

THE MILITANT

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The Threat Against Cuba

An Editorial

The fatal shooting of a Cuban sentry at the perimeter of the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo, May 21, was an arrogant and serious provocation against the Cuban people. Equally arrogant, incredibly cynical, and ominous in its implication was the U.S. assertion that the dead Cuban and others of his comrades had "penetrated" the U.S. base.

It has now been well substantiated that the U.S. claim that the sentry was shot while fleeing from inside the base was a complete falsehood. (See story page 4.) The assertion that other Cubans entered the base can also be rejected out of hand.

The United States occupies Guantanamo on the basis of an "agreement" which one of its puppet governments signed long years ago. The present Cuban government has repeatedly insisted that the U.S. withdraw from its territory. At the same time, the Cuban government has correctly explained that it will not be trapped into any kind of hasty action at Guantanamo which the U.S. could then use as the pretext for aggression against it.

In his May 27 reply to the Pentagon, Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro declared: "No one could believe that a raid by six Cuban soldiers within the perimeter of the base could have any sense or be logical or have any kind of objective. Our nerves are calm and we do not practice such provocations . . ."

"We can affirm categorically that no such incident, nor any similar incident, of this or any other kind, has ever been caused, either now or before, by the Cuba soldiers who guard that territory."

The existence of the U.S. base at Guantanamo represents a permanent threat to Cuba and to peace, and has been the source of numerous provocations against the Cuban government — not the other way around. All in the U.S. who respect fair play and the right of Cuba to determine her own fate without U.S. interference should raise their voices and demand that the U.S. get out of Guantanamo.

Chicago Puerto Ricans Resist Police Brutality

JUNE 14 — There have now been two nights of police violence in Chicago's Northwest Side — the main Puerto Rican neighborhood in that city, with the community fighting back. This outbreak is the first in the recent past to involve Puerto Ricans on this scale, and is testimony to the brutally oppressive treat-

ment they receive at the hands of America's "affluent society."

In last night's fighting, at least seven persons were shot. At one point in the melee a Puerto Rican grabbed a microphone, according to today's *New York Times* and shouted: "Police, we are not supposed to be beaten up like animals. Till you show us you are going to do something to stop this, this thing can't stop, because we are human beings."

One chant from the crowd was a slightly changed version of a familiar cry: "Police, go home!"

The Puerto Rican rebellion reflects the crude contradictions of the American capitalist system. Even at the peak of one of the longest sustained booms in U.S. history — with the demand for Vietnam war machinery pouring billions of dollars into the economy — there are millions of Americans who live in oppressive slum conditions, who get dirt-low wages if they get any jobs at all, and suffer the abuses of racism, including police brutality.

This situation was hinted in the May employment figures: With unemployment for the white worker down to 3.5 percent, unemployment for nonwhites was more than double, at 7.6 percent. Unemployment for teenagers was almost double this again, at 13.4 percent, and you can bet your bottom dollar, although the figures were not given out, that unemployment for the nonwhite teenager was more than double that — probably at least one out of every four,

"If there are going to be elections in Vietnam, they will be characterized by fraud and by meaninglessness, for they will be conducted in those areas in which that shocking little tyrant by the name of Ky, whom we have been supporting, will be in pistol control. I am at a loss to understand what makes anyone think that there will be any free elections in a situation supported by an American puppet military junta . . ." — Wayne Morse, in the Senate, June 2.

Pentagon Considers Half-Million More GIs For Vietnamese War

(World Outlook) — Returning to the United States after 26 months on duty in Vietnam, Maj. Gen. Ben Sternberg, commander of the 101st Airborne Division, spoke in Nashville, June 9, before the Middle Tennessee Federal Executive Council. He said that "500,000 more troops would be required" to seal off the borders of south Vietnam to "infiltrators." The general was quoted as saying that a defeat for the U.S. was possible, but he later denied that he had meant this.

He was also reported to have said that Premier Nguyen Cao Ky would eventually "have to go." He issued a statement saying that this quotation, too, presented an "erroneous picture" of his views.

However, he did not alter his statement about the need for 500,000 more troops if the U.S. is to win the war Johnson decided to escalate in Vietnam. Given a sufficient number of troops, defeat for the U.S. is not probable "or even conceivable."

Heavy Rate

In Washington it was revealed, June 7, that the administration is continuing to send troops at a heavy rate. By the end of the year, about 100,000 more U.S. troops are "now scheduled" to arrive in Vietnam, according to the *New York Times*. This will bring the total to about 400,000.

Defense Secretary McNamara announced casually, June 11, that 18,000 more American troops had been earmarked to go to Vietnam in the next forty-five days, bringing the total to 285,000 by the end of July.

It would seem that the estimate offered by certain Pentagon spokesmen last year, concerning the eventual number of U.S. troops to be sent to Vietnam, was quite accurate. The projection was 500,000 to 1,000,000.

These figures were received with considerable incredulity at the



THE ENEMY. A U.S. Airborne Brigade captain leads away a blindfolded south Vietnamese boy picked up in area where U.S. forces were looking for guerrillas.

time. The doubters pointed to the fact that this would signify a major land war in Asia, and that American policy up to then had been to avoid such an adventure.

Johnson, however, continued to escalate the war: Not having met with the kind of rebuff that might have been expected from Moscow or Peking, he seemed convinced that he could get away with his attempt to drown the Vietnamese Revolution in blood and to crush a workers' state while its allies re-

sponded to the attack with nothing but weak gestures and a minimum of material aid.

One element that Johnson seems to have left out of his cold-blooded calculations, however, is the anti-war feelings of the American people. Their anger is mounting as they see more and more clearly that Johnson's involvement of the U.S. in Vietnam is nothing but a slimy war of colonial conquest that can escalate into a nuclear catastrophe.

CORE Leader Assails Vietnam Court Martial

Antiwar Negro GI Convicted

By Dick Roberts

A Negro soldier serving in Vietnam was sentenced to one year's imprisonment at hard labor in Cuchi, south Vietnam, June 11, for refusing to carry a rifle. The victim, Pvt. Adam R. Weber, Jr., of New Orleans, was also ordered to forfeit \$45 of his monthly pay of \$101.90 for a year. He had been an active member of the civil rights and antiwar movements in this country before being sent to Vietnam.

Addressing the military court before the sentence was imposed, the *New York Times* reported June 12, Weber stated that he hoped he would be permitted to remain in the army "in the medical corps or in some job more involved in saving lives than in taking them." The truth of the matter is that Adam Weber had always been an opponent of war.

Although he had spent four years in training for the Roman Catholic priesthood, Weber was not eligible for the army classification of conscientious objector because he stated that he opposed killing on philosophical rather than religious grounds.

Weber had been active in the Louisiana chapter of CORE. Last August, he was arrested in Washington at the culmination of the Congress of Unrepresented People which met there to discuss civil rights and antiwar tactics. Weber was arrested along with several hundred other demonstrators at a rally in front of the Capitol building.

On the day Weber's trial and sentencing was announced, an *ad hoc* joint demonstration was called in New York to protest the Vietnamese war and to demand Weber's release. The occasion of the joint demonstration was the fact that President Johnson was attending a fund-raising party for the Democrats at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

About 200 persons from a number of different antiwar committees turned out at the protest even though there was only a three-hour advance notice. The administration had attempted to conceal Johnson's attendance at the Democratic Party dinner.

Lincoln Lynch, the associate national director of CORE, attended the demonstration to de-

mand an interview with Johnson and the release of Private Weber. In a press statement he issued at the rally, Lynch pointed out that Adam Weber's family and friends had been totally misinformed about the timing of Weber's trial.

The Army had led them to believe that the trial was being indefinitely postponed, Lynch stated. "One cannot help question the army's shockingly severe sentence," he continued.

"The conclusion is inescapable that the army authorities intend specifically to make an example of Private Weber," the CORE leader stated, "precisely at the moment when the weight of indignation has swept the Negro people over the shooting of James Meredith — and no doubt has had its effect on the black GI's in Vietnam who have every right to wonder at being involved in an immoral war, allegedly being fought for 'freedom' thousands of miles from the U.S."

According to the *Associated Press*, Weber's parents were shocked at the conviction. They expect the sentence to be appealed, the June 11 AP dispatch stated.

Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

Installment 28

ON BLACK NATIONALISM

Question: How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?

Malcolm: I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community and so forth.

But, when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution against oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances he was a white man. And he said if I define my objective as the victory of black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries, dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the over-all philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country. (From interview, *Young Socialist*, March-April, 1965)

Describing an OAAU meeting in Harlem, Marlene Nadle wrote that "a man stood, rocked back on his heels, and very slowly said, 'We heard you changed, Malcolm. Why don't you tell us where you're at with them white folks?' Without dropping a syllable, he [Malcolm] gave a black nationalist speech on brotherhood."

Malcolm: I haven't changed. I just see things on a broader scale. We nationalists used to think we were militant. We were just dogmatic. It didn't bring us anything.

Now I know it's smarter to say you're going to shoot a man for what he is doing to you than because he is white. If you attack him because he is white, you give him no out. He can't stop being white. We've got to give the man a chance. He probably won't take it, the snake. But we've got to give him a chance.

We've got to be more flexible. Why, when some of our friends in Africa didn't know how to do things, they went ahead and called

in some German technicians. And they had blue eyes.

I'm not going to be in anybody's straitjacket. I don't care what a person looks like or where they come from. My mind is wide open to anybody who will help get the ape off our backs.

(From Marlene Nadle, *Village Voice*, Feb. 25, 1965)

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR

Malcolm: I was speaking to the American ambassador in a certain country on the African continent. First thing he told me when I went in to see him, he told me, "I think you're a racist," and so forth and so forth and so forth. Well, I respected him because he spoke his mind, and once I explained my position, what I believed in and so forth, he told me this: He said, "You know, as long as I'm on the African continent" — he had been an ambassador in a couple of other African countries, and an African head of state had told me that this man was the best ambassador that America had on the African continent; that's why I talked with him.

He said, "As long as I'm in Africa, I deal with people as human beings." He said, "For some strange reason, color doesn't enter into it at all." He said, "I'm more aware of the differences in language than I am that there is a difference in color: It's just a human atmosphere." He said, "But whenever I return to the United States and I'm talking to a non-white person, I'm conscious of it, I'm self-conscious, I'm aware of the color differences."

So I told him, "What you're telling me, whether you realize it or not, is that it is not basic in you to be a racist, but that society there in America, which you all have created, makes you a racist." This is true, this is the worst racist society on this earth. There is no country on earth in which you can live and racism be brought out in you — whether you're white or black — more so than this country that poses as a democracy. This is a country where the social, economic, political atmosphere creates a sort of psychological atmosphere that makes it almost impossible, if you're in your right mind, to walk down the street with a white person and not be self-conscious, or he or she not be self-conscious. It almost can't be done, and it makes you feel this racist tendency that pops up. But it's the society itself.

My suggestion would be that young people, like yourselves, many of whom are still in school and are more flexible in matters where you have not yet come to a conclusion, sit back and weigh the thing for yourself and analyze it. If you can ever find what it is in the very atmosphere here that brings out these things, then perhaps you might be able to save the country. You might be able to build a better society. But I have very much doubt that you can, I don't think that you can, change the generation that preceded you.

(HARYOU-ACT forum, Dec. 12, 1964)

INDISPENSABLE

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The FBI Northern Style

Denver SNCC Backers Victimized

By Harry Nier

DENVER — One more example of why SNCC has turned its back on the "consensus" of Johnson's Great Society has been dramatized by recent events in relatively remote Denver, Colorado.

On Jan. 6, 1966, Denver SNCC went to the local FBI office in support of its southern brothers who were then protesting the lack of federal enforcement of laws not only on the books for many years, but the 1965 voting rights act.

They had no intention of participating in any tactics of civil disobedience. On the contrary, they presented themselves in the FBI reception room during the lunch hour and asked to speak to Scott Werner, the special agent in charge. But 15 minutes later, to the disbelief of the six young SNCC members and the reporters and news cameramen present, they were dragged illegally from the reception room chairs and finally dumped in the cells of the U.S. Marshall.

SNCC Worker Murdered

In Tuskegee, Ala., on Jan. 6, Sammy Younge, Jr., was buried. He had been murdered 12 hours after the local voting registrar had threatened to "spill your guts on the floor." Although such intimidation was a clear violation of the 1965 voting rights act, the FBI had as usual refused to make an arrest. Alabama Negroes had taken to the streets in great numbers to voice their protest, and it was this incident which sparked the Denver protest.

The demonstrators were led by John and Amanda Perdue. The couple had met in Americus, Ga., where she had been raised and he had worked for the movement after leaving Harvard University. They had been participants in many demonstrations and arrests in the South involving so-called "disturbances."

John was brutally beaten upon his arrest in 1963 in the now famous insurrection charge in Geor-

At Militant Labor Forum

Bread and Puppet Theater

By Ron Wolin

NEW YORK — An extraordinary thing happened at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday night, June 10. Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theatre performed its evocative mime drama, "Fire," and some 250 people were touched, moved, stunned by the power and beauty of its statement against the war in Vietnam.

The form of presentation was unlike ordinary theatre where actors depend on the audience to suspend its disbelief to establish contact. Before each of the three performances began, everyone in the audience was handed a piece of whole grain bread, baked by Mr. Schumann. The shared act of partaking in simple food helped create a feeling of communion between theatre and audience right from the start.

"Fire" is composed of nine scenes, the first seven of which take the days of the week as their names. They are divided by the striking of a mournful tone on a cymbal, reminiscent of a death knell. All the performers were dressed in black and wore ashy, white death masks and gloves. The masks, created by Mr. Schumann, are artfully designed to reflect the full range of human expression.

Everyday Life

The early scenes show the Vietnamese living/dead going through the acts of everyday life — making contact, eating and drinking, dancing, helping free a bound person, welcoming a new arrival in



Amanda Perdue and daughter Natasha

gia. The charge was overturned by a federal court as unconstitutional. In spite of an FBI report whitewashing police brutality in the South, John and his wife still had illusions about the North. In Amanda's arms was their four-month-old daughter as she was brutally hauled from the reception room chair. Her brief visit to Denver during the Christmas season to see John's parents, Professor and Mrs. Philip Perdue of Denver University, had been her first since their marriage.

The trial, lasting six days and three nights, concluded recently. It was the longest in the history

of the lower court in Denver. Special agent Scott Werner, who didn't have time to talk to the SNCC delegation in January, attended every session of the trial accompanied by his assistants. The prosecution witnesses were all from the ranks of government law enforcement employees.

Allegations were made by the prosecution to the effect that the newsmen would naturally be on the side of the demonstrators, even though editorial positions on the January incident denounced the SNCC demonstrators with venom and scorn. Their testimony completely contradicted some of the testimony presented by the prosecution, which vividly described SNCC people lying on the floor, biting, hitting, kicking, pushing and shouting. Such a picture was even contradicted by other prosecution testimony. The FBI was obviously on the spot.

Trial Judge

The trial judge refused to give many instructions to the jury which were critical to the issues of the case. For example he refused to tell the jury that the defendants had rights under the Fourth Amendment to be free from illegal seizure. After three hours of deliberation, the jury pronounced all six guilty and they were fined \$100 each.

The defendants are unanimous in their hope to secure justice in a higher court and are free on an appeal bond. But this is only the first step. The attorneys, myself and Forrest C. O'Dell, are serving without pay, but the staggering costs of the transcript and appeal must be met.

Funds Needed For Denver Victims

DENVER — The January 6th Committee for Constitutional Rights is raising funds to fight the convictions of six civil rights workers here. Dr. Philip W. Perdue is finance chairman of the committee.

Five hundred dollars is needed immediately to purchase the transcript of the trial, in order to carry the appeal to higher courts. Contributions can be sent to: January 6th Committee, 2369 South Madison, Denver, Colo.

Weekly Calendar

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

NEW YORK

DR. OTTO NATHAN, economist and lecturer, and ROBERT LANGSTON, contributor to *The Militant*, will discuss Imperialism and U.S. Foreign Policy. Fri., June 24, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

5th Ave. Parade Committee Corrects Misinformation on Aug. 6-9 Protest

[The following statement was released by the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee on June 6.]

Through a misunderstanding, an inaccurate report on the Parade Committee's action in relation to the suggested Aug. 6-9 days of protest appeared attached to the May 19 issue of the *Peace and Freedom News*, published by the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam in Madison, Wisc.

The report stated: "Recently, many committees received a letter from the New York Parade Committee suggesting another International Days of Protest for the Aug. 6 to 9 weekend. Originally, the letter stated that the Days would be announced at a meeting May 23, Subsequently, the Parade Committee voted to reconsider its program."

Inaccurate

It is the last sentence which is inaccurate. Actually, the Parade Committee, at its May 18 meeting, voted to proceed with its plans for action in New York on the Aug. 6-9 days, and to ask other groups nationally and internationally to have actions on the same dates. This was announced, as planned, at the Manhattan Center rally

May 23. The Parade Committee did, however, decide not to use the phrase "International Days of Protest," pending further discussion and contact with groups overseas.

The Parade Committee is holding a city conference in New York, June 18, to work out the form of the New York action. Other local groups across the country which are also having demonstrations on Aug. 6-9 will decide on the form of their own actions locally, as has been the case in the past. The Parade Committee has no desire to pressure other local groups to hold demonstrations Aug. 6-9 if in the judgment of the local group, local summer conditions make it inadvisable.

However, from the initial response outlined in the attached letter, and the demonstrations in south Vietnam and the deterioration of the U.S. position there, and the fact that the Aug. 6-9 anniversary is traditionally a period of important peace demonstrations around the world, we are sure that this year will see significant widespread demonstrations against the war in south Vietnam around the Aug. 6-9 dates.

A. J. Muste, Chairman
Dave Dellinger, Coordinator
Norma Becker, Coordinator

Deacons Providing Defense For Mississippi Marchers

JUNE 14 — As civil rights workers continue the march through Mississippi begun by James Meredith, they are getting a measure of what Meredith didn't have and needed — a measure of self-defense.

A dispatch from Mississippi in today's *New York Times* reports that a contingent of the Deacons for Defense and Justice are accompanying the marchers and providing protection for the campsites where the marchers sleep and also providing armed escorts for individuals traveling to and from the scene of the march.

Ernest Thomas, a leader of the Deacons, told newsmen that his men are guarding the campsites at night "with pistols, rifles and shotguns." He also said they are providing armed escorts to marchers who travel at night to the Memphis airport.

He said, however, that the Deacons did not carry arms during the actual march, since the march is supposed to be nonviolent.

When asked how many men the Deacons had on the scene, Thomas declined to answer. "It would not make sense," he explained, "to



James Meredith

tell you we got 400 men here and let 'the man' bring 800."

The presence of the Deacons has sparked a lively debate among the marchers on self-defense vs. non-violence. The controversy erupted when a white minister, Rev. Theodore Seamans, saw a .45 caliber pistol in a car driven by a member of the Deacons. "I was astounded," the reverend said, "and made my views known. The movement is no place for guns."

Meredith's View

In reply, Ernest Thomas declared no one should tell Negroes not to defend themselves when their lives were at stake.

This echoed the view expressed by James Meredith after he was shot. He expressed regret he was not armed when attacked and declared, "Who the hell ever said I was nonviolent! I spent eight years in the military and the rest of my life in Mississippi."

The Deacons were originally organized in Bogalusa and Jonesboro, La., to defend civil rights workers who were threatened by local racist killers. The effectiveness of the presence of the armed Deacons led to the spread of the idea to many areas in the South where local chapters of the Deacons have been organized. In a number of Northern cities, Friends of the Deacons groups have been set up to help support the Southern organization.

United Memorial For Leo Bernard Held in Phila.

PHILADELPHIA — Over 100 people met in the auditorium of the Society for Ethical Culture here on June 10 to pay tribute to Leo Bernard, murdered Detroit young socialist, and to express the steadfastness of the antiwar movement in face of the crime.

The following organizations sponsored the meeting: Philadelphia SNCC, Public Affairs Committee of the Ethical Culture Society, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, the Young Militants, Temple University SDS, Students Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Philadelphia Area CEWV.

In addition to these organizations, over 35 prominent individuals sponsored the meeting. They included James Higgins, member of the Pennsylvania Board of the ACLU and assistant editor of the *York Gazette and Daily*; Barrows Dunham, author and philosopher; professors Gaylord Leroy, Albert Mildvan, W. Allen Pickett and William Davidson, and others from virtually every campus in the Philadelphia area. Other sponsors included Charles Walker, co-chairman of the CNVA; and Carl Dahlgren, secretary of the local Socialist Party.

Statements of support and protest from many people were read, including from Stewart Meachum and Clarence Yarrow of the American Friends Service Committee.

Afro-Americans In Boston Area Assail Viet War

By Johanne Eubanks

BOSTON, June 11 — The Boston Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam held a street rally and march today in Boston's Roxbury ghetto. The marchers, who numbered about 30 people, were cheered by many of the shoppers in the main shopping area. A rally, addressed by three speakers, was held in front of the Roxbury draft board.

Leading the march was a big banner that read: "Our Fight is Here, Not in Vietnam. Bring the Black Troops Home Now." Other signs included ones reading "Send Mrs. Hicks to Vietnam." (Mrs. Hicks is the most outspoken segregationist on the Boston school committee.)

Byron Rushing, the first speaker, stated: "The enemy of our enemy is our friend... Don't fight in the white man's army." Then he continued, "There is the same smell in Stanleyville as in Saigon as in Mississippi, that is, the smell of white imperialist bigots."

Bob Eubanks, the second speaker, pointed out that black Americans have never been harmed by the Vietnamese, "but we know the KKK, and the John Birchers, Mrs. Hicks and police brutality. If we are going to send our black American soldiers anywhere," he stated, "let us send them to Mississippi."

The final speaker, Bill Lee, asked, "What do we have in the ghettos of Harlem and Roxbury and Watts? ... We will not get equality by joining in the army and war. I will die in the Roxbury streets before I will die in Vietnam."

Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right — a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. — **Abraham Lincoln.**



NEWS ITEM ... President Johnson has asked Congress to cut \$82,000,000 from the school milk program.

New Group Acts to Line Up Antiwar Vote for Democrats

The American ruling class is confronted with a first-rate political problem — how can the mounting opposition to the Vietnam war be blocked from breaking out of the two-party system?

The tentative outline of a solution has already been projected with the recent creation of "A National Conference for New Politics." It is nominally headed by Julian Bond, the SNCC leader who was twice denied his elected seat in the Georgia House of Representatives, and Simon Casady, a former president of the California Democratic Council, who was ousted from his post for speaking against the war.

If the new organization represented a break with the two-party system, it would be a most welcome development. But it appears designed, instead, to halt the tendency of the antiwar groups to break down the fences.

Kennedy Favorable

"One of the promoters, who did not want to be identified," the June 10 *New York Times* reported, "said yesterday he had reason to believe that Senator Robert F. Kennedy 'welcomes the formation' of the conference."

"Another promoter, Arthur I. Waskow, a senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, remarked yesterday that he had 'a suspicion' that Senator Kennedy would react favorably to the new group."

The immediate aims of the new organization also reveal its political purpose. "Jerome Grossman, a Boston executive who is chair-

man of the comparatively moderate Massachusetts Political Action for Peace (Mass Pax) and also a promoter of the new conference, affirmed by telephone it 'could enter the mainstream' of American politics sharing the outlook of Senators Kennedy and J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas on many issues."

Grossman said that "the conference would function as a service organization, providing research, personnel and funds for candidates it endorsed." These, of course, would be mostly Democrats claiming to be "peace" candidates.

"An immediate goal is the raising of \$500,000 to support some 50 candidates throughout the nation, it was understood."

Evidently there is big money available for the new organization, to help it in its political objective of molding the antiwar movement into nothing but a left buttress for the Democratic Party.

Antiwar Protest Is Conducted at NYU Graduation

NEW YORK — It has become government policy to try to keep secret until the last minute any public appearances by administration figures. The purpose of this secrecy is to avoid demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

Defense Secretary McNamara and UN Ambassador Goldberg were scheduled to receive honorary degrees at the graduation ceremonies at New York University on June 8, but this fact was not to be made public until the morning of the event.

A few days before, however, someone at NYU tipped off antiwar groups, who proceeded to call a hasty demonstration outside the ceremonies. A few seniors were contacted who agreed to walk out in protest when McNamara was recognized. When this group of five, along with two professors, rose, 150 other seniors spontaneously joined them in the walkout.

Outside, between 150 and 200 demonstrators chanted their opposition to the war, and carried signs, some of which read: "No Doctor of War at NYU"; "Goebbels had a PhD too"; "No Honors for War Criminals" and "Goebbels and Goldberg: Apologists for Genocide."

The demonstration was organized by the NYU Medical Students CEWV, the NYU CEWV, NYU Students for a Democratic Society, and an NYU Ad Hoc Student-Faculty Committee on Vietnam. Other organizations were notified by the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee.

"Marxism is saturated with the optimism of progress, and that alone, by the way, makes it irreconcilably opposed to religion." — Leon Trotsky.

Help Asked For Detroit Victims

DETROIT — Professors David Herreshoff and Paul Lowinger of Wayne State University here are co-chairmen of an Emergency Medical Fund to help raise the medical and rehabilitation costs of Jan Garrett and Walter Graham. These are the two young socialists who were severely wounded when a deranged man out "to get communists" shot them in the local headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

Funds are also needed to help pay the funeral expenses of Leo Bernard, the third young socialist, who was murdered in the attack. Checks should be sent to the Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham, c/o English Dept., Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 48202.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, June 20, 1966

The Dominican Elections

Official Washington is chortling over the slick way in which the rebels of the Dominican Republic were booby-trapped by Lyndon Johnson's "free election" gambit. The hide-bound reactionary columnist of the *New York Times*, Arthur Krock, writing in the June 7 issue, hails the outcome as "a triumph for the President's foreign policy."

"The effect of the free election in the Dominican Republic," Krock gloats, "was a sweeping popular endorsement of President Johnson's determination there shall be 'no more Cubas.'"

It was under this banner that Johnson dispatched some 25,000 Marines to Santo Domingo to crush the revolt against the brutal military dictatorship that had overthrown the legally elected government of the reformist Juan Bosch regime. Instead of restoring Bosch to office, the occupation troops, supplemented by armed contingents from puppet members of the Organization of American States, began the series of maneuvers that culminated in the staging of a "free election" rigged from start to finish.

The idea that a "free election" can be held in a country occupied by foreign troops is a delusion and a snare. The liberal democrat, Juan Bosch, candidate of the rebels, had incurred the displeasure of Washington because, it was charged, he was "soft on communism." Johnson's elected candidate, Joaquin Balaguer, lifelong retainer of butcher Trujillo, was favored by the Yankee invaders and the reactionary Dominican military caste. With an interim puppet government, hoisted into office by Yankee Marines, conducting the election outcome was a foregone conclusion.

Johnson's heralded "triumph" would have been impossible had it not been for the collusion of the muddle-headed liberal, Juan Bosch, who sowed the illusion that "free elections" could be held in the existing circumstances. From the beginning, Bosch set out to dampen the militancy of the masses in revolt against the "gorillas" both native and foreign. With his consent, rebel leaders were sent into exile while the reactionary military junta terrorized the country.

Bosch thought that he could cheat history by playing the role of liberal middle-of-the-roader flaying both "left" and "right" with equal abandon. When the inevitable results of the rigged election were announced, he pretended to go along with the outraged protests of his followers and promised to investigate the many charges of election fraud. This was intended to calm his supporters and pave the way for complete capitulation.

After going through the motions of conducting an investigation, Bosch confirmed the charges of election fraud by the "use of false identity cards by voters, use of armed members of Dr. Balaguer's party to prevent supporters of Mr. Bosch's party from voting, slaying of Bosch's followers before the election and prevention of Bosch party officials from examining records after balloting." Also, Bosch disclosed, "quantities of ballots marked for him had been found in cemeteries and in the sea." Nevertheless, Bosch "grudgingly conceded" that "these proofs cannot change, in any great way, the general results of the election," and announced his intention of operating as a "loyal opposition."

The lessons of this bitter experience will not be lost on the rebel masses who fought and shed their blood to rid themselves of Yankee domination and the poverty, exploitation and oppression brought in its wake.

Why We Call It 'Capitalist Press'

There are a number of interesting aspects to the admission by Clifton Daniel, managing editor of the *New York Times*, that his paper deliberately helped deny the American people the facts about the impending invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Daniel, in a June 1 speech, described what the *Times* had done. Ten days before the slated invasion, it deliberately played down and emasculated a report on it by its correspondent Tad Szulc.

Originally planned as a lead story with a big four-column headline, the article was shifted to a less prominent space. Chopped out was the fact that invasion was imminent. Also deleted were references to the role of the CIA as organizer of the project.

Daniel also called attention to Arthur Schlesinger's revelation that the *New Republic* killed a similar story after consulting Washington and accepting President Kennedy's advice to do so.

Both instances of self-imposed censorship were justified as in the "national interest" and designed to avoid aiding the "enemy." This is so much hogwash. Cuba had a perfectly competent intelligence system and had been warning the world for months that the attack was coming and detailed the invasion build-up areas. The ones the *Times* and *New Republic* didn't want to tip off were the American people. For if they were convinced the Cuban charge were true, there might have been a public outcry against the plans for such naked aggression.

And some people say Marxists are dogmatic when they call it the "capitalist press."

China's Dee

By George Novack

What is going on in Peking? This question is not only engrossing the diplomats in all the other capitals from Moscow to Washington; it is troubling the partisans of revolutionary China, regardless of their tendencies. It is of even more serious concern, we presume, to the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party and the people of that country.

Unfortunately, no one outside the inner sanctum of the regime can know for sure what the precise issues in dispute are or the actual positions and arguments of the contending sides.

The command center of Communist China must be marked *terra incognita* on the map of world politics. We can learn little about the real state of political affairs from the officially published materials. Mao and his associates are as secretive and exclusive about the problems and processes of their policy-making as the ancient emperors and their mandarin advisers.

Such customs may suit a feudal monarchy, but are out of place in a democratic or a socialist government. The millions of Communist Party members and the 700,000,000 Chinese are entitled to know the different proposals for action, who their sponsors are, and on what grounds this or that course is accepted or rejected. So do the working masses of other countries who are anxious to help ward off the threat to the Peoples' Republic of China and the peace of the world posed by U.S. military escalation in Southeast Asia.

The Mao leadership has insisted on thorough discussion and clarification of the questions involved in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Yet they keep everyone in the dark when it comes to the pro's and con's of their vital decisions at home.

Internationalism

Such seclusion and isolationism have nothing in common with Marxism and Leninism. Ever since the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, genuine revolutionary socialist movements have taken internationalism as the only effective guide for the conduct of a workers party or a workers state, both in arriving at their policies and then explaining and justifying them to the world working class.

Mao and his associates have been flouting the principle of international class solidarity by refusing to participate in a common front against American imperialist aggression with other Communist countries on the specious grounds of their differences with the Russian revisionists. This sectarianism has weakened both the defense of Vietnam and the security of China itself. Now they are equally culpable in disregarding the supporters of the Chinese Revolution who are confused by an enforced ignorance of the issues at stake in the current internal struggle agitating Peking.

In Lenin's time, the working masses of the Soviet Union and revolutionists elsewhere were kept well informed about the major policy disagreements among the Communists, both on a national and an international level. Such enlightenment was considered essential to Soviet and party democracy and the worldwide struggle for socialism.

In this respect, Mao's regime sticks to the accursed tradition of Stalin who instituted the opposite practice of restricting policy-making powers to a tiny top group dominated by the arbitrary will of the unchallengeable individual. Everyone else at home and abroad was obliged to acquiesce in what emanated from the infallible leader.

How things stand in this respect in China is indicated by the

fact that the Chinese Communist Party has not held a congress since 1958. So far as is known, the Central Committee has not met since September 1962!

As a result of this authoritarian secretiveness, outside observers are reduced to "educated guesses" in analyzing and appraising the current political crisis.

Press Campaign

What facts have been reported in the Chinese and Western press, to date, as a basis for speculation?

For a number of months, the Chinese press has been conducting a strident nationwide campaign against erring intellectuals who are condemned as insidious, two-faced, dangerous "antiparty elements." This massive propaganda effort has been stepped up in recent weeks. Hundreds of articles on these themes appear every day throughout China and denunciations of the culprits over the radio and in the newspapers have virtually excluded comment on other subjects.

An editorial in the May 4 *Liberation Army Daily* links this "extremely sharp class struggle on the cultural front" with previous ideological campaigns over the past 15 years. It cites "the criticism of the film 'Life of Wu Hsun' in 1951; the criticism of 'Studies on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'' in 1955 and later the criticism of the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih; the criticism of Hu Feng and rejection of the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique in 1955; the counterattack against the reckless onslaught by the bourgeois rightist forces on the cultural front in 1957; the mushrooming of bourgeois and revisionist poisonous weeds in the fields of cinema, drama and literature since 1969 and our struggle against them; the criticism of Yang Hshien-Chen's concept of 'two combining into one' in 1964." It asserts that "the current great polemic . . . is being carried to greater depth."

Nothing less is involved than "a life and death struggle" against "antiparty, antisocialist activities" which are "in tune with the international anti-China chorus raised by the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, in conformity with the activities of the overthrown reactionary classes within the country to attempt a restoration, and in coordination with the antiparty activities of the right opportunist elements within the party."

The gravity of these accusations and the scale and intensity of the polemical campaign betoken a condition of high tension within the ruling circles of the regime. One commentator, Victor Zorza, in the May 12 *Manchester Guardian*, has likened the situation in Peking to "the crisis in the Soviet leadership a few months before the death of Stalin."

The present targets of the attack are a group of leading intellectuals, authors, scholars and journalists who have been intimately associated with the upper party levels and who hold high posts in the government.

Kuo Mo-jo

The most eminent is Kuo Mo-jo, the county's most prominent scholar, who has been called the "Victor Hugo of China" by *l'Humanité*, the official daily of the French Communist Party. He is president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers, chairman of the China Peace Committee, and occupies more than 20 other official positions. The 78-year-old Kuo has set the pattern for the current phase of the campaign by publishing a "self-criticism" made April



IMPOVERISHED COUNTRY. Lack of building of dam to prevent flooding is hardening group that hardens into a bureaucratic crisis in China.

14 to the Standing Committee of the National Peoples Congress, of which he is a vice-chairman.

There he confessed that all his voluminous writings deserved to be burned because he had not designed to learn from the workers and peasants and had neglected to apply Mao's teachings correctly.

This obsequious obedience to the omniscience of Mao Tse-tung by China's foremost scholar was preceded by a series of attacks upon four other prominent "bourgeois" historians and writers: Wu Han, Chien Po-tsan, head of the history department of Peking University; Hsia Yen, noted playwright; and Tien Han, for their failure to toe the line and for neglecting the role of class struggle in history.

It has been followed by attacks upon the official newspapers of the Peking municipal party committee for having published articles branded as "antiparty, pro-bourgeois and profeudalist." These articles came from three writers, Teng To, Professor Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha. The party's theoretical journal, *Hung Chi*, said that these papers deceived their readers by pretending to criticize the three writers, while actually shielding them and others who were carrying on their antiparty activities "in an organized, planned and led way." Professor Wu was accused of being "willing to be the slave of the United States and guilty of scheming and planning for the reactionary Kuomintang clique."

The trio are important official and literary figures. Teng is secretary of the Peking municipal party committee and former chief editor of *Jermin Jih*, Pao, the principal Communist newspaper. Liao is a former departmental director in the committee and Professor Wu is deputy mayor of Peking. They have now been joined by Li Chi, director of the party's Peking municipal branch, who has been assailed in radio and press commentaries for Soviet revisionist tendencies and for shielding antiparty elements.

One provincial broadcast has accused the Peng group of attempting to wrest power from the party's Central Committee.

Teng To, the so-called "leader of the antiparty, antisocialist gang of conspirators," may well have committed *lèse majesté* by indirectly questioning Mao's infallibility. In parables written in 1961, extracts from which have just been reproduced in both the army

Opening Political Crisis



modern equipment, Chinese are forced to do most arduous labor in of farmlands. The lack of basic necessities helps foster a privilege-seeking caste. Divisions within that bureaucratic caste have led to political

conomic policy and agrarian reforms.

(6) They demand more intellectual liberty, freedom of expression and the right to dissent from the official line.

(7) They may even have dared to suggest that Mao step down on grounds of health or age.

Taken together, these positions would constitute a serious oppositional program to the policies of the Peking leadership. It thus appears plausible that a serious struggle is being waged in the top echelons of the Chinese Communist Party over policy and perspectives and that the intellectuals under fire, and possibly the absent generals, are tied up with an anti-Mao faction and reflect its views.

The publicly assailed writers, experts and scholars may be surrogates for the real targets in the commanding heights of the party and army, embracing those dissidents who are discontented with the results of the foreign and domestic policy in recent years, have voiced opposition to them, and project an alternative course vigorously rejected by Mao and his men.

This surmise is substantiated in the warning given June 4 by an editorial in *Jenmin Jih Pao*, the CCP's central newspaper, that even the oldest and highest leaders would be removed if they opposed Mao's policies. The editorial declared: "Anyone who opposes chairman Mao Tse-tung, opposes Mao Tse-tung's thoughts, opposes the party's central leadership, opposes the proletariat's dictatorship, opposes the correct way of socialism, whoever that may be, however high may be the position and however old his standing, he will be struck down by the entire party and by the entire people."

Scapegoats

The singling out of eligible intellectuals as symbolic scapegoats for the main opponents in the early phases of a political struggle has a precedent in the Sino-Soviet dispute when Yugoslavia served for a while as a substitute for Moscow in Peking's polemics against Khrushchev's revisionism.

It would also be in accord with the Stalinist habit of the Maoists to lump together left Communist critics of their policies with "rightist" elements so that it is difficult to discriminate the one from the other. This was done during and after the short-lived "hundred flowers bloom" period in 1957.

The multiple stresses and strains within the country menaced by attack from the United States and the crisis in China's foreign policy are likely to generate differences and conflicts over policy in leading circles, no matter how much veneration is accorded Mao Tse-tung. Those who can observe the conduct of the rulers at first hand in the capital, who are susceptible to the real sentiments among the people, and who are not bereft of realism, have adequate reasons for seeking a reconsideration of the present course.

China's difficulties are most apparent in the foreign field. It is being more tightly encircled and directly imperiled by the extension of U.S. military operations in Southeast Asia. It is uncertain about the Kremlin's response in case its nuclear installations are bombed. Its diplomacy has not met with success in Africa, Latin America and many places in Asia. The setbacks of the colonial revolution on these three continents have served to heighten China's isolation.

Its weakened position in "the third world" is coupled with growing isolation in the Communist world. After four years of controversy against Russian revisionism, only three Communist parties, those in Albania, New Zealand and Japan, followed its example in boycotting the recent 23rd party congress in Moscow. Even the leadership of the Japanese CP does not see eye to eye with Peking's intransigence. The presence of so many Communist delegations in Moscow for that event was a tactical success for the Soviet leaders in their contest for influence against Peking.

Now, signs of differences have emerged with Hanoi, which sent representatives to the 23rd congress despite Peking's ban. The speeches made during the Albanian delegation's visit to Peking implicitly warned the north Vietnamese, who have been trying to steer a middle course between Moscow and Peking, against remaining friendly with the perfidious Russians. Both the Chinese and Albanians insist that there can be no neutrality in the Sino-Soviet conflict and that the struggle against "Soviet revisionism must be carried through to the end." The end means severing ties with Moscow on both a state and party level.

This factional demand that "Soviet revisionism must be defeated before victory over imperialism can be attained" was one of the major factors in precipitating a rupture between Havana and Peking. Whatever the pro's and con's of the case, this breach has neither improved China's position nor enhanced its reputation in the other Communist capitals.

Finally, the catastrophe in Indonesia in which from 300,000 to 600,000 Communists have been slaughtered, and the biggest Communist party outside China and the Soviet Union crushed, is in part attributable to Peking's tolerance — for its own diplomatic and factional reasons — of Aidit's policy of relying on a bloc with Sukarno as the representative of the so-called progressive, anti-imperialist colonial bourgeoisie. This debacle has not enhanced confidence in Mao's omniscience.

The Maoist groups in the capitalist countries, which started with great expectations, are becoming more and more demoralized, disoriented and disintegrated by these developments and their incapacity to justify them.

China has recovered from the worst difficulties created by the Great Leap Forward and the famine years and has repaired much of the resulting economic damage. But the scars of the experience remain. Food production is only now approaching the output of 1956. The proposals for agrarian reform are understandably, as Victor Zorza says, the most explosive political issue raised by the opposition. However, it is impossible to make any informed judgments on the merits of the matter and the real tendency of the critics since the counterproposals are concealed.

The Issues

Some military strategists are certainly calling for a more realistic relation with the Soviet Union for the sake of military defense. On one point there is little doubt. That is the yearning for greater freedom of intellectual, artistic and scientific activity. This is denoted, not only by Teng's position, but by the parallel which the editorial in the *Liberation Army Daily* drew between the views of the critics and the Hungarian intellectuals who set up the Petöfi Circle.

The Petöfi Circle, named for the popular poet killed in the Hungarian patriotic war for liberation in 1849, was a debating club formed in Budapest March, 1956, by the Communist youth organization as a response to the

liberalization after the Twentieth Congress of the CPUSSR. Students, writers, philosophers, economists, scientists and dissident party members used it as a platform for vehement criticism against the crimes, blunders and deficiencies of Rakosi's regime. The controversies in this unofficial parliament played a key role in the ideological preparation for the popular outburst in October that was smashed with the aid of Khrushchev's tanks and the approval of Mao Tse-tung.

In crushing the Hungarian uprising, Khrushchev charged that it was "counterrevolutionary," and he associated it with the bourgeois restorationist currents that also existed in Hungary. Mao agreed. Chou En-lai even toured Eastern Europe to bolster Khrushchev's hand in this counterrevolutionary repression of the socialist aspirations of the Hungarian intellectuals, students and workers. The Hungarian workers, however, clearly demonstrated that what they wanted was proletarian democracy and not a return to capitalism.

Stalin's Method

The reference by the *Liberation Army Daily* to the Petöfi Circle is all the more interesting, since it may indicate the existence of similar left-wing ferment in China. By deliberately mixing up a tendency of this kind with the remnants of the "progressive bourgeoisie," whose parties are still represented in the government of the People's Republic of China, Mao would be following the pattern set by Khrushchev, who, of course, was only applying what he learned from Stalin.

Today in Peking, the intimidated intellectuals must be keeping quiet, withdrawing deeper into themselves, and hypocritically kowtowing before Mao Tse-tung, while privately cursing the abasement inflicted upon them and their associates. If Kuo Mo-jo must humiliate himself under pressure, what other intellectuals can feel secure?

Most alarming is the assertion that this struggle against "revisionist and bourgeois elements" will go on "anywhere from one to several centuries." What a cheering prospect for the Chinese writers, scholars and technical experts and for socialists everywhere! And what a damning admission of the incapacity of Mao's thought to convince either the present generation or the many generations to come, not to mention its incapacity to open a revolutionary perspective for the industrially developed countries where a socialist victory would quickly establish the material base for a classless society on a world-wide scale.

Those for whom Mao has replaced Stalin as the fount of all political and philosophical wisdom hold that only servants of imperialism can ask to be informed about the issues and alignments on important questions or criticize the Chinese leaders for suppressing reasoned and informed discussion inside their party or in the Communist movement. These blind followers are as wrong today as they were in Stalin's time.

We may assume that the CIA, the Pentagon and other imperialist enemies have their own sources of knowledge about what is taking place in China from the remotest provinces and nuclear installations to the politbureau in the capital. Indeed, they are far better informed on these matters than the workers of all countries and their Marxist vanguard. This state of affairs is highly damaging to the cause of revolutionary China and its defense at a time when it stands in great peril of an imperialist assault.

and the intellectual's newspapers, Teng said: "It is only a wild dream of foolish men to know everything and possess inexhaustible wisdom." In another article he discussed a famous reforming prime minister, Wang An-shih, who had many new ideas but one great shortcoming: "he was not open-minded."

He recounted a Ming story of a man suffering from amnesia, who tripped over his own arrows and thought someone was shooting at him and then stepped in his own dung. Teng wrote that "those who suffer from this disease swallow their own words and become untrustworthy," and that if the symptoms appear in an extreme form, "the patients must take a complete rest, say nothing and do nothing," otherwise, "the results will be quite disastrous."

The May 21 *Economist* believes that Teng To "was probably referring to the party's attitude after the 'leap,' its convenient amnesia about its errors, its switches of policy and its paranoia about opposition." So far, Teng has refused to recant his heresies. Last December, he held a meeting of students in order to urge the creation of a "hundred flowers" atmosphere in which everyone could write "according to our own views."

High Officials

The most prominent official thus far implicated in the sweeping ideological purge is Peking's mayor, Peng Chen, member of the Politbureau and one of the top ten in the Communist Party hierarchy, who has been ousted as First Secretary of the party's Peking municipal committee.

With him went Lu Ping, President of Peking University, and two other officials of the country's leading university who were accused of protecting intellectuals guilty of bourgeois and revisionist heresies. The entire editorial boards of the *Peking Daily*, the *Peking Evening News* and the fortnightly magazine, *Front Line*, were dismissed for publishing articles by men, who, though holding top party posts, had committed "heinous antiparty and antisocialist crimes." It was said that all three groups of editors had compounded their guilt by not showing enough repentance when caught red-handed.

An unnamed deputy director in the propaganda department of the Central Committee, most probably the noted author, Chou Yang,

was accused of having encouraged the production of an allegorical opera by a "gangsters' den" of the arts in Shanghai, which was really intended to urge party leaders to give up office in favor of the revisionists. Chou has served as vice-minister of cultural affairs and vice-chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles since 1951. He is a well-known exponent of the regime's official views in philosophy. Lu Ting-yi, director of the propaganda department of the Central Committee and minister of culture has not been seen in Peking since the end of February.

These one-sided polemics have been raging while speculation is rife about the health of Mao Tse-tung and the identity of his possible successor. After an unexplained absence of five and a half months, the 72-year-old chairman of the Chinese Communist Party briefly reappeared — at least photographically — in mid-May to meet with the visiting premier of Albania. The occasion was staged to counteract rumors of his serious illness.

Hung Chi, the ideological journal of the party's central committee, has hinted that the purge of intellectuals and officials of the Peking municipal party may be extended to other areas. One is the army. Lo Jui-Ching, chief of the General Staff, has not been mentioned in the press since Nov. 27. The *Peking People's Daily* has hinted at the persistence of opposition among the military. "Our army does not exist in a vacuum," it writes, and added that "class struggle in the society will surely be reflected in the army."

From the accusations against the dissident intellectuals and other sources, it is possible to discern the vague contours of their criticism and the trend of their thinking.

(1) They doubt the infallibility of Mao Tse-tung.

(2) They claim to be better Communists than the present leaders.

(3) They display "sympathy" for the Khrushchev revisionists; that is, they want to unite the "socialist countries" in face of a possible attack by the United States, heal the breach, and renew the Russian alliance.

(4) They have criticized the excesses of the "Great Leap Forward" and such wasteful efforts as attempting to produce steel in backyard furnaces.

(5) They seek changes in eco-

Coalitionism and the Antiwar Movement

By Barry Sheppard

In the May 23 issue of *The Militant*, I discussed some of the reasons why revolutionary socialists are opposed, on principle, to the antiwar movement supporting "peace" candidates in the Democratic or Republican parties, or any other capitalist parties. In addition to these questions of principle, there are related, but separate, questions of strategy and tactics concerning peace candidates facing the antiwar movement.

The policy of supporting "peace" candidates, especially in the Democratic Party, has become known within the movement as "coalition politics."

This phrase may be misleading because it has more than one meaning. In the sense I used it in my previous article, it refers to the practice of the labor, Negro and antiwar movements, certain radical parties including the Communist and Socialist parties, supporting a section of the capitalist parties. A better phrase for this policy, a more precise phrase, is *political class collaboration* — the practice of supporting the parties of the capitalist class which are the source of war, racism, witch-hunt and anti-unionism.

Apologists for this policy of class collaboration, in justifying their view, make a play upon the word "coalitionism." For example, Bettina Aptheker, writing in the spring, 1966, issue of *Dimensions*, discussion bulletin of the DuBois Clubs, first uses the word to mean any united action.

After defending the correct idea of united action, and calling it

"Now I have said, and I mean it, that the Democratic Party is the most treacherous enemy of the Negro people on a national basis." — Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC.

coalitionism, she then proceeds to identify coalitionism with support of the Democratic Party. In other words, she attempts to blur the real issue of coalition politics by identifying political class collaboration with appealing to broad layers of the population in united actions. She would have it that the opponents of coalitionism are only those sectarians and ultra-lefts who will not work with anyone else unless they fully agree with them. But this reasoning confuses the issue and misses the mark.

My previous article discussed why it would be wrong for the antiwar movement to support the Democratic Party, the party of the warmakers. In this article I would like to take up the question of united action by the antiwar movement, and how peace candidates affect the movement at the present stage.

The antiwar movement has developed on the basis of non-exclusion. This has meant both a rejection of red-baiting and a welcoming into the ranks and demonstrations of the movement all who are opposed to the war in



LYNDON JOHNSON was 1964 "peace" candidate.

Vietnam. This kind of "coalitionism," the coalition of all antiwar forces, has been a positive feature of the antiwar movement and has been responsible for building the large massive protest demonstrations. But it is this very unity around the issue of the war which the coalitionism of supporting "peace" candidates threatens to break up.

Within the antiwar movement are different tendencies which conflict sharply over electoral politics. The revolutionary socialists are opposed to supporting any capitalist parties or candidates, and stand for independent labor, Negro and socialist electoral activity. The Communist Party, SANE and others support the "lesser evils" and "peace candidates" in the Democratic Party. Still others look to the possible formation of a Wallace-type liberal third capitalist party. Many radical pacifists reject any form of electoral activity on principle.

For any one of these viewpoints to be imposed on the movement would tend to split it. The movement is not united on this question; we are united in our opposition to the war. We should agree to disagree, and struggle where necessary, over the question of coalition politics, but we should do it in such a way that we do not break up the movement against the war. This can only be done if the antiwar movement sticks to the single issue we all agree on — opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Socialist Candidates

The revolutionary socialists of the Socialist Workers Party, for example, will run candidates in some areas in the coming elections. We will welcome and encourage support from antiwar activists who agree with us that anticapitalist electoral action is the only genuine antiwar electoral activity. The SWP campaigns will support and defend the antiwar movement. But we will not call upon the antiwar committees to convert themselves into socialist campaign committees because this would split the movement and narrow it at its present stage.

An example of the harm which can be done to the antiwar movement by "peace" candidates was the Democratic primary campaign of Robert Scheer in Berkeley. We have already commented on the damage his campaign did in steering many antiwar activists into support of the Democratic Party. But the campaign also had another negative result. It split the antiwar movement in Berkeley.

Scheer sought and obtained, after a bitter internal struggle, the support of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, by a two-to-one vote. As his campaign developed, it drew off enough activists and energy from the VDC to cause the virtual collapse of the militant

and large antiwar committee. In fact, during the March 25-26 International Days of Protest, the VDC was not even able to organize the demonstration in Berkeley. Since that time activists have reconstituted the VDC, and although many Scheer campaign supporters still give no support to it, the reconstituted VDC will develop as a pole of attraction for those seriously interested in organizing opposition to the war.

Imposing a line of supporting peace candidates upon the antiwar movement not only splits the organized movement, but narrows its appeal to the population. This follows from the single-issue character of the movement.

The movement is single-issue not only by virtue of the fact that many different tendencies are opposed to the war and can find the basis for minimal agreement in actions around this issue. The movement as a whole, including the millions of people opposed to the war who have not yet joined any organization or participated in a demonstration, is fundamentally single-issue at this stage.

The burning question of Vietnam is, of course, the issue which has built the antiwar movement, and it is the issue around which genuine opposition to the administration is developing in the population as a whole. As the casualties and costs of the war mount, as it becomes clearer and clearer that it is an unjust war and not a war for democracy, the opposition will deepen and become more and more overt.

Nature of Radicalization

But this process of radicalization around the issue of the war in Vietnam is far ahead of any general radicalization. Millions of people are opposed to the war who have not begun to act on all the other wrongs in our society, or to link up these other issues with the war in Vietnam. This is also true of many who are in the organized antiwar movement. And even among those who have become radical in general, there isn't agreement on which, if any, of the multi-issue approaches of the various radical organizations is correct.

But on the issue of the war in Vietnam, there is the widest agreement and greatest potential for building a real mass movement. That is why it is a crime to saddle any antiwar organization with a multi-issue approach, at the present time, which can only narrow and isolate the organization, and prevent it from reaching more people.

Election campaigns are necessarily multi-issue. Candidates have to take positions on all sorts of questions, from how to achieve civil rights to Communist China — on which there is no general agreement either within the movement or within the growing numbers who are opposed to the war.

Some committees have considered running their own candidates, around the single issue of



ROBERT KENNEDY. Some look to him as next Presidential "peace" candidate.



ANTIWAR FIGHTERS. Scene at Berkeley women's march to bring GIs home now.

the war. But this is impossible, for even if such a candidate refused to comment on other issues, his campaign would have to take a stand on the Democratic Party — and any stand would not find agreement within the movement, let alone among the millions opposed to the war. By supporting candidates or running their own, antiwar committees would tend to convert themselves into electoral campaign committees, and cease to be broad groups reaching out to people on the basis of their opposition to the war.

What revolutionary socialists propose at the present stage is that the antiwar committees not be forced to take a stand on the sharply conflicting positions about the coming elections. Let the different tendencies form their own electoral campaign committees — let those who want to work for socialist candidates do so, let those who want to work for Democrats do so, etc. But let's keep the antiwar movement as united as we can, and as active as possible.

Unfortunately, some coalitionists within the movement do not agree with the above proposal. Scheer, for example, insisted upon imposing his campaign on the VDC, which hurt the movement in Berkeley. Recently, the so-called National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam called a press conference in New York where its chairman, Frank Emspack, put the NCC on record in support of such "peace" candidates as Democrat Theodore Weiss in New York. Emspack made this announcement without consulting the various groups which supposedly the NCC coordinates, making it clear that the NCC is in reality only one of the tendencies in the antiwar movement — one that favors coalition politics.

Coalitionist Approach

The coalitionists tend to put their particular form of electoral action above the needs of the antiwar movement. The NCC, for example, has reacted lukewarmly to the proposal by the New York Parade Committee for new mass demonstrations Aug. 6-9. In fact, the NCC went so far as to circulate a statement that the Parade Committee had reconsidered its call for such demonstrations, which was not true.

The reason why coalitionists tend to view further mass action at this time with less than enthusiasm is because they fear that such action, especially of a militant character, will cut across their campaigns for "peace" candidates, especially those in the Democratic Party. Such candidates, committed to this system, are embarrassed by mass action against the government, and such action itself is more potent against

the war than any peace campaign, and is more attractive to the antiwar militants.

For the same reason, the coalitionists tend to want to tone down the demands of mass actions. They especially shy away from the slogan of "bring our troops home now." This slogan, the logical and broad one for the movement, is too sharp for most peace candidates.

The view of revolutionary socialists goes in the opposite direction. We see the antiwar movement as the most important political development in the U.S. today. The thrust of the movement is against the government, the capitalist parties and the imperialist system itself.

Potential of Movement

We believe that if the movement continues to organize opposition to the war, it will begin to attract people from the working class and Negro people, and can, in conjunction with the impact of events in Vietnam, become a massive movement. Such a movement will help break down confidence in the Democratic Party and could lead to independent working class political action. It will, in time, naturally raise in many minds broader questions than the war, and aid the development of a general radicalization. And somewhere along this process, the movement can become powerful enough, in conjunction with the world-wide struggle against imperialism and above all the struggle of the Vietnamese people, to force the government to end the war.

But the immediate tasks facing the movement, which are necessary if it is to meet its potential, are to reject the trap of peace candidates, and to keep organizing and building, uniting all who want to build the movement, around the single issue of the war in Vietnam.

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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.]

Real Killers Go Free

Iowa City, Iowa
Enclosed is my check to assist in your Socialist Education Fund. I wish I were in a financial position to contribute far more than this to your work.

I just want to say how disturbed I was at the report of the murder of Leo Bernard in Detroit. I can't exactly say I was surprised that something on that order had happened; given the tenor of rabid anti-communism in which the American people have been immersed by their rulers for the past 20 years, and given the desensitization and dehumanization attendant on that propaganda, this murder — and several other things, as the bombings of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee and the DuBois Club — seems only appropriate and logical. Poisonous values and ideologies have poisonous consequences.

I agree with what Farrell Dobbs said at the Detroit commemorative meeting: it is not so much the degree to which the killer was psychopathic, but why he acted out his derangement in the way he did — in his messianic anti-communism, that is, in political terms — which should concern us. You understand both the insight and the result, I'm sure, as well as I. When the Establishment raises to a duty of high degree the killing of revolutionists and communists in Vietnam, it is quite apparent such a value system and mode of operation is going to begin operating here as well. There are obvious historical parallels: similar killings and terror in France — witness the bombing of Sartre's home during the Algerian war. These too were aimed at those siding with the victims of imperialism.

Still, the point must be made that the man who murdered Leo Bernard was also in a way as much a victim of the sickness of the imperialist age, and I hope you who were Leo's comrades will find some compassion and pity in your hearts for him also. The real killers are going free.

At a time like this, we have little to offer our enemies but a show of force — of all of us on the left — in the demonstration of our solidarity and our determination to prevail. But this is no little thing; as the heroic struggle of the guerrillas in Vietnam shows, it may well be the greatest force in the world today. Perhaps if we grasp this, the martyrdom of Leo Bernard will not seem so empty.

Again, I offer my condolences to his family and friends, and my wishes for a rapid recovery and renewed determination to your comrades Walter Graham and Jan Garrett.

Dave Cunningham

Plug for Mrs. Sade?

Philadelphia, Pa.
Here are a couple of things you might be able to use sometime in "It was Reported in the Press."

Last June or July, I saw in the *New York Daily News* that you could buy a diamond-studded navel plug for \$1,350. I was so sure you'd print it that I didn't bother to send it in — maybe you didn't see it. (I guess you don't work with people who read that paper during lunch!)

About a week ago, I went to Charlottesville, Va., with Bill Frederick to hear him sing, and sell literature for our Committee to End the War in Vietnam. A sign on a building right on Main St. struck our eye: "Sade & Co., Members: New York Stock Exchange, American Stock Exchange." How's that for a marquis?

A.L.

The Attacks on Cuba

New York, N. Y.
In April of 1961, American and Cuban counterrevolutionaries, under the direction of the American Central Intelligence Agency, attacked several areas of Cuba, the main concentration being Playa Giron. Such an attack by an American agency with the well wishes of the State Department is an act of war. The failure of the attack exposed the plot as a naked act of aggression perpetrated by the American government.

Washington's continuing attempt to infiltrate CIA agents in Cuba and its armed attacks by groups of Cuban reactionaries and pirates are serious provocations. The murders of Cuban soldiers by American snipers at Guantanamo heighten the tension.

Recently, various administrative officials, including Mr. Dean Rusk, have distorted and impeded the truths behind the events in Guantanamo. In Premier Fidel Castro's reply to the Pentagon, he expresses the support of 16 foreign journalists who were at the scene when the provocations had occurred. On Thursday, June 2, the *New York Times* ran an article on a speech by Clifton Daniels, *Times*' managing editor, on how a story of the plot to invade Cuba in 1961 was suppressed by the publishers. Refusing to convey to the American public such relevant information was interpreted as a patriotic commitment. Daniels' disclosure demonstrated the unreliability of the most informative newspaper in the United States.

Daniels, who sounded like an apologist, went on in his speech trying to justify an international crime of American armed invasion upon a sovereign country.

A new invasion of Cuba by American imperialists would solidify the existing solidarity among international revolutionists. The United States' filthy war against Vietnam, the atrocities in the Congo, the intervention in the Dominican Republic and the vomit of a fascist foreign policy has already

produced a Tricontinental Conference. As a Puerto Rican revolutionary, I am willing, prepared and would be proud to stand alongside my Cuban brothers and comrades in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

Alfredo Peña

From SP Member

New York, N. Y.
I have contributed to the Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham. This murder and the shootings are examples of the American tragedy of alienation. May this not happen again.

Please convey my fraternal sympathies to the families of the victims.

Maurice Goldman
Member, N. Y. Socialist Party

From Mississippi

Sunflower, Miss.
Doddsville, Senator Eastland's hometown, also his property of five thousand acres of land, is about a mile and a half outside the corporation limit of the city. The population of Doddsville in the 1960 census was 190.

The people's chief enterprise is cotton and beans. They work for about four and a half months out of a year, due to the development of chemicals and machines.

Thought for the Week

"How can you talk of the sovereignty and freedom of our people. Your crime and your plot can only be compared to a century of French colonialism in Vietnam." — Buddhist leader Thick Tri Quang in an open letter to President Johnson.

We have registered people in Doddsville, but later on they will move or go north, due to the pressure that Doddsville is a plantation town. At this time, we're using a new strategy, and this new strategy is that we went around talking to a group of people to take down to Indianola to register, and this time we were successful.

Also, in our past letter, we told that five other towns could do the same as we did if they get a complaint, which is any person who says that he or she was discriminated against for trying to participate.

So in a few weeks, when Judge Clayton decides the exact date the election should be held, he will also have to make a decision about three other towns which have signed complaints. They are Doddsville, Moorhead and Ruleville.

The total number of whites eligible to vote is 6,736. The number of Negroes is 13,500. The total number of whites registered is 6,576 and the total number of Negroes is 3,700.

In some of the county, people are still hard to reach by the expression of words; they feel that the civil rights bill is no good because it is not enforced strongly. In some cases they are correct.

The center that we are building in Sunflower is coming on pretty well. We are still trying to encourage outsiders and insiders to help build a base station which is better known as the Sunflower County Improvement Center.

Up to now, we have no kind of vehicle that we can depend upon at all times, because the car we did have is in the shop and the man whose shop it's in had a car accident.

We kindly thank those of you who have given donations and clothing to help show that people elsewhere are concerned as well as these here.

Otis Brown, Jr.
Sunflower County Chairman
Mrs. Eddie Townsend, Secretary
Mary Frances Willia, Ass't Sec'y
Freedom Democratic Party
P.O. Box 398
Sunflower, Miss.

It Was Reported in the Press

Summer PJ Clearance — Saks Fifth Avenue has a slam-bang special on Night Kite, silk satin evening pajamas. Small and medium sizes only, \$425 a pair. Sorry, no mail or phone orders.

Another Secret Weapon — American free enterprise is pitching in with its material and mental resources to help win the Vietnam war. The U.S. Playing Card Company has shipped several thousand aces of spades to Vietnam for troops to drop on guerrilla territory. Someone told them the guerrillas regard the card as a death omen.

Southern News — A Southern reader sent us a book review from *The Stormy Petrel*, a paper published at Oglethorpe College in Atlanta. The book reviewed is *The Southerner*, by Charles Weltner, a U.S. Congressman from Georgia. Our correspondent wrote across the clipping, "Review we never finished reading." The review, written by an Oglethorpe professor of philosophy begins: "In a democracy, a politician is elected to office because he represents the majority opinion of those voting."

Plodding Anti-Pollution — Testifying before a Senate committee, Secretary of Health John Gardner said the U.S. has "only begun to scratch the surface of coping with air and water pollution." He said it is definitely established that air pollution contributes to the rising incidence of lung cancer, emphysema, bronchitis and asthma. "The problem," Gardner said, "not only remains critical, it continues to grow at a faster rate than our efforts to cope with it."

Too Truthful? — A group of scholars at the University of Chicago concluded that computers will prove an aid to diplomats, but will not replace them.

Salty Comments — Jack Wilson, who does the Washington column "Potomac Fever" for the *Minneapolis Star*, offered this comment on Luci's wedding: "The Johnson's ask friends to cancel parties for Luci to keep her wedding from becoming a spectacular. They'll decide later about TV rights." On India's famine, he

wrote: "Premier Indira Gandhi says press reports exaggerate India's food problems — nobody there has ever starved to death more than once."

Hutton Special — Peg Bracken breathlessly reports in the *Detroit News*: "Girls, Babs Hutton has done it again! . . . What Babs does is this: When she and her seventh husband, Thai Prince Doan Vinh Na Champacak, give a dinner party in their classically simple Oriental-type house . . . Babs wears robes of exquisite Thai silk in flattering shades of pink or coral. And because she can't stand the idea that her guests will be a discordant note — what if somebody showed up in some putrid old polka dots or something? — she has them take off their 'outer clothing' when they come in. Then they are presented with Thai silk clothes."

Moral Standards — The U.S. Supreme Court convicted Ralph Ginzberg of publishing "pornography" on the grounds that the advertising for the material was

suggestive. Justice of the Peace Richard Davis of Belleair Bluffs, Fla., sees it different. When the performers at a local restaurant and night club were arrested for putting on a show in topless costumes, he waved aside a defense claim that an identical performance was put on at a local burlesque house. He said that while "the conduct complained of here may be completely permissible in a burlesque house advertising itself as such," it didn't go in other places. In support of a disorderly conduct charge, the prosecution cited audience reaction to the performance. A deputy sheriff said the crowd "became more alert and observant."

Due Process — Arguing for revision of federal bail laws, Rep. Carlton R. Sickles (D-Md.) pointed out that some 9,000 Americans are jailed each year in the federal system during the pre-trial period. The average length of pre-trial detention is 41 days. And the federal courts have a better record on this score than the state and local ones. —Harry Ring

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CUBAN PAPER OFFERS PROOF

New Facts on Slaying of Sentry

(World Outlook) — The May 29 issue of the English edition of *Granma*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, provides further details about the killing of Luis Ramírez López, the Cuban sentry on duty at the Guantanamo frontier, which show how brazenly the State Department lied about the circumstances of the murder.

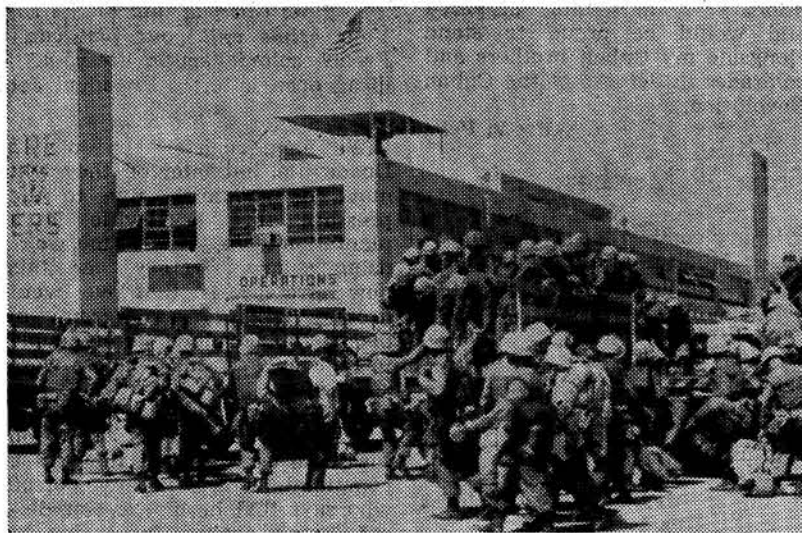
According to the State Department, "On May 21, about 7:10 p.m., an armed Cuban soldier was observed within the boundaries of Guantanamo Naval Base. A warning shot, fired by a U.S. guard, was ignored by the Cuban. When the infiltrator ignored the warning shot, a second shot was fired, wounding the Cuban."

Then the "intruder," although wounded, leaped over the fence and escaped.

With sketches and photographs, *Granma* shows how ridiculous this version is.

Along the perimeter of the Naval Base, the Americans put up a high wire fence. This is topped with barbed wire. Within the fence they planted a mine field. Between the mine field and the fence they left room for a roadway that is patrolled by trucks or jeeps loaded with armed troops.

Because they feared provocations, the Cubans cleared a wide area on their side of the American fence. They then planted a heavy row of cactus. This is followed by three barbed wire fences. The area between the three fences



OCCUPY FOREIGN TERRITORY. U.S. Marines at Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba during 1962 missile crisis. Marines were on combat alert.

is filled with a tangle of barbed wire. Beyond this, the Cuban sentries are posted in blockhouses.

The post where Ramírez was stationed is on a hill overlooking all these barriers.

Ramírez was shot through the back. The bullet entered near the top of the right lung, travelled upward, and came out at the front of the neck, piercing the aortic arch. He died within moments. Two other sentries, on duty with him, at once notified Frontier Battalion Headquarters.

The trajectory of the shot

showed that it was fired from near the American patrol road.

As we previously reported, a number of journalists who visited the scene of the murder were completely convinced that the American version was a lie.

Faced with the impossibility of explaining (1) why a lone Cuban soldier would want to go inside the heavily guarded Naval Base, (2) how, after being wounded, he could scale all the barriers before dying, (3) how the shot could have ranged upward if it was fired as claimed by the State Department, Washington reacted in typical fashion. It escalated the size of the lie.

The Pentagon claimed that six Cuban soldiers had entered Guantanamo on May 23. According to the Pentagon, they opened fire against American sentries. The sentries returned the fire. The Cuban then fled.

The only tangible fact in this ghostlike sequence is that the story was released to the press on May 27, the day following the visit of 30 journalists from 16 countries to the scene of the murder of Luis Ramírez López.

In an effort to give force to this "counterpropaganda," Dean Rusk even said May 27 that the U.S. government would "protest" the "intrusion" by the mysterious six Cubans. Rusk told a press conference that "the Cubans must stop these incidents by remaining outside the zone. It will be better for all concerned."

It was the glaringly provocative nature of this move by the State Department that led the Cuban government to at once call a state of alert and to order the "adoption of all necessary measures for moving immediately into a state of combat alarm if circumstances so require."

U.S. Gets Offer from Nicaragua

NEW YORK — While visiting here June 8, René Schick Gutiérrez, the president of Nicaragua, said that he would allow his country to be used as a base, once again, for an armed invasion of Cuba.

Up to now, the Nicaraguan government has been very reluctant to admit that it permitted the Bay of Pigs invasion in April, 1961, to be prepared in Nicaragua and launched in good part from there.

President Schick said here that he would permit his country to be used for a new aggression "at any time, in any circumstances."

His brazen statement came at a news conference after he had lunched with UN Secretary General Thant. A Cuban correspondent to the UN asked him if he would allow the port of Puerto Cabezas to be used again.

"Against Cuba, no," said the head of the Nicaraguan government. "Against Castro, at any time in any circumstances, because he is a great threat to peace and security in Latin America."

Canadian Pickets Demand: "U.S. — Hands Off Cuba!"

TORONTO, Canada (World Outlook) — Some 70 demonstrators met in a rally at the new city hall here, June 4, and marched to the U.S. Consulate carrying banners demanding that the U.S. withdraw from the naval base it maintains on Cuban soil at Guantanamo.

The action was organized by the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee in response to an emergency telegram from the National Committee of the Young Communists in Cuba on the threat of an invasion of the island republic.

The FPCC said it had "issued an alert to all who defend the rights of small nations, such as Cuba, to determine their own forms of government, undeterred by bigger powers such as the United States."

"All Canadians should be prepared on an emergency basis," the Fair Play group continued, "to protest any further provocations by the U.S. State Department that threatens not only the lives of the entire people of Cuba, but the peo-

ples of the whole world with a nuclear disaster."

The statement added that the committee "expresses its support of the idea that Canadians should be prepared, as they have been in the past, to volunteer their services in the defense of freedom anywhere — and in this case, on the shores of Cuba.

"FPCC is prepared to act along the lines of the Cuban appeal," the statement concluded.

The demonstration at the Consulate was a spirited one. The central theme was: "Hands off the Cuban People!"

Two dramatic banners expressing solidarity with the Cuban people were carried by supporters of the Portuguese and Spanish Canadian Democratic Association.

The FPCC has been seeking to alert the Canadian people to the dangers implicit in the provocative moves against Cuba initiated by the U.S. State Department in connection with the murder of a Cuban sentry at the Guantanamo frontier.



Dean Rusk

Mexican Police Torture Jailed Socialist Writer

(World Outlook) — Some details are beginning to leak out in Mexico City of the torture inflicted on Adolfo Gilly and the members of the Posadista group who were arrested and charged with seeking to overthrow the Mexican government and establish a Communist regime. (see *The Militant*, May 16).

Gilly, who is known in many countries for his articles on the Cuban Revolution and the Guatemalan guerrilla movement, was apparently one of the main targets of the political police. They submitted him to torture for three days in an effort to make him "confess" that he belonged to "the Fourth International."

He was submitted to seven sessions of beatings on the chest, head and kidneys. After one of the worst beatings, he was handcuffed for an entire night in a sitting posture in a chair. He was also submerged under water until he reached the point of drowning.

Unable to break him by outright physical torture, the police threatened to drive him out on the highway and shoot him. This threat likewise failed to have the desired effect.

Threaten Execution

Gilly was then taken to a higher official who told him that what they planned to do was take him to the Guatemalan border where he would be turned over to the Guatemalan police, who would immediately execute him.

This seemed to Gilly to be a likely outcome, as he was aware that the reactionary Guatemalan government would like to get him because of the articles he has written. He therefore agreed to state that he had attended a meeting of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [Revolutionary Workers Party], the name of the Posadista

group in Mexico, a small split from the Fourth International.

Both he and the other victims who had been compelled under torture to make similar "confessions," repudiated these when they were finally brought before the presiding judge.

The Mexican authorities, of course, are engaging in a witch-hunt. The target at the time of the arrests was the militant student movement on the campus of the University of Mexico.

Student Demonstrations

The arrest of Gilly and the others was staged at the height of student demonstrations that forced the resignation of the head of the university administration. The newspapers ran screaming headlines about "Trotskyists" plotting to overthrow the government, claiming that these "agitators" were behind the demonstrations of the students.

It also appears that the Mexican government is worried over a rise in social unrest in the country and the possibility that it may strengthen the left. The current witchhunt against a small unpopular group could be designed as the opening move against much larger groups, particularly if they prove incapable of understanding the meaning of the blow struck against the Posadistas and fail to rally in their defense despite ideological differences.

Consequently, it is important to let the Mexican authorities know that this policy will prove unprofitable. Protests should be lodged immediately with the Mexican embassy in Washington, D.C., and with the judge who has jurisdiction in the case: Sr. Eduardo Ferrer McGregor, Juez Primero de Distrito en Material Penal, Bucareli 24, Mexico, D.F., Mexico.

Cops Launch New Frame-Up Against Mexican Trotskyists

(World Outlook) — In the early hours of June 4, vandals dynamited the statue of Miguel Alemán, former president of Mexico, on the campus of the University of Mexico.

The police at once ascribed the vandalism to members of "the Trotskyist group" in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences. They claimed that it involved about 20 youths whose names were known. Up to June 6, however, no arrests had been made.

Despite this, the police indicated a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the crime.

"Comandante Leobardo Barajas, of the Federal District Judicial police, said yesterday," according to the June 6 Mexico City daily *Excelsior* in a front-page story, "that it was known that the dynamiters — who numbered about 20 — had indulged in intoxicating drinks, had broken open doors and padlocks of the administration offices in the basement of the Rectory building and taken the tools, bars and picks which they used in their destructive work."

Further Details

"They set off four sticks of dynamite. With the first two at 45 minutes past midnight, they toppled the head of the statue. After the explosion they hid for more than an hour. They returned to place the third and fourth in the left arm and feet, which they set off after three in the morning."

"To climb up to the head and the middle of the statue, the dynamiters utilized the scaffolding recently placed around the monument by the Department of Con-

servation of the University City."

Whatever group was involved, (ultra-rightists as well as many radical tendencies are active on the campus) the case smelled a great deal like the one in New York in which a handful were arrested for plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty.

Although some of the defendants in that case actually did arrange to get some dynamite, it turned out that the leading figure involved in the plot — the one who first suggested it and pressed for it to be carried out — was an agent sent into the group by the police.

Is this a Mexican version of that notorious case?

Alexander Group In New Aid Appeal

The Alexander Defense Committee has issued an urgent appeal for contributions and letters of support in their effort to resist the U.S. Justice Department's order that they register as agents of a "foreign principal." In spite of this harassment, the committee will continue its work of support for South African victims of apartheid. Funds and inquiries should be addressed to the Alexander Defense Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.