of a citizen's police board, composed of five members elected by the public and the creation of more jobs by putting all city employees on a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

In addition to the SWP and YSA, Anderson has the support of many young Negro militants, Cleveland CORE and Citizens for Better Government, a non-partisan group in Ward 20.

...Socialist Workers Party Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

planes, proceeding on orders by Johnson, fly over Vietnam day after day, dumping jellied gasoline and high explosives on a defenseless civilian population. And let Americans join the rest of the people of this earth in feeling the agonizing new urgency given to the threat of an atomic conflict by Johnson's escalation of the Vietnam war."

Hansen cited documentation that Johnson's carrying out of the foreign policy advocated by Goldwater, in spite of that policy's repudiation at the polls last November, was not really something new. The U.S. ruling class has for many years tried to hide its real intentions, and Johnson's election campaign was in that spirit. But the escalation policy, Hansen said, was planned before the election, and so reported at that time in the French press.

"The truth is," said Hansen, "that the foreign policy now being administered by Johnson is simply the continuation of a policy going back to Roosevelt, which was advanced by Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy before it was inherited by Johnson."

Antiwar Movement

Effective opposition to the war, Hansen pointed out, must come from outside the U.S. government and from outside the capitalist governments in the rest of the world which, when push comes to shove, are subordinate to the U.S. imperialists. In this connection, Hansen said, the signs of a big, militant antiwar movement in the U.S. have had a "heartening effect" in other countries. For the first time since the strike wave and going-home-movement by U.S. troops right after World War II, he continued, "the United States begins to show aspects that offer encouragement and inspiration to revolutionary movements in other lands." The U.S., said Hansen, is encircled by a ring of "smoldering volcanoes in every direction," and the "reciprocal influence of freedom movements, of demonstrations, of manifestations of resistance to imperialism, of strikes and new techniques of struggle is much more immediate than even a few years ago."

The antiwar movement in the U.S. was also the central feature of a lively discussion on youth activities which opened with a report by Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance. The growing opposition to the Vietnam war, said Barnes, "marks a new stage in American politics and a beginning shift of social forces in this country." He said something new and fundamental is involved: "a sensitivity among large layers of the population in this country to the colonial revolution, to the fight of the colored peoples here and abroad, and to the continual and increasing rate of world crises and nuclear threats."

Though the antiwar movement remains centered on the campus and the activities have involved



Joseph Hansen

mainly students, he said, they "could not possibly have taken place on this scale, could not possibly be so widespread, unless there was sympathy and similar feeling among other sections of the population."

An impressive number of young delegates from across the country took the floor to relate and weigh the experiences so far gained in direct participation in the antiwar actions. They gave accounts of the various large demonstrations, of the leafleting of troop trains, of meeting the attempts of ultra rightists to break up antiwar meetings, of surrounding Gen. Maxwell Taylor with pickets in the lobby of his hotel when he returned from Vietnam, and other events.

V. R. Dunne, pioneer American labor and socialist leader and a founder of the Socialist Workers Party, described the antiwar picketing against Vice President Hubert Humphrey in Minneapolis as "heartwarming." Dunne said that this is the first antiwar movement ever seen in this country "after the shooting started," which, he pointed out, is a fact of tremendous revolutionary implications.

No Opposition

In his international report, Hansen explained that the U.S. escalation to full-scale troop commitment and genocidal bombing in Vietnam hinged on the calculation that Moscow would offer no effective opposition. "Up to this point," he said, "the calculation appears to have been well founded." Hansen outlined a course that might have been followed by a Soviet government following Lenin's tradition:

First, tell the world the truth about the aims of U.S. imperialism: to take over the colonial empires European powers can no longer dominate, to beat back the colonial revolution, to crush the workers states, including the USSR and China, and to exploit the world for the profit and pleasure of America's wealthy families. Also explain why capitalism breeds war and why planned economy eliminates the economic motive for war.

Second, issue an appeal to U.S. workers and their allies to oppose Johnson and the capitalists and to organize a revolutionary socialist party to struggle for power and end once and for all the standing threat to peace of U.S. imperialism.

Third, notify Washington that in view of the attack on North Vietnam, a sister workers state, the Soviet nuclear deterrent was being strengthened by equipping China with a full panoply of nuclear weapons. Fourth, send massive aid to North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

Such a course, said Hansen, would have offered revolutionary inspiration on all continents and been a catalyst where the class struggle is not far from the revolutionary level right now. It would have paralyzed the Washington strategists "who calculate

their actions with what they think they can get away with, this being the only principle they know or observe."

Instead, Hansen said, the Kossygin-Brezhnev regime issued perfunctory denunciations of U.S. aggression and talked about the "need" for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. The policy is so bad, said Hansen, that the big West European Communist parties under Moscow's inspiration, have failed "to even stage protest rallies at U.S. embassies."

In judging Peking, said Hansen, the same standards cannot be applied as with Moscow since China doesn't have such advanced industries or a real nuclear deterrent as yet. China had every right to require full backing from Moscow in meeting the U.S. aggression, said Hansen, and had Mao declared that this had been requested and refused, he could truthfully say Moscow's policy was counterrevolutionary, a deadly danger to the defense of the Soviet Union itself, and that a political revolution should be undertaken to replace such a regime.

"But Mao did not follow such a course," said Hansen, "and attacked American military power with the weapon of derision instead." The Chinese have said many correct things, including the prediction of eventual victory for the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, said Hansen, but "none of this talk made much impression on the Johnson administration" and the genocidal bombings continue.

Factional Attitude

Mao failed to fill the vacuum left by the bankruptcy of Kossygin and Brezhnev, Hansen charged. In addition the disclosures by the Soviets that the Chinese government was blocking arms shipments to North Vietnam was not effectively countered and a very bad impression was made which Washington propagandists skillfully exploited.

China has seriously handicapped its own defense, and the defense of Vietnam, Hansen declared, by its blind factional attitude toward the USSR and its efforts to score immediate political points against its Kremlin adversaries at the expense of the immediate and long-range interests of the entire anti-capitalist bloc. He pointed to Peking's hasty, opportunistic recognition of the Boumedienne regime in Algeria which seized power in a military coup that set back the Algerian revolution.

In contrast to both Moscow and Peking, Hansen cited the Cuban reaction which was revolutionary and took great courage in view of Cuba's exposed position. Castro called for closing ranks against the enemy, explained why a vigorous reply to the aggression was required, offered material aid to the Vietnamese, and made fresh appeals to the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial lands, particularly Latin America, to carry out their revolutions.



Farrell Dobbs

Los Angeles Socialist Dies

LOS ANGELES — Yetta Fine, who lived on the verge of death since rheumatic fever weakened her heart when she was five years old, died Sept. 11 while sitting quietly at home with her husband, Howard.

Her own courage and the great love she knew from her husband and all who knew her had taken her to her forty-eighth year.

She had been a socialist since she was 14. Originally a member of the Young Peoples Socialist League and Socialist Party, she joined in founding the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 and remained a loyal member until her death.

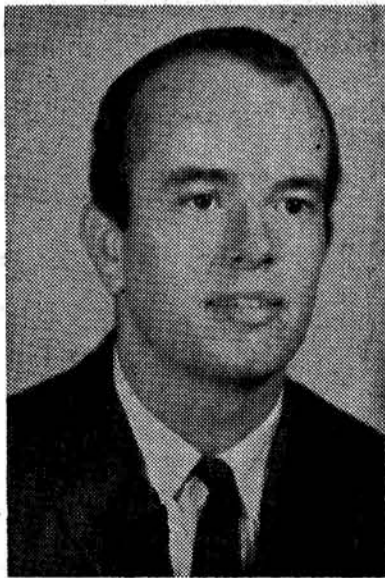
Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO
CHICAGO AND LOS ANGELES — THE BLACK GHETTO REBELS. Panelists: Nahaz Rogers, vice-chairman of ACT; William Tucker, reporter for The Militant. Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Hall 204. Contrib. 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES
THE DOMINICAN EVENTS AND THEIR EFFECT ON LATIN AMERICA. Speaker: Prof. Timothy Harding, History Dept. California State College. Fri., Sept. 24, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his biweekly radio commentary. Tues., Sept. 28, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., Sept. 29, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK
LEON TROTSKY IN THE AGE OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION, an assessment of his ideas on the 25th anniversary of his death. Speaker: George Lavan, Former editor of The Militant. Fri., Sept. 24, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.



Jack Barnes

S. African Revolutionary Will Make Tour of U.S.

NEW YORK — Robert H. Langston, executive secretary of the Alexander Defense Committee, announced that I. B. Tabata, a leader of the South African liberation struggle, will tour the United States during the fall and winter of 1965 under the auspices of the Committee. Mr. Tabata will address meetings in the larger cities and on campuses throughout the country. He will discuss the present political situation in South Africa and appeal for support to Dr. Neville Alexander and other political prisoners in South Africa.

Mr. Tabata has been active in the South African freedom movement since the early thirties. He was a delegate to the 1935 founding conference of the All-African Convention, a federation of African civic, political, peasant, and professional organizations. In 1943, he was one of the founders of the Unity Movement of South Africa, which extended the unity achieved by the All-African Convention to organizations of other oppressed non-white groups.

In 1961, Mr. Tabata became president of the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa, a multiracial political party committed to the program of the Unity Movement. During the forties and fifties, Mr. Tabata led the peasant opposition in the Transkei "native reserve" to the government's plunder of the Africans' cattle and to the government's brutal efforts to compel cooperation with the phony "native representation" scheme. He has been arrested many times for his activities and was banned from 1956 to 1961. In 1963, facing certain imprisonment, he was assigned by the Unity Movement and A.P.



I. B. Tabata

D.U.S.A. to continue his leadership from Zambia.

Mr. Tabata is widely regarded as one of the most eloquent speakers and as the leading political theorist of the South African liberation movement. In addition to numerous pamphlets and articles, he has written three books, the best known of which, *Education for Barbarism*, is a penetrating analysis of the social, cultural, and political background of the South African regime's attempt to fragment the African community by imposing "tribal" education.

All inquiries concerning Mr. Tabata's tour should be directed to: Alexander Defense Committee, P.O. Box 345, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.

Marxism Again an Academic Issue

Socialist Scholars Parley

By Herman Porter

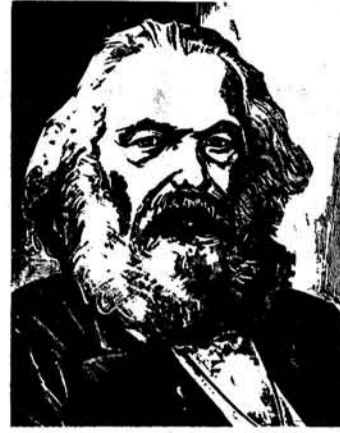
NEW YORK — The first annual Socialist Scholars Conference was held at Columbia University Sept. 11-12. About 900 persons registered for the conference and somewhat more attended at least one of the four sessions. Professors, who made up a significant part of the audience as well as the great majority of the speakers, came from all over the country. Many students attended.

The high point of the meeting was the final panel on "The Future of American Socialism." Staughton Lynd, Yale professor, associate editor of *Liberation* magazine, and former director of the Mississippi Freedom Schools, gave an opening speech and led the panel discussion which followed.

Socialist View

Lynd, the best known spokesman of the New Left, began by affirming the basic ideas of the socialist movement and pointing out that the New Left was not so different from earlier American radicalism. In a modern society, public ownership and planning of the economy is the only possible starting point for the building of a humane world; the alternative is the end of democracy and world destruction, he said.

Lynd asserted that a number of things had happened which Marx did not foresee: 1) The death agony of capitalism had been prolonged. 2) The imperialists had been able to export their economic problems, with the result that revolutions were occurring in the colonial world. 3) Crises in the West tend



Karl Marx

toward war, rather than toward economic breakdown.

The program of American socialists must be antiwar, and revolutionary rather than reformist and should seek to develop institutions of dual power, he concluded. A united front against reaction is possible, he suggested.

Lynd foresees an unfolding of a social crisis in the U.S. that will open the possibility for socialist changes. A time will come when U.S. troops will be involved in putting down revolutions all over the world. Resistance to these wars will grow inside the U.S. and in the rest of the world. The government will be driven to increased repressions at home against this opposition to its policies. Radicalism will become popular in the course of defending the rights that have already been won and accepted — self-determination abroad

and democracy in this country — he predicted.

Lynd's spirit of revolutionary optimism was apparently upsetting to Dr. Herbert Aptheker, the Communist Party's leading intellectual spokesman and advocate of "peaceful coexistence" between the U.S. and USSR. He sought to refute Lynd's argument, declaring that U.S. involvement in war was not the principal danger facing the people. He said the main question is not how to achieve socialism, but how to prevent fascism. This can be done, he said, through "mass involvement."

Sylvester Leeks, of the Harlem Writers Guild, asserted that white America was not capable of fighting for socialism and would not be until it had eliminated racism. The "black lumpen proletariat" is the only revolutionary force in America now, he said.

Eugene D. Genovese, of Rutgers University, disagreed with Lynd's revolutionary optimism. There is "no sign of anything that will bring about a crisis that Lynd sees in the foreseeable future," he said. If such a crisis was to occur in the near future, he was pessimistic about the outcome. In Genovese's view, American socialists have decades if not 50 to 100 years in which to prepare.

New Movement

Norman Fruchter, one of the editors of *Studies on the Left*, stressed the importance of the beginnings of a movement that now exists — including members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, the Northern Student Movement, and other community organizers.

He sketched the stages through which a mass movement might evolve: First, local organizations must be built which can not be co-opted by the government by using welfare or war-on-poverty money as bribes. These organizations will form coalitions. Finally, a national movement will coalesce, out of which a political party will grow. At some stage there will be an attempt to link up with the black nationalist movement.

The other panels were of less interest. In the first, on Class and Ideology, H. H. Wilson and Richard Hamilton of Princeton refuted the contention of some sociologists that the working class tended toward authoritarianism more than the middle class.

Forms of Imperialism

Conor Cruise O'Brien, who exposed the reactionary role of the UN in the Congo after being ousted from the UN mission there and who is now teaching at New York University, spoke on Contemporary Forms of Imperialism, but disappointingly did not relate his experiences in the Congo. The outstanding contribution to the panel on Modern Imperialism was made instead by Timothy Harding, of California State College at Los Angeles, who spoke on U.S. imperialism in Latin America.

In the session on American Conservatism the speakers, Alan Guttmann of Amherst College and Warren Susman of Rutgers University, pointed out the value of socialists studying the criticisms of capitalism made by early conservatives. The most lucid comments were made by Aileen S. Kraditor of Rhode Island College.

This first Socialist Scholars Conference was surprisingly successful and a very important event. Maxwell Geismar, noted literary critic, pointed to the significance of the conference when he said it marked a "victory for humanism in post-McCarthy America." Such a conference, in which many academic figures met as socialist scholars could not have taken place without the change in recent years in the stifling atmosphere that was generated on the campus and in public life generally during the days of McCarthy.

... Vietnam Day Committee

(Continued from Page 1)

bers of people at a moment's notice when learning of a particular troop train or of war material being loaded for Vietnam. A typical example of this occurred on September 5th when the VDC learned of a Mexican freighter, *El Mexicano*, which had docked in Oakland and whose crew, then engaged in a wage conflict, had refused to carry war supplies to Vietnam.

The VDC quickly organized a sympathy demonstration at the Oakland waterfront within earshot of the crew, with 60 demonstrators picketing and shouting words of encouragement. A member of the VDC, toting a bull horn, spoke in Spanish as a group of waving crewmen yelled back their approval.

The crew itself released a public statement which said: "We crew members of the freighter *El Mexicano* are in conflict on the issue of wages [\$3 a day] but we as members of the crew wish to

state publicly that we are opposed to carrying munitions for the United States war against the Vietnamese people."

The Mexican ship had refused several weeks before in Los Angeles to ship war goods to Vietnam because the "Mexican government didn't want a ship flying its flag to enter the war zone." The munitions were then transferred to the Greek ship *Embricos* whose crew also refused to sail ships with such war goods.

In a press release sent to the Greek freighter and leading Greek daily newspapers, the VDC declared: "We support and salute your courage in refusing to carry war materials to Vietnam... We also wish to publicly salute the Greek crews on the freighters *Island Skipper* and *Embricos* which refused to carry U.S. war material to Vietnam."

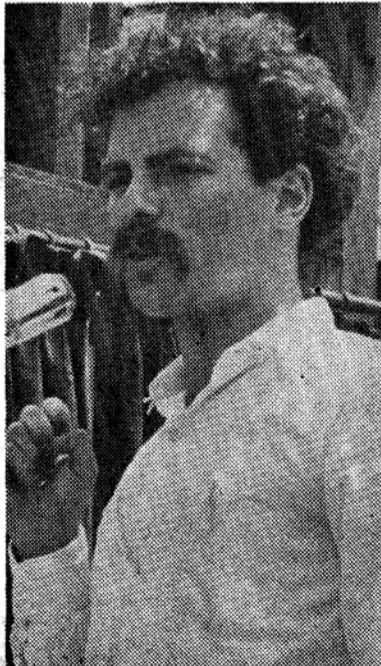
Await Fall Term

The VDC is hopeful of swelling its ranks when the University of California reopens its regular Fall Semester on September 20. The influx of students returning from vacations to the Berkeley campus includes many civil rights workers from the South, Free Speech Movement members and other activists who are expected to join the Committee.

Recently the VDC has learned that a Faculty Committee at U.C. is preparing a report that will be an opening salvo of an attack aimed at the Committee. According to one of the VDC leaders the Viet Committee will be blasted as being "inconsistent" with the purpose of a university.

Other publicity projects of the VDC include a newspaper, a magazine, a book entitled "Did You Vote for War" featuring a collection of speeches delivered at the May 21-22 "teach-in" and a film that is to be nationally distributed.

The VDC is also active in a fund-raising campaign for the Oct. 15-16 International Days of Protest and the various activities it is engaged in apart from this. Contributions can be sent to: Vietnam Day Committee, 2407 Fulton St., Berkeley, Calif.



Jerry Rubin
Berkeley Student Leader

The American Way of Life

For me personally, prosperity arrived when I reached the stage of affluence where I opened a special checking account to pay my bills with (no minimum balance required and a charge of a dime a check plus a half buck a month). Now I'm unhappy.

A new bank has opened in New York which offers a lot more service than mine, but the requirements are somewhat stiffer. In fact they may even be stiff for people better off than me. Personal checking accounts will require a minimum balance of \$25,000 (for business accounts it will be \$50,000). But according to a recent *New York Times* report, La Banque Continentale will offer an imaginative variety of services and features — all of them, like the checking service itself, absolutely free. (Of course there won't be any interest paid on the balance maintained in the bank. But after all, on \$25,000 it would only amount to \$1,000 in the course of a year.)

To begin with, you won't have to rub elbows with all kinds of people when you're in line to make a deposit. "It will be patterned after an exclusive private club where privileges and services will be extended only to appropriately sponsored and approved members," assures Mr. Arthur Roth, board chairman.

Those permitted to plunk down their 25 grand will enter the banks through heavy bronze doors (apparently on the theory that people with that kind of loot shouldn't use glass banks). Inside they'll find a specially trained staff equipped to take their money, translate letters and documents, carry out personal secretarial assignments, get theater tickets, plane reservations, etc.

Special safety deposit service will be available for bank patrons, with the vault remaining open until two a.m. on certain gala occasions like the opening of the Met or the Philharmonic, so you can drop the family jewels off on the way home. And you won't have to drop them into any rusty old tin box. Each customer will have a handmade wooden chest.

One of the special services which struck me as particularly interesting is that if you run short anywhere in Manhattan you just call the bank which will promptly dispatch a messenger with the necessary cash. The brochure puts a \$500 limit on this, but Mr. Roth confides they'll send more if a customer wants it. "After all," comments this remarkably reasonable man, "why should members be inconvenienced by having to run down to the bank?"

Another thing we like about the whole setup is that there will be a minimum of nosiness on the part of the staff. Depositors will be subjected to a thorough financial check, but there won't be a lot of needless questions.

"We developed a new questionnaire for this purpose," Roth explains. "Most wealthy people are reluctant to give information about themselves. We are asking questions like 'My income is over \$1 million a year, \$2 million a year; my net worth is in excess of \$5 million, \$10 million.' They simply check the appropriate blank."

But the picture isn't flawless. One feature which caught our eye is that a French butler and maid will serve refreshments in rest areas. But Mr. Roth somewhat stiffly notes, "Oh, no, there will be no liquor served."

Harry Ring

THE MILITANT

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Monday, September 20, 1965

... India vs. Pakistan

(Continued from Page 1)

repair, blocked economic progress and left the imperialists in a position to play one state off against the other.

The local Pakistani and Indian capitalists and landlords — tied to and subordinate to the financial oligarchies of Britain and increasingly of the U.S. — have been absolutely incapable of solving the economic and social problems of the area, and mass starvation remains — as it was under British rule — an everyday feature.

The U.S. added explosive material by sucking Pakistan into the South East Asia Treaty Organization and supplying it heavy arms, as part of the imperialist encirclement of China. Then, by the same logic, it launched an even heavier arms buildup in India after the border clashes between India and China in 1962.

In one sense, the U.S. imperialists have outsmarted themselves in this affair, for the social structures in both Pakistan and India are so fragile that anything could happen. The conflict, according to Walter Lippmann in his Sept. 9 column "will leave the whole subcontinent sown with the seeds of revolution."

As far as the issue of Kashmir is concerned, there is not the slightest doubt that the right of self-determination by the predominately Moslem population of Kashmir has been forcibly suppressed by the Indian government. After the fighting in Kashmir in 1947-48 was ended by a UN-arbitrated ceasefire line, both Pakistan and India agreed to the UN recommendation for a vote in Kashmir to determine its status.

But the Indian government violated its agreement and unilaterally refused to allow this plebiscite for one reason and one reason only: It knows it would lose the vote. This hasn't stopped the "democratic" U.S. from being less and less veiled in its support of the Indian position.

The problem, however, cannot be solved by a war in the interests of the exploiting classes of Pakistan or India and their governments. This is a war between two reactionary semi-colonial governments in which the masses of Pakistan and India will be cannon fodder for the greed and glory of their own exploiters.

In this regard the uncritical support by the Chinese government to the reactionary regime in Pakistan in this conflict is obscene, and a violation of the Leninist principle of international working class solidarity and opposition to capitalist wars. The Soviet leaders, for their part, are appearing more and more neutral on the Indian side. For example, the Indian defense minister, Y. B. Chavan, told the Indian parliament last week that the Soviet Union had agreed to supply India with submarines.

By contrast, the Cuban government radio declared Sept. 6: "In Asia and Africa the present borders have been drawn by the colonialists and they are the real source of the conflict." The broadcast concluded by saying that "for the peoples of India and Pakistan . . . the real enemy is imperialism and especially Yankee imperialism."

We believe revolutionary socialists throughout the world should support the stand taken by the newly formed Socialist Workers Party of India, which just before the outbreak of the war declared:

"The Kashmir problem, which has been kept alive by the capitalist governments both in Pakistan and India as a 'safety valve' to divert popular discontent, cannot be resolved by war between the two countries. A rational solution of the problem can be found only under a socialist confederation of India and Pakistan on the basis of the democratically determined will of the people."

A Deadly System

A growing number of people are acutely aware of the nuclear threat created by the capitalist system. Not as many realize the extent of other threats to human life produced by the capitalist drive for profits — a drive waged with a remarkably mindless, not to speak of heartless, lack of concern for human welfare.

The latest revelation in this regard was made by Dr. Clair C. Paterson, research associate in geochemistry at the California Institute of Technology. Dr. Paterson reported that world-wide contamination of the air by lead from motor gasoline has reached "alarming" proportions.

Thrown off by car exhausts, the level of the poisonous lead in the blood stream of the average American has risen to nearly half the level where obvious symptoms of lead poisoning appear. And, over a longer period of time, Dr. Paterson said, lower doses may produce more subtle results, such as the impairment of thought processes.

We don't know if the answer to this problem lies in such things as the elimination of lead from gasoline or in more effective exhausts, but an answer is obviously needed. However, don't look for one from the gasoline industry. A spokesman for the American Petroleum Institute has already issued an "assurance" that "medical evidence proves conclusively" that lead pollution of the air is no threat to public health. Clearly, profits have become a costly business.

A CYNICAL GAME

How Johnson Uses Poverty Issue

By Herman Porter

In recent months much has been written about the problems of poor people in this country, problems Johnson proposes to come to grips with in his much touted "war on poverty." A brief review of the facts shows that Johnson's "war" doesn't even amount to a skirmish.

Early this year the Department of Health, Education and Welfare prepared a set of statistics on poverty in the United States. They have a low standard for what constitutes poverty: for a family of four, not living on a farm, an annual income of \$3,130 is their dividing line; for an elderly person living on a farm, it is just \$1,000. In 1963, according to these standards, 34.5 million people lived in poverty: seven million families, and five million people living alone.

Who are these poor? More than five million are old, 65 or over. Another six million are children. One-quarter of the poor families are nonwhite. Two million families without fathers account for about one-quarter of the poor. More than half the families of farm workers live in poverty; over 500,000 of these families earned less than \$3,000 in 1962.

Wages Low

About half the poor families are headed by workers whose wages are just too low to support a family above the level of grinding poverty. Two million of these work full time throughout the year, but still can't make it; and one and a half million are unemployed part of the year.

Many of those who live in poverty cannot support themselves: the aged, the disabled, and families with small children and no father. About eight million of the 34.5 million poverty stricken received some form of public assistance in 1963, but the help was so miserly as to leave them well below the government's standard of poverty. It would have taken an additional five billion dollars to raise the income of the two million families without fathers up to the line defining poverty. Social security payments are so low as to leave many of the aged in poverty.

The government standards used above define *abject* poverty. If we define "the poor" as those who earn less than is needed to provide a "modest but adequate" standard of living, then most workers, including the overwhelming majority of Negroes, must be classified as poor. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's standards, it takes \$123 a week, or \$6,418 a year, to provide a family of four living in a city such a modest living standard. However, for purposes of argument, let's accept the government's very low standards as we take a look at Johnson's "war on poverty" to see whom it helps and what it will actually accomplish for the poor.

Little Money

The first thing to note is the puny scale of the "war." The administration claims that the costs during the first year were almost \$800 million — which is less than one-tenth of the additional money the poor need annually to raise their standard of living up to the government's definition of poverty. But even the \$800 million figure is a gross exaggeration of the additional amount being spent as a result of the "war." Much of the money represents merely the renaming of old projects that existed before the "war" began.

What is worse, only a small part of these funds actually gets into the hands of the poor. Most of the money goes to the people who got jobs in the "war on poverty" projects, especially those with relatively high salaries: administrators who often make more than \$20,000 a year; counselors,



POCKET OF POVERTY. Scene on Indian reservation in northern part of Minnesota. Since Indians don't have vote, you don't even hear talk about "warring" on their poverty.

teachers and social workers. In the Office of Economic Opportunity, 65 administrators, one out of every 18 people employed, make over \$19,000 a year.

Most striking is the fact that Johnson's program has nothing to do with solving the problems of the vast majority of those living in poverty. Mainly it provides some educational and vocational training projects and some attempts at social work.

Sargent Shriver, head of the "antipoverty" program, made the grossly exaggerated claim before the Senate Labor Committee that the "poor served as of June 30" by the programs would total 1,167,000. Even that figure represents only three percent of those in dire poverty.

Token Projects

Some 600,000 of those supposedly helped were "beneficiaries" of the Community Action Programs, he claimed. Most of these programs are only in the planning stage. A few grants have been approved for "demonstration" projects — token efforts that involve an insignificant number of people. Thus far, the majority of people whose economic status has been improved by the Community Action Programs have been those on the payroll. So Shriver's figure of 600,000 is way too high.

The next largest program in terms of the number of people affected is called Operation Head Start. Claims were made that as many as 500,000 preschool children from poor neighborhoods would get six to eight weeks training this summer to prepare them for school in the fall. This program provided some summer jobs for teachers and college students, but no money for the poor.

Student Program

The Office of Economic Opportunity claimed that more than 100,000 college students from poor families will get part-time jobs in the College Work-Study program in the coming school year. But they have had great difficulty in finding students who qualify under this section of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Most of these jobs already existed and the government program merely administrators, pays for, and takes credit for them.

Most of the jobs in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the college program are not covered by the federal minimum wage law, and prevailing wages are usually considerably less than \$1.25 per hour.

But rulings thus far indicate that most young people in the programs will be paid the \$1.25 minimum. The result will be that in many cases, especially in the South, regular workers with fam-

ilies who are living in dire poverty will be paid less than the young people being trained in the "anti-poverty program" working at the same job.

"Antipoverty" officials say the "war" will last at least a generation. It is obvious that Johnson's program will never eliminate poverty, and will not even reduce it — even if considerably larger sums are spent on these projects.

What Johnson's "war on poverty" provides is a set of public relations gimmicks to confuse people about the real causes of and cures for poverty. It also provides patronage jobs which enable those who run society to extend their influence into the ghettos and other slums. It provides an outlet in social work for some of those who might otherwise turn to more militant and effective means to fight poverty. But it doesn't even take the first real step in the direction of ending poverty.

Require Jobs

What the poor need is money and jobs. Any government seriously interested in fighting poverty would start by extending the minimum wage law to cover every worker. That simple act, which would cost the government nothing, would do more to reduce poverty than Johnson's whole "war." Even if this were done, however, the present minimum wage is so low that those supporters of a family who are paid that little fall below the government's standards for extreme poverty. Obviously, everyone who is against poverty should be for a much higher minimum wage. But that doesn't include Johnson.

A shorter workweek with no reduction in pay is necessary to fight unemployment. Unemployment compensation at union-scale wages should be paid for the full period of unemployment. A vast public housing program is necessary to tear down the slums and provide decent housing for all. Job discrimination, school segregation, and every other form of racial oppression must be ended before Negroes and other minority groups will be free of poverty.

Those who are unable to work — the old, the disabled, families with small children and no one to support them — should be provided with enough money by the federal government to live comfortably instead of being forced to live in humiliating poverty. This rich society could easily do that with only a part of the money it now uses for war.

These are some of the things necessary for a realistic war on poverty. Just to list them is enough to show that Johnson is not waging such a war.

Revolutionary Socialists Form New Party in India

[The following reports were written shortly before the outbreak of the India-Pakistan war. The references to the mass struggles against economic privations and to the government repressions clearly indicate that the Indian government is using the war with Pakistan to divert the people from their real difficulties.—EDITOR]

BOMBAY — A three-day conference of Trotskyists from different states, which concluded here Aug. 9, decided to form a new political party to be known as the Socialist Workers Party, with the immediate objective of bringing about a regroupment of the Marxist-Leninist forces to achieve a speedy socialist transformation of Indian society.

The conference, which was chaired by Shri Somendra Kumar, a trade union leader, elected a nine-member organizing committee, with Shri Murlidhar Parija of Bombay as secretary.

A policy statement adopted by the conference attributed the present deepening crisis of the Indian economy (acute food shortage, inflationary trend, etc.) 18 years after independence and despite three five-year plans, as due to the basic policies of the Congress government, which seeks to build capitalism in the country under the disguise of a "socialist pattern" in a period of the decay of world capitalism.

The party therefore calls for the creation of a united front of the left to fight for dislodging the ruling capitalist class and establishing councils of workers and peasants.

Self-Determination

The party calls for a negotiated settlement of India's border and other disputes with neighboring countries, including China, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal and Burma.

A resolution adopted by the conference states that the people of Kashmir should have the right of self-determination. On Goa, the conference favored a referendum, letting the Goan people freely decide whether they would like to merge with the neighboring state of Maharashtra or remain an independent state within the Indian Union.

The party called for the settlement of all interstate border disputes within the Indian Union on the basis of the democratically determined will of the people concerned. It criticized the traditional left parties for exhibiting a regional chauvinistic attitude on these questions.

Internationally, the new party is pledged to support the struggles of the workers of the advanced capitalist countries for socialism and solidarizes with the liberation struggle of the colonial and semicolonial people. It also supports the people in the workers states in their struggle against bureaucracy and for socialist democracy.

The party is committed to a policy of unconditional defense of the workers states, including the Soviet Union, China, North Vietnam, Yugoslavia and Cuba in the event of imperialist aggression.

Arbitrary Jailings In India

A Sept. 12 New York Times dispatch from Bombay said that a UPI photographer is in jail in Bombay because he photographed rioting in the city of Poona last week. The dispatch added: "The Maharashtra state government banned all photographs — and most reporting — of the rioting. It said publicity would cause disturbances elsewhere. The photographer . . . was arrested under the Defense of India rules, provisions of which give the government the right to ignore normal civil liberties. Under the rules, anyone can be held for a long period without trial. Hundreds of people all over the country have been arrested under the Defense of India rules in the last few days."

On Vietnam, the party calls for united action by the Indian and international working-class movement against U.S. imperialist aggression. It scored the Shastri government for its servile attitude toward U.S. imperialism on Vietnam and other questions. It stands for India's immediate withdrawal from the British Commonwealth.

The new party has fraternal relations with the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Its headquarters are to be in Bombay.

BOMBAY, Sept. 1 — A public appeal issued by Murlidhar Parija, Secretary of the Organizing Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, called on all left parties to work for the formation of a broad-based United Left Front to fight for the people's demands for food and civil liberties.

The appeal declared:

Recent events in different states . . . have shown that the people are no longer prepared to meekly submit to their growing miseries in the face of the utter failure of the Congress government to solve the elementary problems like food and rising prices. They are giving vent to their anger in the form of anti-government mass demonstrations, general strikes, etc. Unable to meet the demands of the people, the government is resorting to a policy of ruthless repression, brutal police atrocities . . .

The sporadic mass outbursts in different states are not likely to subside but, on the contrary, will intensify as the economic crisis deepens. The task before the left therefore is to give a positive content to these unorganized and isolated struggles by coordinating them on a national scale on the basis of a program of the speedy socialist transformation of the Indian society.

United Front

In this context we welcome the steps taken by the representatives of the different central trade union organizations to observe Sept. 21 as the "National Action Day" to focus attention on the peoples demands . . .

The left parties should not fall into a trap set by the capitalist politicians to disorient mass movements by creating a jingoist hysteria in the country . . . We call upon all the left and working-class parties to forge a broad-based united front of all mass organizations and evolve a national program for the emerging struggles on the question of food and civil liberties on which there is general agreement in the left movement.

THE DOMINICAN CRISIS

Armed People Still the Key

By Fred Halstead

SEPT. 15 — With the swearing in on Sept. 3 of a provisional government headed by Hector Garcia-Godoy, the U.S. State Department has finally succeeded in re-establishing in the Dominican Republic a single government which rests on U.S. sufferance and U.S. troops for its existence. But neither the provisional government nor the U.S. military has a free hand in the country as yet and the issue of whether the island nation will proceed with its revolution or be battered back into bloody reaction remains to be decided.

A key factor in this decision is whether the provisional government will succeed in disarming the revolutionary people — both those in the city of Santo Domingo where some 12,000 modern combat weapons were distributed last April and those in the countryside where some of the Santo Domingo arms were taken and where other arms caches were reportedly opened and distributed.

The accord by which the provisional government was set up — the Dominican Reconciliation Act — provides for the disarming of civilians on the one hand, and the return to their billets of the military forces of the right-wing junta on the other. It does not settle the question of what happens with the 10,000 U.S. troops (under the name of the Organization of American States) still occupying the country. The Trujillista military forces, backed by the U.S. troops, could at any moment come out of their billets to terrorize an unarmed population. The population, however, is not yet disarmed.

The accord was signed by constitutionalist leader Francisco Caamaño and pledges the constitu-

tionalist forces "within a prudential period" to gather the arms and turn them over to reception points set up by the provisional government. Just how many of these arms will actually be turned over, and how many retained, either openly or secretly, remains to be seen.

The military junta headed by Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras — which was set up under the protection of the U.S. invasion after the constitutionalist uprising overthrew the right-wing dictatorship last April — did not actually sign the Reconciliation Act. It simply resigned to make way for the provisional government.

Wealthy Family

Provisional President Garcia-Godoy is a member of one of the leading families in the Dominican oligarchy of wealth. Both he and members of his family had been officials in the regime of the bloody tyrant Rafael Trujillo. However, after Trujillo's assassination and the election in Dec. 1963 of the liberal Juan Bosch, Garcia-Godoy was foreign minister in Bosch's short-lived regime. Bosch was overthrown by a military coup in September, 1963.

The provisional government is pledged to uphold a general amnesty for all those involved in the fighting since the April 24 constitutionalist uprising. (So called because it demanded restoration of the 1963 constitution which included land reform, civil liberties for all including leftists, and other democratic reforms.) The government is also pledged to hold elections next May.

The U.S. State Department has been plugging former president Joaquin Balaguer, a Trujillo henchman, as a candidate, but all

observers agree that this would be impossible in an honest election. "The truth is that the April revolt has picked up country-wide support and U.S. popularity has hit bottom," wrote Washington newsmen Evans and Novack in their syndicated column Sept. 3. "Nobody as far removed from the revolt and as pro-Yankee as Balaguer could be elected today."

The April uprising did not achieve its goal of a constitutional government, due to the U.S. invasion. The U.S. has succeeded in getting away with its intervention and setting up another puppet government. But it has had to proceed like a fox in the face of the revolutionary mood of the people. Its moves — such as supporting the amnesty and removing the brutal Gen. Wessin y Wessin to Miami — have been designed above all to create conditions where the people will allow themselves to be disarmed.

But the pressing economic and social problems of the country cannot be solved in any but a revolutionary direction. The U.S. big business interests, the oligarchy and the Trujillista military caste will not give up their blood-sucking privileges. And the people, having tasted freedom, will not return voluntarily to a life of brutal exploitation. The "middle road" which Garcia-Godoy is supposed to represent can be nothing but a highly unstable interlude while the oligarchy and the U.S. authorities prepare to restore the system of exploitation with blood and fire. But at the same time, the mass of the people do not feel defeated, the revolutionary forces — particularly the June 14 movement — have been growing stronger, and significant sections of the people are still armed.

World Events

New Crack in Monolith

A new development in Soviet politics of great potential significance took place on Sept. 9. The editor of *Pravda*, Aleksei Rumyantsev, openly criticized the editors of *Izvestia* in a 5,000-word signed article. *Pravda* is the organ of the Soviet Communist Party; *Izvestia* is the Soviet government newspaper.

The issue over which the two editorial staffs — which obviously speaks for differing tendencies within the ruling bureaucracy — clashed was that of freedom of criticism in literature. *Izvestia*, along with other Soviet organs, had attacked those writers, especially the young non-conformists, who describe the "darker" sides of Soviet life. Sergei Pavlov, head of the Communist Youth League (Komsomol), for example, has



Soviet Premier Brezhnev

blamed "unhealthy criticism" in Soviet art and literature for the mood of political indifference among the youth.

Rumyantsev's reply, defending the right to criticize and question, was: "It is the hushing up or the tendentious inflating of shortcomings, not exposure aimed at eliminating them, that breeds nihilism, especially among young people."

Rumyantsev's article may herald the opening of greater public debate within the ruling party about its many problems, both domestic and foreign. That would be all to the good. The Soviet workers and rebel youth would find their way to intervene in such debate and assert the right of all views, not just those officially approved, to be heard.

How Much Influence?

In describing how "American national interest has become inextricably entwined" with the interests of dozens of countries around the world, Professor Harry Howe Ransom has referred to these countries as the American President's "expanded constituency." But how much share do these "constituents" have in deciding U.S. policy or electing its president?

Discussing Ransom's idea in the Aug. 21 *New Republic*, Conor Cruise O'Brien answered the question succinctly: "The non-American inhabitants of the 'free world' have about as much influence over the government in Washington as the Americans of two hundred years ago had over the ministers of George III."

The President's 'Influence'

Your friendly Central Intelligence Agency has been quite busy of late in widely scattered "neighborhoods" of the American President's overseas constituency. Last week the prime minister of Singapore exposed CIA activities on

his block (see *The Militant* Sept. 13). This week ultra-right Dominican Gen. Wessin y Wessin revealed that the CIA offered him a bribe to leave Santo Domingo. (He's now in Miami).

Wessin told the *Chicago Tribune* that Lieut. Col. Joe Wyrick and David Phillips of the CIA had offered him \$50,000 for his home, worth only \$18,000, and a guarantee of a soft job for life if he would leave quietly. What's a few thousand and a lifetime paycheck to an organization with un-audited billions on hand?

Rebels Active in Congo

Black freedom fighters have been displaying strength in Kivu province in the eastern Congo, long a stronghold of Lumumbism. When they destroyed a small column of white mercenaries recently; the *New York Times* worriedly warned Tshombe and Kasavubu to stop their petty power struggles and get on with killing "rebels." The guerrillas caused even greater alarm Sept. 7, when they captured the town of Mwenga, only 60 miles from Kivu's capital, Bukavu. Bukavu's 800 Europeans panicked, reported UPI, a hundred of them fleeing across the border into Rwanda.

Attack on Marx's Grave

A kind of twisted tribute to the power of Karl Marx's ideas and influence was paid by someone who, more than 80 years after Marx's death, made an attempt Sept. 2 to destroy his grave. British police near London's Highgate Cemetery, site of the grave, were alerted by an anonymous phone tip and found "an explosive substance, to which an electric device was attached" placed on the grave. The crude time bomb was dismantled and Scotland Yard is investigating.

—George Saunders

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FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Rosa Luxemburg: A Hero of Our Century

By Evelyn Sell

Towards the end of 1918 the German militarists were in a hopeless situation. The German population was desperate over the food crisis and anxious to end the war. The troops were deserting in great numbers and the jails were full of young men who refused to be sent to the front. At the beginning of November the sailors in the High Seas Fleet in the Baltic mutinied — as their counterparts in Russia had done the previous year. When the German sailors staged demonstrations against the war in Kiel, Hamburg and Bremen, they were joined by tens of thousands of workers. When the authorities jailed the mutineers, soldiers in full field equipment marched on the jails with red flags to free their comrades.

By November 7 the uprising spread across the whole country. Sailors Councils, Soldiers Councils

and Workers Councils sprang up everywhere to take power. On November 9 Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated and fled across the border. By 4:00 that afternoon a huge crowd gathered beneath the Imperial balcony (now decorated with a red flag) and listened to Karl Liebknecht proclaim "the free socialist republic of Germany..."

On that same day the people stormed the prison at Breslau and freed Rosa Luxemburg. She went directly to the Cathedral Square and addressed crowds of cheering workers. The next day she was in Berlin and involved in the work of organizing, speaking for and writing about the German revolution that ended the first World War.

Rosa Luxemburg was born March 5, 1871 in Zamosc, a small Polish town near the Russian border. The Luxemburg family was triply oppressed: Living in the Russian Empire, they were

subjects of Russian Czarist autocracy, as Poles, they were citizens of a nation that had been partitioned and ruled by reactionary foreign powers for over one hundred years, and, as Jews, they were members of a persecuted minority. Rosa had a couple more problems weighing down her frail frame: A childhood hip disease left her with an ungainly walk, and she was a woman in a man's world. This brought her difficulties even within the socialist movement where all the most illustrious figures were men — until Rosa.

The family moved to Warsaw when Rosa was three because her father was determined to give his five children a good education. In Rosa's case this was an unusual ambition because most girls did not receive much education.

She left school at the age of sixteen and immediately joined the revolutionary movement and after two years she was forced to leave

Poland because of the threat of imprisonment. She was smuggled out of the country hidden under the straw of a peasant's cart.

She enrolled at the University of Zurich, a center for Russian and Polish socialists forced into exile. At first Rosa signed up to study natural sciences (her first and lifelong love) but was soon concentrating on political science and organizing for the Polish underground. Her doctoral dissertation was written on "The Industrial Development of Poland."

At that time the massive center of European Marxism was within the German Social Democratic Party. Rosa was drawn toward the fermenting situation there. She moved to Germany and became a citizen. Her writing and speaking abilities quickly placed her in the front ranks of the German party. Her sharp political thrusts often hit the more conservative members of the party and they grumbled about this female outsider who thought she knew more about Marxism than the old hands. As Rosa's stature grew and became international, and as the social democratic leaders gave in to the pressures of German militarism, the grumbings turned into vicious attacks and smears.

Sent to Prison

In 1904 she was sentenced to prison for "insulting" the Kaiser but was freed after a short while in a general amnesty. When the 1905 Russian Revolution broke out, Rosa greeted it enthusiastically and, not content with vicarious support, she smuggled herself back into Poland in order to take part in the exciting events.

Barricades appeared in Warsaw, a great wave of strikes swept Poland, peasants set fire to the property of the rich landowners, students staged strikes. These events shook up the Polish socialist movement; many leaders loved to talk revolution but hated the real thing when it happened (a familiar truth in our day too!).

In the spring of 1906 the Polish Social Democratic Party affiliated to the Russian Social Democratic Party; the revolutionary Polish and Russian workers and peasants were joined together in actions and political leadership. Rosa was again imprisoned in 1906 but she was released after four months.

Taught Economics

She returned to Germany and beginning in 1908 she was a teacher of political economy in a new school founded by the German Social Democratic Party in Berlin. Her teaching activities spurred her into writing two of her best known works on socialist theory: "Introduction to Political Economy" and "The Accumulation of Capital."

During this pre-World War I period the German Social Democratic Party broke up into different groupings: the Left-wing radicals (headed by Rosa, Karl Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin, Franz Mehring) worked actively to promote revolutionary ideas and actions; the parliamentary group acted as if winning government posts was the end-all and be-all of socialist activity; the imperialist wing actually supported the pro-war campaign of the capitalists.

When World War I broke out in 1914 the social democratic leaders shamefully betrayed the European workers by supporting their respective national capitalists. In Germany the parliamentary deputies of the Social Democratic Party voted for the war credits on August 4. That evening a small group met in Rosa Luxemburg's flat and took the first steps towards creating what was later known as the Spartacus League (Spartakusbund).

In order to rally militant workers against the war, the Spartacus group decided to open a public fight on the question of war cred-



Rosa Luxemburg

its. Although many of the social democratic deputies promised beforehand to take a stand on this issue, when the vote came up on new war credits only Karl Liebknecht, among all the deputies, dared stand up and say NO!

For her stand against the war, Rosa Luxemburg was indicted on charges of high treason and the next several years of her life were spent in one prison after another with a few short periods of freedom. While in prison she studied natural science and managed to smuggle out a hailstorm of piercing political articles.

One very famous item was her "Junius" pamphlet, an analysis of the character of the war and a criticism of the Social Democratic Party. In a companion piece, she urged the formation of a new International.

Russian Revolution

Rosa was still in prison when the Russian Revolution broke out at the beginning of 1917. She immediately supported the Revolution and repeatedly pointed to the necessity for a German revolution in order to insure the gains being made by the Russian workers. Inspired and encouraged by the revolution in Russia, exploited unmercifully at home and on the battlefield, the Germans finally responded in a revolutionary manner.

When she stepped outside the prison walls on November 9, 1918 she had aged terribly, she was ill, her black hair was almost white — but she threw herself into the struggle with all her old fire and energy.

The capitalists and the social democratic leaders joined in a murderous campaign against the Spartacus League. When the Kaiser was forced to abdicate, the very powerful German capitalist class (learning from the fate of their brothers in Russia) hid their wolfish designs under the sheep's skin of the Social Democratic Party. Prince Max handed the office of Reich's Chancellor to the social democrat Fritz Ebert; Ebert accepted the post with the assertion, "I hate revolution like mortal sin." All the reactionary forces in the country howled for the blood of Liebknecht and Luxemburg; a price of 100,000 marks was placed on their heads — by a group including the social democrat leader Philip Scheidemann.

Remained Steadfast

Although she knew the danger, Rosa refused to leave the main center of the struggle in Berlin. Both she and Liebknecht were arrested on January 15, 1919 and brutally murdered by the social democratic authorities.

She had once written: "I hope to die at my post: on the street or in the prison." She died at her post, not quite 48 years old, after 32 years of rebellion against oppression and exploitation. Marxist theorist, revolutionary writer and orator, student of botany and ornithology, lover of music, a warm friend, a formidable enemy... a woman who richly deserves to be listed as an outstanding freedom fighter of our century and a remarkable human being.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH by Frantz Fanon. Grove Press, 1965, 255 pp., \$5.

Everyone who wants to be politically informed should read this book about revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries (the "third world"); especially radicals in this country, who need to learn a lot more about the perspectives, ideas and feelings of their counterparts in those countries.

Frantz Fanon was a black man, born 40 years ago on the island of Martinique, who studied medicine in France and specialized in psychiatry. Assigned to a hospital in Algeria, he joined the revolution and became one of its outstanding spokesmen; "we Algerians" was how he wrote after that. The present book was published in 1961, the same year that he died of cancer, at the age of 36.

Some pages in Simone de Beauvoir's recent *Force of Circumstance* describe him during his visit to France to get Jean-Paul Sartre to write the introduction to this book. Three other books by him are scheduled for publication in the United States in the near future.

Fanon's book, which could well have been entitled *Problems of the Colonial Revolution*, is both exciting and educational. But it is not always clear. In part, this is because the translation from the French could stand considerable improvement. In part, it is because in some places the writing is ambiguous or contradictory.

Most of its presentation is in

the form of generalization, to which nobody can object when generalizations fit. But sometimes Fanon over-generalizes, as when he makes statements about the "third world" as a whole which obviously cannot apply to some colonial countries. In some places he introduces a thought, but doesn't complete it or clarify it or modify it until much later. I had to read it twice to be sure about some of the points, and even then I wasn't completely sure.

The following is my summary of some of the main ideas in the first three sections of the book; for lack of space I omit discussion here of the last two sections, dealing with national culture and mental disorders induced by colonialism and colonial war.

Revolution and Violence

The only way to end colonialism, says Fanon, is through revolution. Not through compromise with the imperialists, but through revolutionary struggle against them by the most oppressed sections of the colonized people. This means "a murderous and decisive struggle between the two protagonists," in which the colonized can triumph only "if we use all means to turn the scale, including, of course, that of violence."

Revolutionary violence is required because, as Fanon demonstrates in irrefutable fashion, the whole colonial system is based on and maintained by naked force from top to bottom. Not only is revolutionary violence necessary for victory, Fanon adds, but it is also healthy for the oppressed masses who have so long been degraded as another "species"; it is a means whereby they recover a sense of dignity, humanity and the self-confidence needed for national reconstruction.

Distort His Point

Most American reviewers have got hung up on or deliberately distort Fanon's main point here. Their charge, with horror or pretended horror, that Fanon "glorifies" violence, is utterly beside the point, which is the need for a revolutionary mass struggle rejecting all shackles and restraints, including nonviolence. (Their reviews of Fanon are reminiscent of their reactions to Malcolm X's advocacy of self-defense and the use of all means necessary to win freedom.)

Fanon is a revolutionary na-

tionalist, but not a pure-and-simple nationalist. He believes that the colonial struggle must begin with nationalist slogans and demands, but that afterwards the masses must be helped by a revolutionary leadership to pass from "total, indiscriminating nationalism to social and economic awareness." As he puts it in fuller form, "We have seen in the preceding pages that nationalism, that magnificent song that made the people rise against their oppressors, stops short, falters and dies away on the day that independence is proclaimed. Nationalism is not a political doctrine, nor a program. If you really wish your country to avoid regression, or at best halts or uncertainties, a rapid step must be taken from national consciousness to political and social consciousness."

Fanon is a revolutionary democrat. He is against one-party rule and bureaucratization, and for the separation of party and government. The party he wants built "should be the direct expression of the masses. The party is not an administration responsible for transmitting government orders; it is the energetic spokesman and the incorruptible defender of the masses. In order to arrive at this conception of the party, we must above all rid ourselves of the very Western, very bourgeois and therefore contemptuous attitudes that the masses are incapable of governing themselves."

Socialist Democrat

Fanon is for socialism: "Capitalist exploitation and cartels and monopolies are the enemies of underdeveloped countries. On the other hand the choice of a socialist regime, a regime which is completely orientated towards the people as a whole and based on the principle that man is the most precious of all possessions, will allow us to go forward more quickly and more harmoniously, and thus make impossible that caricature of society where all economic and political power is held in the hands of a few who regard the nation as a whole with scorn and contempt." (The last is a jab not only at capitalism but at the leaders of the Soviet Union and China, and in part motivates his belief that the colonial world should remain neutral in the cold war.)

(Concluded next week)

George Breitman

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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.]

Report on Watts

Compton, Calif.
The so-called riots in the Watts area touched the edges where we live and we were in the final days of the curfew. It was an eerie feeling — no cars, no people on the streets after 8 p.m. and it was hot nights (for California) in

10 Years Ago In The Militant

ANGER OF NEGRO COMMUNITY HIGH AT TILL LYNCHING — Chicago—According to the *Chicago Defender*, a Negro weekly, approximately 250,000 people viewed the body of Emmett Louis Till as it lay in state for four days over the Labor Day week-end.

On August 28 Emmett Till, a Negro youth aged 14, was kidnaped and murdered in Money, Miss. His crime — he is supposed to have whistled at a white woman.

Till lived in Chicago with his mother, Mrs. Mamie Bradley. His father, a GI for six and a half years, was killed in action during World War II. Young Till was sent to Mississippi to visit his uncle, Moses Wright as part of his summer vacation.

The night of terror began when three white men forced their way into the home of Moses Wright, dragged the youth from his bed, into a car and drove away. The kidnaping was reported to the authorities. A few days later a nude, badly beaten and mutilated body was found floating in the Tallahassee river . . .

In Chicago the body was met at Union Station by the grieving mother and many friends . . .

At first it was said the body looked too shocking for viewers. But Mrs. Bradley insisted that it be opened. "I want the world to see what they did to my boy," she said. In reaction to the sight of the boy's body, thousands wept, hundreds fainted, many became hysterical.

Tension here began to reach a high pitch, to such a degree that it seemed to engulf the entire city. — Sept. 19 1955.

20 Years Ago

INDO-CHINESE REVOLT AGAINST FRENCH RULE—With the collapse of Japan, the people of Indo-China have struck out on the road to complete independence from all imperialist domination. In the face of de Gaulle's moves to seize control over this former colony of France, the nationalist forces are drilling with arms. The situation is still confused, but a few dispatches leaking through the tight censorship around Indo-China indicate the uprising is nationwide . . .

The real character of the uprising is indicated by the slogans reported to have appeared on the streets: "Down with French Imperialism," "Death to French Domination." The slander that the nationalists are Japanese-inspired is still further exposed by such slogans as: "Long Live the United Nations Commission," and "Welcome Allies." Which political group advanced these slogans, is not revealed. — Sept. 22, 1945.

the 80's or upper 70's after 95-97 degree days. My husband was flagged down by a jittery National Guardsman at 6 a.m. on his way to work; fortunately nothing happened.

Those who are better fixed financially, with regular jobs and able to meet the monthly installments, were a little embarrassed at the burning and looting. But as the man in the street became more vocal via press, radio and TV, and as the Mayor and Police Chief Parker tried harder and harder to deny any police brutality and say it was the 15 or 20 percent of the lawless, etc., ad nauseum, these "steady working upright citizens" got the picture. Honestly, I am amazed at the number of people (certainly the overwhelming majority) professional, clergy, intellectual, white collar as well as blue collar, who are saying: 1) It was inevitable; 2) There is police brutality; 3) And, more surprising: "I'm glad it happened!"

They agree with one Negro man under 30 who said on a TV scene caught on a corner in Watts: "It may not have been the 'right way' but it was 'a way' to get the message across to the city, county, state, national 'power structure' — and if you please, yes — to the world how more than 20 million black people exist in the United States."

Many deplore the destruction but feel some good can or must come out of it or this is not the end!

The other thing worth mentioning was the reaction to the police raid on the Muslims: 1) Too bad that the Muslims didn't live up to expectations with a program and leadership; 2) Man! If only Malcolm X were here today! 3) Mr. Muhammad's pulling in his neck over the Kennedy assassination didn't save the Los Angeles Temple. Too bad they weren't involved as an organization, etc.; they might as well be hung for a sheep as a goat. 4) Most people ticketed the police destruction of the Temple for what it was.

There is a feeling that the Muslims were the most vulnerable — Parker and Yorty (City Hall) knew their prestige in the ghetto was at its lowest point and they could get away with it. The trial balloon was the imprisonment of the Muslims last spring with no protest from the community. Their paper-sellers are constantly being picked up and held on trumped-up charges and the local leadership, whether on order from Mr. "M" or from lack of initiative or guts, have failed to fight it.

The *Militant* article on Watts said that "numbers of homeless Negroes were burned out." Not true; those homes, only three or four at most, to my knowledge was unintentional. It was the white businesses they wanted. A Reader

The Steel Pact

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Chalk up another negotiation period with no attempt at resolving the great automation problem confronting the Steelworkers. Workers: How long will this go on???

Report on Athens Action

Rome, Italy
During a recent visit to Athens I found a tendency that is not reported in the press dispatches from there. That is, the great militancy of the rank-and-file demonstrators as opposed to the leadership.

On the day of the general strike the leadership wanted no demon-

strations before Parliament because of the dangers involved. But the workers and students took it upon themselves to march from Omonia Square to Parliament. Every step of the way they were urged by their leaders to turn back, but their numbers grew as they approached Parliament.

Before Parliament they shouted defiance of the King, of "Premier" Novas and the police.

They returned to Omonia by another route, forcefully closing stores that had defied the general strike by remaining open. The rest of the day was spent in sporadic baiting of the police and that evening large crowds again congregated in the square committing various acts of defiance.

This action has been typical of the pattern in Athens, with the leadership aware of the awful retaliatory power of the monarchy but the rank-and-file becoming so infuriated it is ready to take risks the leadership hesitates before.

Appreciative

Minneapolis, Minn.
Enclosed is money to continue my subscription, I would like you to know how much I enjoy the paper.

Appeal from Mississippi

Indianola, Miss.
Since we last wrote to you we have arranged to rebuild the Freedom School which was burned down on another lot. We will receive the building permit on Sept. 16 and begin building on Sept. 20.

We decided not to rebuild on the Baptist Association land because the city has blocked all attempts to build there. We therefore decided to build on land belonging to the Freedom Democratic Party.

Our new Freedom School will cost approximately \$17,000. If we can pay for it, the building will be completed by Dec. 15. Our agreement to buy the new plot of land requires that we pay for it within ten days after we obtain the building permit for the Freedom School. Therefore we must raise \$19,000.

In order to do this we need financial help. We would appreciate your help very much.

Otis Brown, Jr.
Project Director
P.O. Box 30

School Issue

Castleton on Hudson, N.Y.
Educated liberals, both white and black are forever proclaiming their devotion to public education; but nine times out of ten they send their children to private schools.

Nothing, for example, riles me more than to see these people get themselves elected to the local school board and then send their own kids to the local "country day school" or to dear old Groton or Exeter.

Socialists all over this country should look into this matter. Does a school board member send his child to a private or parochial school? If so, that fact should absolutely disqualify him from that kind of public trust. His very own action proclaims his lack of faith

in public schools. "What you do speaks louder than what you say."

Nonpublic schools divide children from one another, create unjustified attitudes of superiority, and give an escape route to citizens from their responsibility to build a really outstanding public school system — something they will not work at with all their hearts if, having a few dollars in their pockets, they can buy better treatment for their own children.

A slogan: *Elect no one to a position of public school trust who will not send his own children to public schools.*

Concerned Parent

Letters-We-Love Dep't.

DeKalb, Ill.
Will you please inform me when my subscription has expired? It may have expired already; I'm not sure. At any rate, I don't want to miss an issue and plan on renewing my subscription.

I find your newspaper very interesting in that it presents both facts and views not usually found in any other area of the media. I do not always agree entirely with your view, but I consider it important. Also, I feel your support of the various student movements shows both understanding rarely found in the adult world and foresight as to where the hopes for whatever's in the future lies.

And thank you for the platform you have given to people who are usually categorized with cliched labels and then forgotten.

C.H.

It Was Reported in the Press

Headline of the Week — A headline in the *Los Angeles Times* reported: "Chemical Paper Editor Supports Viet Gas Use."

More Truth Than Poetry — Describing South Vietnamese Premier Ky's visit to the U.S. aircraft carrier *Independence*, the *New York Times* reported that during the day of his visit planes from the carrier "flew 120 missions over South Vietnam, raining napalm and fragmentation bombs on sampans, villages, warehouses and other buildings believed to be used by the Vietcong." Premier Ky told the crew members of the *Independence*, "What you are doing here our people will remember for 100 years to come."

An Old American Custom — The *New York Times* man in Saigon doesn't understand the fuss about Mariñes using tear gas in Vietnam. He explains that the gas is "a simple type often used in the United States to quell racial disturbances."

It Gains in Translation — "For a large section of even 'good' Germans, Vietnam now becomes a . . . justification for whatever went on . . . in German-occupied territories. Even the straight reportage lends itself admirably to the unearthing of a whole vocabulary that might better have remained buried. When I see American units being referred to as *Bandekampferverbände* (bandit fighting units) — the name given during World War II to the Waffen SS outfits specializing in the ruthless killing of guerrillas . . . I cannot help feeling that somehow the message which President Johnson has sought to convey to the world about America's purpose in Vietnam has gotten mangled in German translation." — Bernard Fall in the Aug. 21 *New Republic*.

No Affairs in Public — From now on, the CIA's press agent will be anonymous. His title, Assistant to the Director for Public Affairs, has been officially abolished. A spokesman for the cloak-and-dagger agency explained: "We have no public affairs."

For Moviegoers — At least one New York theater is offering what sounds like a well integrated double bill: "Once a Thief" and "Operation CIA."

Unbecoming — The St. Petersburg, Fla., Civil Service Commission suspended Police Patrolman Jerry Styles for "conduct unbecoming an officer." The press was barred from the hearing and the charges against him were not made public. It is reported that Styles had previously presented an NAACP petition to city officials calling for the hiring of more Negroes.

Tip to Tiffany — We were still reflecting on Tiffany's effort to cope with the New York water shortage by using gin in its store window water fountains when we learned the shop is offering gardeners a sterling silver

watering can for only \$550. Our suggestion is to make the price an even \$600 and throw in a case of cheap gin.

Shopping Hint — For those who feel this column is biased in favor of Tiffany's, we wish to report that Cartier's Paris store offers a completely unadorned woman's gold watch for \$550 that even a near-sighted person can tell time by.

Why Should They? — Less than 50 percent of 36,000 businessmen polled favored federal curbs on untruthful advertising.

Profit Picture — In a report to stockholders, the New Jersey Zinc Company notes with satisfaction that its net profits showed an 86 percent increase over last year and were the biggest for any period since World War II. The report explains: "This substantial increase is due to the prices we have received for our products, and to the fact that our mines and plants operated at capacity resulting in favorable production costs." Or — to put it more succinctly — there's a war on.

—Harry Ring

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Thought for the Week

"He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears." — The Bible, Proverbs, Chapter 26, Verse 17.

Four of 'Harlem Six' Get Terms of Life in Prison

DeBerry Hits Conviction as "A Frame-Up"

By David Herman

NEW YORK — Four of the framed-up teen-age "Harlem Six" were sentenced to life in prison on Sept. 8. They were railroaded by the police on charges of murdering a white woman storekeeper in Harlem in April 1964. The other two young black men, who were also convicted, were sent to Bellevue Hospital for psychological tests before sentencing.

A court-appointed attorney for one of the youths said he would file an appeal. William Kunstler, civil rights attorney, said he had been retained to organize the appeal. All of the six had been defended by court-appointed lawyers. Three of the defendants had tried to get the court to appoint attorneys of their own choosing, but the court refused.

The four sentenced to life in prison — Daniel Hamm, Ronald Felder, Walter Thomas, and Robert Rice — must serve a minimum of 26 years and nine months in prison before being eligible for parole.

The persecution of the young men began early last year about the time that the *New York Times* invented a sensational hoax about a gang of young Negroes in Harlem called the "Blood Brothers" who were allegedly being trained to kill and maim whites.

Earlier Incident

Hamm and Baker were arrested on April 17, 1964 after protesting an incident on 129th St. in which police attacked a group of elementary school children with clubs when a fruit stand was overturned. The two were beaten in the police station and then released.

Two days later Frank and Margit Sugar were stabbed in their clothing store on 125th St., and Margit Sugar died. The police announced it had been done by the "Blood Brothers" and rounded up Hamm and other young men in his neighborhood and announced a search for Baker. Baker gave himself up voluntarily.

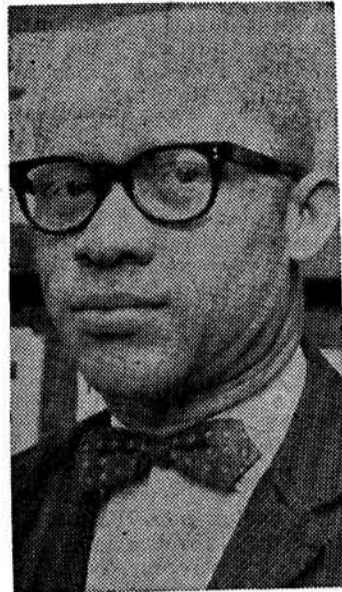
The six were kept in prison without trial for almost a year in an effort to force "confessions"

DeBerry Warns On Water Meters

NEW YORK — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers mayoralty nominee, charged that Mayor Wagner's declared opposition to universal water metering is a "fake and is really the opening gun in a campaign to prepare public opinion for this new form of taxation."

DeBerry offered two alternative proposals for conservation of water. He said he favored strict enforcement of laws regarding pollution of rivers by industry, explaining that if this were done river water could be purified inexpensively. He further proposed higher rates on water used in industries "whose waste of water far exceeds that of family users."

"Water metering would be yet another tax on the poor," he said. "We already have the five per cent sales tax and the gas, electric and phone taxes cutting into the budget of the low-income families far more than those in the upper bracket."



Clifton DeBerry

from them. Their trial began March 1965 and ended in July.

At the trial, Frank Sugar testified that he could not identify any of the six.

The frame-up of the Harlem six was denounced by Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. He charged: "The cops used their usual method in this case — find a victim and pin the crime on him, instead of trying to find out who actually committed the crime. And usually the victim is black, or Puerto Rican, or someone else who is not in a position to defend himself. If you're too poor to hire a lawyer, as these six young men were, and you get picked up by the cops, chances are they will pin something on you."

DeBerry also spoke out in behalf of George Whitmore, another frame-up victim. He said:

"The Whitmore case is another example of the same thing. He has been in jail since April 1964. The cops beat him till he confessed to three murders and a rape. Now he has been exonerated of two of the murders, and they have indicted someone else for them. But Whitmore is still in prison even though the same detectives beat all the confessions out of him in the same 24-hour period.

"District Attorney Aaron Koota has now announced that he will give 'very serious consideration' to any application for bail made on behalf of Whitmore. 'Consideration' of bail is not what is called for here. Whitmore should be set free and be paid an indemnity for being forced to 'confess' to crimes he never committed and for being imprisoned for no just cause for one-and-a-half years."

NEW YORK — Gregory Cruz, a 23-year-old Puerto Rican who was beaten and shot three times by Detective John C. Devlin on Sept. 10, 1964, is suing New York City for \$2 million. He is also suing the *Daily News* for \$1 million for libel because of an article which Cruz charged "was meant and intended to convey the impression that the plaintiff was a loiterer who had committed without provocation the heinous crime of viciously and savagely attacking a police officer."

Cruz was walking to church carrying a bible when he was stopped by Devlin who was not in uniform and did not identify himself as a policeman. When Devlin tried to search him, Cruz ran. Devlin fired at him but missed. Devlin caught Cruz and attacked him. When Cruz, who thought he was in the hands of a madman resisted, Devlin shot him three times.

Devlin was cleared of any blame by a police department hearing last February.

Mass Bombing of Vietnam — Deadly Gases Next?

By Dick Roberts

SEPT. 15 — The saturation bombing of South Vietnamese villages reached a point of greater intensity last week than any saturation bombings during World War II, according to a report in the authoritative Paris daily, *Le Monde*. Meanwhile there are ominous signs that the U.S. may be planning to re-introduce and extend the use of deadly gases into the Vietnam conflict.

In what may well have been a trial balloon for another test of U.S. and world opinion, a Marine battalion commander was "placed under investigation" for using tear gas to flush guerrillas (and civilians) out of a cave. Since the world outcry against American use of gas in Vietnam last March, Washington has said it would not employ gas. Yet in announcing the "investigation" it was revealed that U.S. forces are still supplied with gases as standard equipment.

The *New York Times* editorially lauded the Marine commander for his "humanitarianism," using the demagogic argument that the gas was more "humane" than bullets or grenades.

Meanwhile Drew Pearson reported that a group called Physicians for Social Responsibility states that "government officials at high policy-making levels are advocating use of biological weapons in Vietnam." They also reported that Johnson had given a research firm in New England a contract for developing disease-germ warfare for use in Vietnam. Pearson added that the New Eng-



Dean Rusk

Announced Troop Increase

land outfit called Travelers Research, Inc., is also conducting a study of "attitudes within the leadership element of the U.S. government toward the employment of incapacitating weapons and the reaction of probable public opinion."

The devastation caused by the bombings of villages in South Vietnam is indicated by the huge increases in the number of refugees pouring out of the war-torn areas. It is now reported that 600,000 out of a population of 15 mil-

lion people are refugees — who must live on a budget supplied jointly by the Saigon government and the U.S. of seven piasters (about five cents) per person, a day.

While the U.S. maintains that the bombing in South Vietnam is limited to so-called Viet Cong installations, there is mounting proof, besides the huge number of people fleeing their homes, that this is not the case. The Sept. 11 *New York Herald Tribune*, in an article entitled "No Sign of Viet Cong in Hamlet B-52's Smashed," reported the findings of a reconnaissance mission into a saturation bombed area:

"Mistaken"

"What aerial photo analysts thought were sandbagged bunkers," the *Tribune* article stated, "proved to be an ancient wall. What had appeared on reconnaissance photos to be fortified trenches turned out to be seldom-used ox-cart trails. Nothing was found — beyond some tall bamboo shoots — of 'radio antennas' spotted by a U.S. Air Force pilot on a previous raid."

Such "errors" cause the mass slaughter of civilians.

In another area marked by Pentagon indifference to accurate figures, not to speak of lives, it appears that the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam already exceeds the 125,000 figure President Johnson set July 28. Secretary of State Dean Rusk commented in Washington, Sept. 13, "the numbers are somewhat larger," and he added that he was not sure whether a new goal had been set.

Life With Lyndon in the Great Society

A Few Acres for LBJ and Lady Bird

[The following is from "Life With Lyndon in the Great Society," a weekly newsletter by Jack Minnis which is widely read by civil rights workers in the South.]

A few weeks ago we were talking about the training of Latin American labor leaders by a coalition of big business, big labor, and Lyndon's Agency for International Development. At that time we mentioned the fact that J. Peter Grace, chairman of W. R. Grace & Co., was also chairman of the trustees of the outfit that does this "training."

Comes word now that J. Peter Grace's company, along with International Paper Co., is going to invest \$37 million in a paper and pulp mill in Cali, Colombia. With that also comes word that we (the U.S. public) will agree to pay W. R. Grace & Co. and International Paper Co. any losses that they may suffer due to "expropriation [that's what happened when Castro won in Cuba], war, revolution and insurrection."

There really isn't too much danger of our having to pay them anything for loss from expropriation. Lyndon made that right clear when he sent troops into the Dominican Republic.

Lyndon don't believe in messin' into the internal affairs of the Latin American countries. Oh no — because, you see, we agreed we wouldn't do that when we signed the OAS treaty. But just the same, Lyndon ain't gonna let them "greasers" get away with doin' any hurt to his friends and their property. That ain't messin' in internal affairs. That's just good business.

Lyndon's Office of Education is

the agency which is supposed to be policing the Southern school systems to be sure they don't continue to discriminate against black children as they spend the millions Lyndon's giving them under the new federal aid-to-education program. The Office of Education frequently issues news releases telling what a marvelous change has taken place in the Southern "heart."

We're told that only a few die-hard school systems are refusing to file with the Office of Education satisfactory "compliance statement and desegregation plans." The truth about these "compliance statements and desegregation plans" came out dur-

ing Lyndon's recent White House Conference on Education.

David Seely, head of the Office of Education's desegregation program said that "most of the desegregation plans, north and south, are intended to facilitate the minimum amount of integration."

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, for the enactment of which Lyndon took most of the credit, did not say that it should be U.S. policy to promote a token amount of school integration. The act forbids, flatly and without qualification, the use of federal funds in any program which was infected with racial discrimination.

It was Lyndon who decided that it would be alright to continue giving away money to his friends in the South, if they'd just put a good face on things, and not openly admit they're running segregated schools.

"We Shall Overcome" — he said.

Lyndon's gettin' on in years and one day he wants to have a little piece of land he can retire to and live out his days in the bucolic bliss of the Texas countryside. He's got about 14,000 acres in Texas right now. But Lyndon's a pretty good size ol' boy, and he needs lots of room.

So he took a little of the spare cash he's been saving up from his public servant's salary (he's saved about \$10 million, we're told, from a total income of not more than \$2 million in those years) and bought another 4,000 acres. Now he's looking up another piece that measures 26,000 acres. If he buys that piece he oughta have enough room to run a few cattle, and some left over for Ladybird's garden.

They're such a sweet old couple.



Lyndon Johnson