

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 28 - No. 45 Monday, December 14, 1964 Price 10c

Congo Fight Continues Against Puppet Tshombe

By Dick Roberts

DEC. 9 — Two weeks after the forced exit of the Belgian paratroopers from Kivu Province, the Congolese rebellion still continues. Most of the towns which Tshombe's mercenaries bombed and pillaged have been recaptured by the rebels, and the mercenaries are able to hold Stanleyville only by means of mass arrests and killings.

Despite all the hysterical propaganda about massacres of whites and rescue missions, which pervades the American press, the real story of the Nov. 24 U.S.-Belgian paratroop drop is beginning to emerge:

The sole purpose of the so-called humanitarian mission was to drive the rebels out of Stanleyville.

Tshombe's mercenary army could not have taken Stanleyville without outside military support: "It took the mercenaries and American air-lifted Belgian paratroopers to recapture Stanleyville," *New York Times* correspondent Lloyd Garrison reported from that city Dec. 8.

That Washington and Brussels are still unsatisfied with their attempt to suppress the Congolese rebellion was made clear by these further developments:

Recruitment of more white racists to reinforce Tshombe's mercenary army is underway in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, where 150 mercenaries have already been hired. Another 500 killers-for-pay will be hired in Europe.

Meanwhile, the Belgian Army is openly training new battalions of Congolese recruits to bolster the battered forces of Tshombe's strong man, Col. Mobutu. Earlier this summer, Mobutu's army had proved utterly incapable of holding down the rebellion in Kivu Province without mercenary support.

At the same time, however, the Congolese rebels are beginning to receive military support from Algeria. According to the *New York Times*, Dec. 6, trained Algerian guerrillas have been made available to the rebel leaders under Gaston Soumialot who are regrouping in the Sudan, and the Soviet Union is providing aircraft to bring them weapons.

The official Algerian government newspaper *Alger Ce Soir* stated: "Algeria keeps her word and is going into action. The time

for speeches and promises is over." Ghana, Egypt and the Sudan apparently are also co-operating in united African support to the Congolese rebels.

While the struggle against imperialism is thus deepening in the Congo, more and more reports describing the horrifying atrocities of the mercenary terrorist campaign are filtering through the American press barrage of racist propaganda.

One report, not to our knowledge carried in any major American newspaper, was printed in the *London Daily Express*, Britain's largest circulating paper. These were the words of a Britisher who had quit the mercenary army because he couldn't stomach the brutality any longer:

"As a mercenary I found myself taking part in the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent women and children."

The ex-mercenary went on to describe a typical reprisal after a rebel ambush: "We simply went to the nearest village where we were ordered to kill every man, woman and child and then set fire to everything."

But such tactics were not limited to the mercenaries. They were repeated on a larger scale by the U.S.-lifted Belgian paratroopers. Here is an eye-witness description of the "humanitarian" mission by Ed Van Kan, a cameraman for *United Press International* (printed in the Dec. 5 *Baltimore Afro-American*):

"In the moment it would take me to snap my fingers I saw a squad of Belgian paratroopers kill three Africans who came under their guns.

"And in another incident, the Belgians, rifles ready, stopped an African riding a bicycle through a dusty side street, a bunch of bananas balanced on his head.

"Are you a Mulelist?" the soldiers demanded. [Pierre Mulele, a leading Lumumbist, was recently reported killed.]

"No," the African replied. "You're lying," one of the Belgians replied. (Continued on Page 3)

Free Speech Battle Rocks U of California



DEMAND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Part of the massive crowd of more than 12,000 students at Dec. 4 rally at University of California in Berkeley to hear call for general student strike to end curbs on campus rights.

DEC. 9 — The Free Speech Movement won an important victory yesterday when the Academic Senate, representing the full faculty of the University of California at Berkeley, voted by better than eight to one for complete freedom of advocacy of ideas on the Berkeley campus. An amendment which would have placed restrictions on political freedom was also overwhelmingly defeated. The amendment purporting to forbid advocacy of "violence" was interpreted by the vast majority of the faculty as aimed at actions such as the Dec. 2 sit-ins.

By Alan Sharpe

BERKELEY, Dec. 7 — Mario Savio, leader of the Free Speech Movement (FSM), was dragged from the speakers' platform by campus police in front of 18,000 students in the Greek Theater today.

The students had assembled to hear University of California President Clark Kerr's "peace" plan. After Kerr and Prof. Robert Scalapino presented the proposal, Mario Savio walked to the microphone but before he could speak cops grabbed him around the neck and pulled him off the platform. Some students on the platform struggled with the police while the crowd raised a thunderous protest.

Under this pressure, Kerr and Scalapino permitted Savio to speak. Savio called the students to a rally in front of the administration building. It was already clear that the students had rejected Kerr's proposal for they stood and shouted "No, No." when he finished speaking. Kerr had condemned the sit-in and refused to have the prosecutions against nearly 800 students arrested during it dropped.

After a song fest led by folksinger Joan Baez, the sit-inners

had occupied the administration building at noon Dec. 2 to protest the administration's continuing harassment of FSM leaders because of earlier demonstrations. On Thursday, Dec. 3, "liberal" Gov. Edmund Brown ordered 600 cops to smash the sit-in. The cops dragged 800 students to jails throughout Oakland and Berkeley. The arrests began 4 a.m. Dec. 3 and continued through the day.

The students, in unprecedented strength, countered with a general strike at the university, establishing picket lines around most university buildings. The strike was called at a giant rally Thursday, the day of the arrests. The pro-administration student-body officers attempted to hold a simultaneous rally opposing the strike plans, but it was dwarfed by the strike rally and was quickly canceled. Daily rallies held by the Free Speech Movement drew 10- (Continued on Page 2)

If You're White You Can Get Away with Murder in Mississippi

Arrested Racist Killers Not Worried About Convictions

By Fred Halstead —

DEC. 9 — Some seven months after the crime was planned, six months after it was committed, and two months after the description of the crime and the existence of eyewitnesses to it were reported in *Ramparts*, a national Catholic lay magazine, the FBI has finally made arrests in connection with the murder last June 21 of three civil-rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi.

Confirming what was virtually common knowledge among both Negro and white residents of the area, the FBI charges list Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence A. Rainey, Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price, Philadelphia policeman O. N. Burkes and 16 others as some of those involved in the conspiracy to murder Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman.

Ten of the 19, including Deputy

Price, were named as members of the gang that abducted and murdered the three youths. Two additional persons were charged with concealing evidence. All 21 were charged under the federal Civil Rights Act of 1945 which carries a maximum sentence of ten years in prison and a \$5,000 fine.

But conviction even on these charges is not to be expected from a racist jury. All 21 were released on bail.

The federal charges confirm the information turned over to the FBI months ago by civil-rights workers such as Dick Gregory. A plan to murder Schwerner was adopted, say the charges, by state Ku Klux Klan officials. Word was passed among Klansmen in Neshoba and Lauderdale counties.

Schwerner had been chosen to be made an example because "he was a white man who worked for integration, he was a Jew, he was

from Brooklyn and he wore a beard," according to a report quoted in the Dec. 7 *New York Post*. Chaney and Goodman happened to be with Schwerner when the trap was sprung.

Three Jailed

The three were arrested by Deputy Price on a speeding charge. As part of the conspiracy, says the FBI report, they were held in the Neshoba County jail June 21 until after dark and until the Klansmen who were to execute the "sentence" arrived in Philadelphia. Deputy Price, says the charge, then released the men and joined the Klansmen in following, intercepting and murdering the youths.

The deputy and Sheriff Rainey returned to "duty" as "law officers" after posting bail. They are also out on bail on previous federal charges of beating Negro prisoners, but no conviction is expected in that case either. They operate

from a sheriff's office which has a bulletin board outside with a poster depicting U.S. Justice Department officials as "Jew-Communist."

The widow of one of the murdered youths, Rita Schwerner, summed up the situation when she was asked about the arrests: "How can you get convictions when the jury will be composed of relatives and friends of the defendants and no Negro can sit on the jury?" It is the responsibility of the Johnson administration, she said, to order massive federal intervention in Mississippi.

Mrs. Schwerner also declared that if the FBI "had moved into the case faster," the three murders would not have occurred. She pointed out that the FBI had been notified when the youths disappeared June 21, but took no action until the following day. The murders were committed during the night.



Ben Bella — Aids Congo

Millions of Britons See Malcolm X In TV Broadcast of Debate at Oxford

By Roger Protz

LONDON, Dec. 4 — Into the cloistered atmosphere of Oxford University, for centuries one of England's twin bastions of education for the sons of the upper crust, came the voice of American Negro revolt. Last night Malcolm X was one of the guest speakers in the end-of-term debate in the Oxford Union.

The black nationalist leader from the U.S. was speaking in support of the motion set for the debate — the now famous statement by Barry Goldwater: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

The student audience, which included many Africans and Indians, gave the American visitor a long ovation for a stirring and vitriolic speech that cut through the traditional stuffed-shirt atmosphere of the Oxford Union, which is closely modeled on the House of Commons — complete with banal repartee and "honorable members."

Scotch Poet

Speaking with Malcolm X for the motion was the Scottish poet, Hugh MacDiarmid, who is a curious mixture of Scottish nationalist, Communist Party member and Anglophobe. He gave a somewhat clinical appraisal of the need for determined action by the people to win freedom and democracy.

Ranged against them were Humphrey Berkeley, a Tory member of the House of Commons, and Lord Stonham, a "socialist" member of the House of Lords. As they clearly had the most to lose by extreme action by the masses, they spoke fervently in support of moderation.

It was left to Malcolm X to set the debate alight with an impassioned plea for the American Negroes and the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

He began by attacking the latest imperialist intervention in the Congo which had precipitated yet another round of bloodshed and misery. He was particularly scathing in his denunciation of the press which had turned the event into another excuse for racist attacks on "savages" and "primitives."

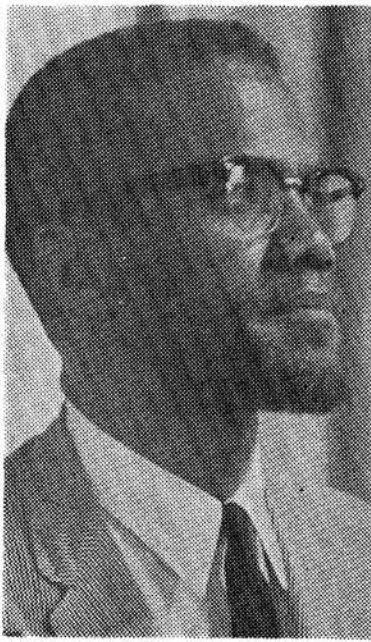
The Motion

Turning specifically to the motion set for the debate, he said: "I don't believe in any form of unjustified extremism, but when a man is exercising extremism in defense of liberty for human beings I do not consider that a vice."

"When a man is a moderate in defense of justice for human beings I say he is a sinner."

He spoke of the day black men would come to realize that they were justified in taking uncompromising steps and any means necessary to bring about their freedom.

"I believe that the day when they do, many more whites will have more respect for them. There will be more whites than there are now on their side with this wishy-washy, love-thine-enemy approach



Malcolm X

they have been using up to now."

He concluded with the famous passage from Hamlet: "To be, or not to be: that is the question. Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or to take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them?"

To thunderous applause, he declared that the latter choice was the only possible one if people are to gain their emancipation.

The debate was televised on the BBC's main national network and must have been seen by at least ten million viewers. Lest they should be indoctrinated by Malcolm X's forceful arguments, the broadcasting company ushered in two of its leading commentators to refute his "wildly exaggerated" picture of the U.S.

The administration in the U.S., they said, was fully geared to pushing through civil-rights legislation. And, with that hypocritical paternalism which is the hallmark of liberal Englishmen, they solemnly agreed that Malcolm X could not be altogether blamed for his views. He had had an "unfortunate" upbringing and extremism breeds extremism!

You Can Aid Worthy Causes While Doing Xmas Shopping

Civil-rights organizations and individuals in the South who have been victimized are selling gift items which we list below. All of the merchandise can be ordered by mail. Not only will they make excellent Xmas gifts, their purchase will help the Freedom struggle as well.

Quilts from Mississippi Delta: Patchwork quilts made by cotton plantation workers deprived of their jobs because of participation in civil-rights struggle. Single-bed size, \$15; double-bed, \$20. Order from Mrs. Rebecca McDonald, 909 E. Redden, Ruleville, Miss. (Christmas delivery not guaranteed, but worth waiting for.)

Leather Products from Tennessee: This project was started in Haywood County after the Negroes there were fired from jobs, thrown off the land and boycotted economically because of their efforts to register to vote. Women there learned to do fine leather work as jobs closed. Their tote bags (women's hand bags) are famous in civil-rights circles in smooth leather (black, red or blue), \$13.75; suede (tan or russet), \$10.75; belts, \$3 (send waist measurement); key case, \$2; change purse, \$1 and \$1.50; glasses case, \$1.50; baggage tag holder, \$1.50; billfolds, \$3.85 and \$5. Order from Haywood Handicrafters, 500 E. Jefferson, Brownsville, Tenn.

Pecans from Georgia: Koinonia is a co-operative farming com-

... U of Calif. Rights Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

000 participants on the main plaza of the campus.

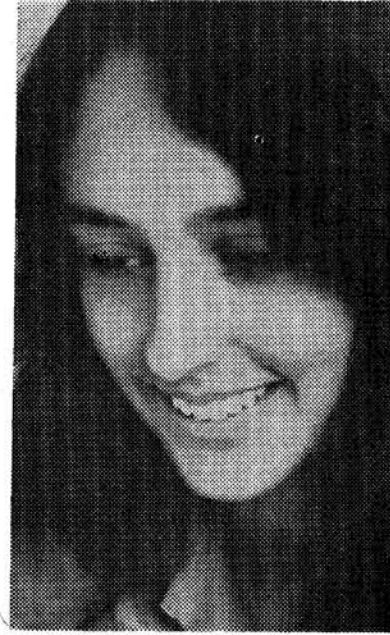
By Friday noon, the first day of the strike, the arrested FSM leaders were out on bail and spoke to a cheering crowd, estimated by the *Berkeley Gazette* at 12,000. The strike cut deeply into the attendance in liberal-arts classes on the first day, while enjoying lesser success in the technical departments.

The strike includes students, graduate teaching assistants, and professors. The executive committee of the Berkeley chapter of the American Association of University Professors has demanded the resignation of Berkeley Chancellor Edward Strong. Decisive support was given by professors and teaching assistants who canceled classes in solidarity with the FSM, and helped raise the \$8,000 bail bond for the arrested sit-inners.

The FSM established an outdoor strike headquarters in the center of the campus, dispatching pickets from that point. At the end of the first day of the full strike, the main sections of the campus were controlled by FSM sympathizers, while the administration officials remained in seclusion.

The present struggle was provoked back in September by the administration's order forbidding students on the campus from organizing "off-campus" political activity. This was another in a series of increasingly restrictive moves by the university following the 1959-60 wave of protest. At that time, student action culminated in the famous anti-HUAC demonstration of May 1960. This year's clamp-down on student political rights followed press, legislative and governmental denunciation of the role of students in the massive civil-rights demonstrations at San Francisco hotels and auto agencies early in 1964.

The new restrictions imposed in September were met with mounting demonstrations until on October 2 students surrounded and immobilized a police car on the campus which was attempting to drive off with an arrested demonstrator. The seizure of the cop car lasted 31 hours, and resulted in the sending of hundreds of cops to disperse the students. A clash



Joan Baez

was averted only by a last-minute agreement for negotiations between the FSM and the administration.

As soon as the demonstrations ceased, however, the administration began to stiffen. Some flare-ups occurred in November, but the

spark that touched off the present wave of demonstrations was the administration's vindictive threat of expulsion of the FSM leaders in late November.

Around the same time, Kerr red-baited the Free Speech Movement through the Bay Area newspapers. He charged it was dominated by Marxists from the Young Socialist Alliance, Progressive Labor, and the DuBois Club. The FSM is composed of many groups and individuals of various political persuasions, and is supported by thousands of students.

At today's meeting, Kerr stood on the position that the university would discipline students who were convicted of "off-campus illegalities" planned on campus. This is aimed at activities by students which may lead to arrest — as in civil-rights protests.

NEW YORK — Barry Sheppard, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, sent the following telegram to the Free Speech Movement Dec. 8: "The Young Socialist Alliance supports your struggle for freedom of speech and assembly on the Berkeley campus. Your fight is for the rights of students everywhere in the country and deserves the support of all. Keep up the fight!"

XMAS BOOK LIST

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

- THE BLACK GHETTO by Robert Vernon. Preface by Rev. Albert Cleage. Introduction by James Shabazz. Paper, .35
- HOW A MINORITY CAN CHANGE SOCIETY by George Breitman. The real potential of the Negro Struggle. Paper, .25
- THE FIRE NEXT TIME by James Baldwin. Paper, \$1.65
- NOBODY KNOWS MY NAME by James Baldwin. Paper, .50
- BLACK NATIONALISM by Essien-Udom. Report on the Black Muslim movement. Paper, .75
- AND THEN WE HEARD THE THUNDER by John O. Killens. Novel about race tensions in U.S. armed forces in World War II which culminate in a small-scale civil war between Negro and white military units stationed in Australia. Cloth, \$5.95
- LABOR PARTY AND FREEDOM NOW PARTY by Tom Kerry. Paper, .10
- NEGRO SLAVE SONGS IN THE UNITED STATES by M. M. Fisher. Paper \$1.95
- SOULS OF BLACK FOLK by W. E. B. DuBois. Paper, .60
- FACING MOUNT KENYA by Jomo Kenyatta. A study of the Kikuyu tribe by the man who is now Kenya's Prime Minister. A classic of anthropology and African nationalism. Paper, \$1.45
- FREEDOM RIDE by James Peck. The story of the first freedom rides by a participant. Paper, .50
- JOHN BROWN by W. E. B. DuBois. Paper, \$2.25
- NEGROES ON THE MARCH by Daniel Guerin. A survey of the Negro struggle in the U.S. to 1954 by the noted French Marxist scholar. Reduced price. Cloth, \$1.50. Paper, .50
- THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE by Daniel Guerin. Cloth, \$4.
- BLACK JACOBINS by C. L. R. James. The classic on Toussaint L'Ouverture and the slave revolution which established the Republic of Haiti. Revised edition. Paper, \$1.95
- LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLAS, The complete autobiography of the slave-born abolitionist leader. Paper, \$1.50
- BLACK BOURGEOISIE by E. Franklin Frazier. Paper, .95
- FREEDOM NOW — Socialist Workers Party resolution on the current stage in the struggle for equal rights. Paper, .25
- WHY WE NEED A FREEDOM NOW PARTY. Answers to questions by Michigan supporters of Freedom Now Party. Paper, .15
- MONROE, N.C. — TURNING POINT IN AMERICAN HISTORY by Conrad Lynn. Paper, .25
- THE WALL BETWEEN by Ann Braden. The story of courageous white Southern integrationists. Carl and Ann Braden. Paper, \$1.85
- NEGROES WITH GUNS by Robert Williams. The case for self defense by the militant Afro-American leader from Monroe, N.C. Paper, \$1.95
- PEOPLE WITH STRENGTH by Truman Nelson. The noted novelist on the Abolitionist movement upholds the right of Negroes to self-defense. Paper, — special, .25
- BLACK MOSES — THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY by E. D. Cronon. Paper, \$1.95
- BLACK RECONSTRUCTION by W. E. B. DuBois. The great work on the revolutionary period following the Civil War. Paper, \$3.45
- DOCUMENTS ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE. Texts of discussions with Leon Trotsky and Socialist Workers Party convention resolutions. Paper, .65

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

- THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. The classic analysis of the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Paper, \$2.50
- THE AGE OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION — A TROTSKY ANTHOLOGY. Paper, .95
- LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. Cloth, \$2.98; Paper, \$1.50
- IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM. Classic exposition on the class nature of the Soviet state and dialectical materialism. Written in 1940. Paper, \$2.50
- THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION. Paper, \$3.00
- DIARY IN EXILE. Cloth, \$4.00. Paper, \$1.25
- MY LIFE. Paper, \$2.45
- THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. An abridgement of the 3-volume history. Paper, \$1.45
- FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Trotsky's writings, speeches and reports at Comintern meetings. Vol. I: Cloth, \$3.50. Vol. II: Cloth, \$3.50

BOOKS BY JAMES P. CANNON

- HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Cloth, \$2.75
- NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR. Vivid, colorful compilation of articles beginning in days of defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Cloth, \$4.
- THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. Report of a participant. Cloth, \$6.00.

HISTORY, POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

- LABOR'S GIANT STEP — TWENTY YEARS OF THE CIO by Art Preis. Story of the rise of the CIO told by a participant. Cloth, \$7.50
- THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL by Rosa Luxemburg. Paper, \$3.95
- JACK LONDON — AMERICAN REBEL by Phillip S. Foner. Paper, \$1.95
- THE PROPHET ARMED, THE PROPHET UNARMED, THE PROPHET OUTCAST. Isaac Deutscher's trilogy on the life of Leon Trotsky. Cloth, \$9.50 per volume.
- AMERICAN COMMUNISM AND SOVIET RUSSIA by Theodore Draper. Paper, \$1.95
- THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM by Theodore Draper. Cloth, \$6.95; Paper, \$1.95
- AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOGIC OF MARXISM by William F. Ward. Paper, \$1.00
- THE FRENCH REVOLUTION by Albert Mathiez. Paper, \$2.65
- POWER, POLITICS AND PEOPLE by C. Wright Mills. Paper, \$1.45
- THE MARXISTS by C. Wright Mills. Paper, .75
- THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION — 1914-1915 by Robert E. Quirk. Paper, \$2.25
- ANCIENT SOCIETY by Lewis Henry Morgan. Researchers on human progress from savagery through barbarism to civilization. Paper, \$2.95
- LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS by Lewis Henry Morgan. Classic account of an Indian tribe. Paper, \$2.95

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Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO
THE CONGO REVOLT AND THE CRIME OF U.S. INTERVENTION. Speaker, Tom Warren. Fri., Dec. 18, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum. (This is the last forum in December. Next forum, Fri., Jan. 8, "The Chicago School Crisis.")

NEW YORK
U.S.A.: PROMISED LAND OR LAND OF PROMISES? Speaker: Lewis H. Michaux, proprietor of Harlem's famous National Memorial African Book Store. Fri., Dec. 18, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES
The Friday Night Socialist Forum will not meet on Dec. 18, Dec. 25 or Jan. 1.

One Coed's Experience

8 Hours in Prison Bullpen



CIVICS LESSON. Local and state cops haul student sit-downer from U of C administration building. Cops seemed to take particular relish in bouncing students down stairs one at a time.

By Tanga Reske

BERKELEY — I was one of the students arrested by 600 club-wielding cops at the U of California on Dec. 3. A flying wedge of cops viciously trampled on arms, hands and legs as they rushed through a group of sitting students, men and women, to confiscate our sound equipment used to inform those outside the administration building what was going on inside. At this point the blinds were pulled, the doors and windows were covered with paper, and reporters were excluded from the area where the police action was going on.

I was sitting on the second floor. The cops began dragging students from the fourth floor down to the basement where preliminary booking was taking place. It wasn't until six hours later that they began removing demonstrators from the area where I was sitting. They would ask us if we would walk "like ladies" or resist arrest. I answered, as did most of us, that I would not resist arrest but that neither would I walk. With that, they grabbed me by my jacket, ripping it, and pulled me down the hall to the elevator and threw me

against the back wall. The students after me were thrown in on top of me and when we started singing the cops became even more violent. In the basement they dragged one girl out of the elevator by her arm that was twisted behind her in a hammerlock. The fellows were not even put into the elevator but pulled by shirt collars and limbs down flights of stairs. I saw one cop punch a girl in the stomach.

We were taken to various jails throughout the county. I was crammed with 50 other girls into a cement-floored drunk tank designed to hold half that number. For eight hours we were refused food, toilet paper, bedding, heat or any information as to our disposition. Then we were transferred to the San Lorenzo National Guard Armory and finally to Santa Rita Prison Farm.

When we were finally released on bond 26 hours after the beginning of the arrests, we were greeted by throngs of cheering students who drove us back to Berkeley. It was only a few hours until we were back on campus for the student General Strike.

Ky. Rights Lawyer Wins Mistrial; Judge Fines Him for 'Contempt'

Defense counsel Daniel T. Taylor III forced Judge J. Miles Pound to declare a mistrial in the case of four civil-rights demonstrators in Louisville, Ky. The demonstrators were testing the city's public-accommodations ordinance banning racial discrimination.

Taylor demanded that a mistrial be declared when the judge ruled that the accommodations law was not operative because the law was currently being challenged in the Court of Appeals. It was Judge Pound himself who declared the law unconstitutional in an earlier case, which took the law to the appeals court. But Taylor pointed out that the law was still operative unless it was struck down.

Pound asked Taylor if he thought he could get a fair trial. Taylor replied by asking what would happen to him if he answered in the negative. At this point the judge granted the mistrial and fined Taylor for "contempt of court." Pound later said

that jurors had told him they were ready to "cook" the defendants.



Daniel T. Taylor III

Demonstrations to Win Cease-Fire in Vietnam Urged by Peace Groups

NEW YORK — Nine peace organizations and other groups have announced that they are urging their members and supporters to organize nation-wide and international activities Dec. 19, calling upon President Johnson to declare an immediate cease-fire on the part of American forces in South Vietnam, followed by their earliest possible withdrawal.

The organizations supporting this call are: the American Friends Service Committee (National Peace Education Program); the *Catholic Worker*; the Committee for Nonviolent Action; the Fellowship of Reconciliation; the Socialist Party; the Student Peace Union; Students for a Democratic Society; the War Resisters League; Women Strike for Peace.

Activities will include demonstrations in cities across the U.S., visits to Congressmen and letter-writing campaigns.

Norman Thomas, veteran leader of the Socialist Party, took the occasion of the celebration of his 80th birthday to attack U.S. intervention in South Vietnam. He urged President Johnson to "negotiate a cease-fire."

...The Congo

(Continued from Page 1)

gians said and shot the man dead. This was Stanleyville, 26 hours after Belgian paratroopers struck with crushing power at the heart of the Congo's rebel empire.

"Life here is an empty hell. Stores are shut tight. All municipal services are broken down. The streets are virtually deserted. Only the dead are in the streets as the military traffic passes by. There are dead everywhere.

"The Belgian troops are killing or arresting all suspected rebels or rebel supporters. I've seen a lot of bodies, an awful lot of bodies. There is no time to count them. Or desire, in this atmosphere."

True Purpose

The true purpose of the U.S.-Belgian attack, vividly described in this UPI dispatch, was to so terrorize the Congolese people that they would not dare to continue supporting the anti-Tshombe rebellion. Not long before this attack, Belgian Prime Minister Spaak, who launched the paratroopers on trumped-up racist charges against the rebels, stated before the Belgian Senatorial Commission on Foreign Affairs:

"The rebels in the East Congo have not attacked the Europeans." (*Europe-Magazine*, Nov. 10-15, Nov. 18-24, 1964.)

Pawns

Almost 100 whites have been reported killed in the Congo — some of them apparently in the course of the street fighting. Those deliberately killed in reprisal by the Congolese owe their tragic fate to the heartless strategy of the imperialists. This strategy utilized them as pawns and propagandistic sacrifices while provoking the Congolese by mass slaughters, burning of villages and indiscriminate bombing and strafing.

The central fact is that the U.S. and Belgium attacked the Congolese. As yet, however, the imperialists have not achieved their principal aim — the people of the Congo are still in rebellion.

Gbenye Reported Being in Kenya

DEC. 9 — Christophe Gbenye, leader of the anti-Tshombe forces, is reported to be in Kenya. He told newsmen that the Kenya government had asked him not to make any statements. On his arrival the government news agency published a statement by him condemning the U.S.-Belgian paratroop operation as "aggression."

Manifesto of Fourth International

Let Congolese People Decide Their Own Fate!

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the organization of revolutionary socialist parties and groups throughout the world, issued the following statement on Nov. 26.

* * *

With the help of American and British imperialism, the Belgian imperialists have committed military aggression by landing paratroopers in Stanleyville, seat of the provisional government of the Congo Peoples Republic.

It is completely hypocritical to claim that this was done for "humanitarian" purposes. The real goal was to drive the government of the Congo People's Republic out of Stanleyville, and this was a big part of the actual operation.

The fakery of the "humanitarian" pretext is shown by the fact that the Belgian, American and British governments support Tshombe's army which is spearheaded by white-racist foreign mercenaries who commit unspeakable crimes against the most elementary rules of humanity every day in the week.

The fakery of the "humanitarian" pretext is shown by the by the fact that the Belgian government knew perfectly well that if it continued to build up military and financial support for Tshombe, white civilians would inevitably be made the target of reprisals. The Belgian government was warned emphatically about this months ago by both Belgian left-wing forces in the labor movement and by the Congo freedom fighters.

No other conclusion is possible except that the Belgian government deliberately decided to risk the lives of white civilians in the Congo in its rabid pursuit of the aim of strengthening neo-colonialism in the Congo.

The loss of Stanleyville is a blow against the Congolese revolution, but amounts to no more than a temporary defeat. Tempered still further by this latest experience with the unholy imperialist alliance and its Congo puppet, the Congolese freedom fighters will continue their struggle, resolving even more firmly never to return to slavery. Their cause is unconquerable!

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International asks workers everywhere, but especially in Belgium, Britain and the United States, to make known their feelings about this latest imperialist outrage.

No more aid to the imperialist puppet Tshombe!

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International joins with all those who are appealing to the independent governments of Africa, and to the African nationalist organizations, to end at once any kind of recognition or collaboration with the foul Tshombe clique and to give full support to the heroic fighters of the Congolese revolution.

For the sake of the African revolution, block stabilization of the Tshombe regime!

Down with imperialism, neo-colonialism and its murderous stooge Tshombe! Let the Congolese people decide their own fate!

Long live the Congolese revolution! Long live the African revolution!



Photo by Finer

HANDS OFF CONGO! Pickets at United Nations Dec. 4 protest U.S.-Belgian intervention in Congo. Demonstration was called by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. At head of line is Richard Garza, 1964 Socialist Workers nominee for U.S. Senate. Third in line is Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of SWP. Chanting pickets carried placards declaring: "Johnson to Blame for Congo Deaths," "Tshombe International Uncle Tom," "Self-Determination for the Congo" and "Johnson's 'Great Society' — Murder in Congo."

THE MILITANT

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

Vol. 28 - No. 45 345 Monday, December 14, 1964

Freedom Fight Is Contagious

One aspect of broader significance in the background of the events on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley deserves to be spotlighted. That is the connection between the student insurgency and the civil-rights struggle.

Although the Free Speech Movement was called forth by campus grievances, it has been highly influenced by the Freedom Now movement. Some of its foremost organizers have participated in the San Francisco Bay Area civil-rights actions and worked with SNCC and COFO in the South. One of the main demands they insist upon involves the right of students to raise funds and prepare for off-campus civil-rights activities without arbitrary interference by university authorities.

The Free Speech Movement supporters apply the sit-in techniques popularized by the civil-rights forces. They sing Freedom Songs. They are imbued with the self-sacrificing militancy of young freedom-fighters. Many of the demonstrators are learning for the first time through personal experience how a liberal Democratic governor and a liberal university president can trample on their liberties and use police force when the chips are down.

The massive demonstrations on the embattled University of California campus show how one progressive movement can spread and stimulate another, how the Negro struggle for equality serves to spur and strengthen action among students for their democratic rights. Berkeley is a sample, a first inkling of the effects which the civil-rights movement as a whole can have upon sympathetic elements in American society who have their own rights to protect.

The fight for freedom is indivisible! The spirit of freedom is contagious! FREEDOM NOW, the slogan of 20 million Negroes, can be a rallying cry for every American in search of justice.

Advice to Negro Leaders

Raymond Brown, president of the Jersey City branch of the NAACP, made some accurate observations about Negro officialdoms when he spoke at a benefit dinner of the Ushers Cooperative Group recently. The group is composed of ushers of a dozen predominantly Negro churches in New Jersey.

Brown pointed out that the Negro middle class has failed the poor. And he added that in the eyes of prejudiced white America: "You are no different . . . the proudest and best educated is no different from the lowest and dirtiest."

Successful Negroes have been "so bankrupt in offering the man in the street leadership that he doesn't even know us," Brown contended. He recalled that Negro leaders were ignored and reviled during the outbreaks in the ghetto in Jersey City last summer. He further described those explosive events as "the most demonstrative, the most effective, the most realistic protests I've ever been close to."

Brown predicted that "respectable" Negroes will be pushed aside in the coming years unless they show more concern for those in trouble and in need. "If you don't get involved," he warned, "you'll be out of the fight and those who come behind us will carry it into the street."

The struggle of the black ghetto for human rights is becoming more militant whether middle-class leaders like it or not. And nothing short of mobilizing the masses of ordinary people will be enough to win real gains for the ghetto. The warning by Brown, who himself is a lawyer, to the middle-class leaders shows that some of them realize that they had better get with it — become more militant and concerned with the needs of working-class black people — if they wish to maintain any influence in the ghetto. For, as the struggle of the ghetto grows, it will select and forge a leadership ready to go all the way for freedom now.

Which Page of the Times Do You Read?

Contradictions on the Congo

The immediate world-wide outburst of anger and indignation over the murderous military intervention mounted in the Congo by imperialist Belgium, Britain and the United States for "humanitarian reasons," has given the criminals pause.

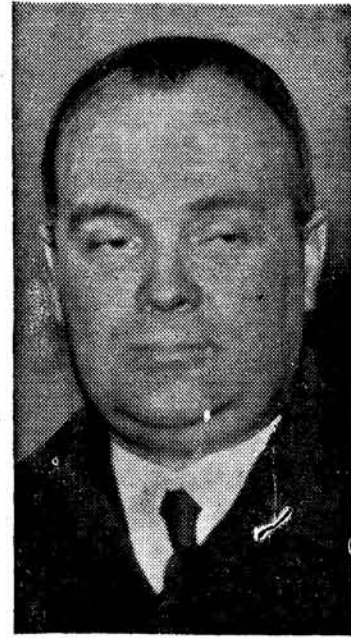
In Belgium, the Spaak government decided to withdraw 600 paratroopers from the Congo for the time being and defenders of the Johnson administration are busy trying to explain away the blood that spattered the White House.

A striking instance of the contradictions in the imperialist propaganda was provided by the Nov. 29 issue of the *New York Times*. On page one of the section called "The News of the Week in Review," we are told the following: "Week before last, the U.S., Belgian and British Governments took the first step in a hurriedly conceived 'contingency plan.' U.S. Air Force transports airlifted a battalion of Belgian paratroopers to Ascension Island, a British possession in the South Atlantic, for a possible rescue operation."

"Premier Tshombe consented. At the same time the U.S. agreed to meet with a Congolese rebel emissary in Nairobi, Kenya, to negotiate for the safety of the white hostages. The stage was set for the events of last week."

These two paragraphs were written in accordance with the official Belgian-American line that what was involved was a sudden, emergency situation, requiring a "hurriedly conceived" rescue operation for "humanitarian reasons." Still it should be noted that at least one lie is inadvertently exposed. The initiative in all this did not come from Tshombe. He "consented," a decision in strict accordance with his puppet role.

But now turn to page 9 and read the column by Arthur Krock, who



Paul Henri Spaak

for decades has been known for his pipe lines to the State Department and the White House. He complains about the enormous publicity given to the operation in hope of lessening the political repercussions that might be touched off on an international scale. He argues that the operation should have been organized secretly and sprung as a lightning blow, taking everyone by surprise. In the process he offers most convincing proof that there was no sudden emergency, the military intervention having been planned over a considerable length of time with the most cold-blooded calculation. Here is what he says:

"The chronology of events leading up to the action at Stanleyville begins at Brussels in the week of Aug. 10, 1964. The subject of conversations between Under Secretary of State Harri-

man and Foreign Minister Spaak was that 'technical assistance' might be given to Premier Tshombe to cope with the rise in rebel activity in the Congo that the Communist nations especially mainland China, were promoting by various means. At a news conference on Aug. 19, Assistant Secretary of State Williams disclosed that the United States Government had offered to help pay for military operations to restore law and order in the Congo.

"By Nov. 10 the necessity for repression of rebel activity prompted Spaak to visit Washington for discussions of the situation with Secretary of State Rusk and other high United States officials. Eight days later, accompanied by a gust of newspaper headlines and dispatches derived from officials sources, 600 Belgian paratroopers were flown in United States aircraft to Ascension Island, a British possession, with prior permission from London.

"On Nov. 23 the Belgian paratroopers landed at Kamina in the Congo, preparatory to landing at Stanleyville, in another widely publicized action.

"On Nov. 24 the United States-Belgian decision to fly the paratroopers into Stanleyville was made at last, a day before it was officially announced by Spaak at Brussels. This was the only action-before-the-fact in the entire procedure, but it was too long delayed to avert whatever possibility there may have been of preventing the atrocities inflicted on the hostages by the Congolese rebel forces."

Krock's Claim

Krock's theme, based on his own "humanitarian" outlook, is that the operation was botched through all this lengthy publicity and thus failure occurred in achieving the "humanitarian" purpose of the operation, while the aim of softening the international political repercussions likewise apparently failed.

Note what is revealed in passing by this Washington columnist. Tshombe, whose "request" for the use of paratroopers was designed to give a cover of "legality" for the military intervention, is scarcely mentioned. Everything was decided in conversations between top officials in Brussels and Washington.

Note, too, the themes of these conversations: How "to cope with the rise in rebel activity . . ." The alleged "necessity for repression of rebel activity . . ." A U.S. offer "to help pay for military operations to restore law and order in the Congo."

Thus we can gather, as we read, that the real objective of the use of paratroopers was, like the hiring of white-racist foreign mercenaries, to help suppress a popular uprising of the Congolese people against a hated puppet government kept in power by foreign imperialists.

The propaganda about a sudden emergency military operation to save the lives of hostages was just propaganda and no more than that.

In fact, in the final analysis, what is implied by these admissions "out of their own mouths" is that the Belgian-British-American imperialists were willing to sacrifice the lives of some hundreds of white "hostages" for the sake of a military strike against the true Congolese government which had been established at Stanleyville.

SOCIALIST FUND

Four Cities Hit Top

By Marvel Scholl
National Fund Director

As we go into the last week of the Socialist Campaign Fund Drive, four areas have hit the top. Denver and Boston went over the top with 101%, New York and Minneapolis-St. Paul came in 100% before the deadline. Our heartiest congratulations and sincere thanks to them.

Contributions were swelled this week by friends from Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio; E.R.M. of Avondale, Ga.; and a Canadian student from Toronto. Another very sizeable contribution from a regular donor, E.R., Flushing, N.Y., will be recorded in the final scoreboard. His good-sized check includes payments for extension of Militant and ISR subs as well as literature. We thank all of these fine friends.

Our Canadian friend, R.J. Mc., writes as follows:

"Enclosed find a U.S. money order for \$25 for the Socialist Fund.

"Consider your *Militant* and *ISR* very valuable for those facts and opinions that mysteriously get omitted from our mass media as well as yours. Very pleased too with your correct and sympathetic stance re: the Negro revolution and the FNP — the opposite of white 'radical chauvinism.' May your work of inspiring Negroes, alienated whites, unemployed, and students with a socialist perspective meet far greater success than your small fund raising capabilities might superficially indicate. I may be able to contribute more this year. My best regards and wishes for success. R.J. Mc."

R.J. Mc. raises a most important question. If our now seemingly low fund raising potential in-

creased to equal the size and importance of our program, we could certainly do a great deal more! In the distant future when socialism has been established and has been greatly refined, the capitalist fetish, money, will not be necessary for the dissemination of progressive ideas, and the education of all the people in its basic principles. Those abstractions of today will be the reality of tomorrow. But until that time, money is vitally important.

Why don't you use the coupon at the bottom of this article to send in your payment on tomorrow's better world? The fund drive may end formally on Dec. 15 but there is no time limit on the need for cold hard cash to carry on the fight.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Denver	\$ 200	\$ 202	101
Boston	850	860	101
New York	4,300	4,300	100
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	1,200	100
Detroit	900	821	91
St. Louis	100	85	85
Cleveland	550	450	82
Oakland-Berkeley	700	557	80
Chicago	1,500	1,150	76
San Francisco	700	475	68
Milwaukee	300	200	67
Los Angeles	3,700	2,283	62
Philadelphia	200	121	61
Connecticut	200	85	43
Allentown	150	80	53
San Diego	400	140	35
Newark	150	47	31
Seattle	550	110	20
General	350	210	60
Totals to Dec. 8	\$17,000	\$13,376	79%

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Requiem for a Generation

A Representative Figure Dies

By William F. Warde

The death of Herbert Solow, after a heart attack at the age of 61, was noted in the metropolitan press as the close of a 35-year writing career crowned by his membership on the Board of Editors of *Fortune* magazine. To those familiar with the inner history of New York radicalism during the 1930s, the news evoked memories of a quite different kind. These pertained to that portion of his adult life preceding his two decades with the Luce publishing empire.

Herbert belonged to a band of brilliant students at Columbia during the 1920s which included Clifton Fadiman, Lionel Trilling, Felix Morrow, Meyer Schapiro, Louis Hacker and Whittaker Chambers. Distinguished for his journalistic abilities, his penetrating mind and sardonic wit, he had the talents required for success in the fiercely competitive cultural-commercial world of the Big City. The slender, slightly stooping, reddish-haired graduate became assistant editor of the *Menorah Journal* and of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

The crash of 1929 upset and transformed the outlook of the aspiring writers, educators and scholars with whom he was associated. As they experienced and watched the appalling effects of the capitalist breakdown in contrast with the progress of the first Soviet Five-Year Plan, they rapidly jettisoned liberalism or left Zionism for revolutionary views. They were drawn to the Communist movement and into its allied institutions, although most of them never joined the party.

Active in Defense

They began to write for the Communist press and raise money for its causes. Labor defense was their main field of activity. With his friends on the *Menorah Journal* headed by its managing editor Elliot Cohen, Solow formed the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, an adjunct of the International Labor Defense. It aided union organizers behind bars in the Harlan County coal fields, collected considerable sums for the Scottsboro Boys, gave relief and sent books to the scores of political prisoners around the country.

In the 1932 presidential campaign they were instrumental in organizing the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford

which signed up more than 50 prominent authors and artists, including Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, Waldo Frank and Sidney Hook, to support the Communist candidates.

This group, however, quickly learned what Stalinism meant. They ran into conflict with the Communist high command on three issues. They could not swallow the sectarianism which denied any assistance to victimized followers of the IWW, anarchists and other working-class tendencies on the false premise that all political opponents of the CP were "social fascists" and thereby "objective agents of counter-revolution."

Scottsboro Case

They also objected to the opportunistic manner in which the International Labor Defense permitted the Brooklyn attorney, later judge, Samuel Liebowitz, to handle the Scottsboro case. (He voiced personal opinions which were injurious to the interests of the defendants and to a principled conduct of the defense work.) Finally, they questioned the wisdom of the Communist line in Germany which rejected common action with Social-Democratic organizations against the menace of Nazism.

These individuals were new to the practices of politics and even more unversed in the background and methods of factional conflict in the radical movement. They were naively and genuinely concerned with finding a socialist way out of capitalist anarchy, greed and self-seeking. They were shocked and surprised to be characterized as "Trotskyist disrupters" and suffer expulsion from the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners for expressing some doubts about the correctness of the Stalinist course.

Except for Solow, none of them sympathized with Trotskyism or knew anything about the Communist League of America which was its banner-bearer. Solow had visited and corresponded with Trotsky in his exile in Prinkipo, Turkey, held discussions with American Trotskyist leaders and was conversant with their ideas. I can recall a meeting of the dissident intellectuals at the climax of the internal dispute with the CP when most of those present indignantly repudiated any friendliness for the "Trotskyites" and warned Herbert that, if he or anyone else had anything to do

with such rascally renegades, "we would never speak to him again."

These scruples did not prevent the breach with the CP. The group then had to work out a new political orientation and associations. Three choices were available: the Lovestone group, the American Workers Party of A. J. Muste, and Cannon's Communist League. Jay Lovestone's personal solicitations kindled no response. Having been penalized and branded as "Trotskyites," we set out to discover what that meant. The arguments and program we heard at meetings and read in the press and publications proved so convincing that most of us soon considered ourselves authentic Trotskyists.

James P. Cannon wrote in *The History of American Trotskyism*: "This was our first acquisition in bulk. Up to then, people had been joining us one by one. Now a group joined us, a group of intellectuals. That was significant. The movements of the intellectuals must be studied very attentively as symptoms. They move a little faster in the realm of ideas than the workers. Like the leaves at the top of a tree, they shake first."

Muste's Group

Solow, Felix Morrow and I collaborated with the intellectual wing of the Muste movement led by Sidney Hook, James Rorty, V. F. Calverton, and James Burnham to hasten and cement its merger with the Communist League which was consummated early in 1934. We also preceded to build the non-Partisan Labor Defense which did praiseworthy work in a series of cases from 1934 to 1936 when it was dissolved into the Workers Defense League.

During the historic strikes and organizing drive of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters union in 1934, Solow helped the unionists edit their paper, *The Organizer*.

He then went to California with attorney Albert Goldman to organize support for Norman Mini who was convicted and sent to San Quentin prison under the criminal syndicalism law for trying to unionize harvest workers in the agricultural valleys of the Golden State. Mini, an ex-CP member who later joined the American Workers Party, was slandered as a stool-pigeon by the CP and refused aid by the International Labor Defense. Solow wrote an admirable pamphlet entitled "Union-Smashing in Sacramento" for the committee in charge of the case.

Soon after he developed sharp differences with the Trotskyist leadership over its move to enter the Socialist Party. He justified his split on the ground that this tactic signified an impermissible surrender to reformism. It often happens that ultra-left intransigence really masks an unwitting disposition or half-formed decision to withdraw from the arena of revolutionary politics — and so it was in this instance.

Moscow Trials

However, Herbert performed several more outstanding services to the cause of truth and justice before he bid "goodbye to all that." He was passionately aroused by the 1936-1938 Moscow Trials in which Stalin defamed and executed Lenin's comrades-in-arms. He gave every ounce of his energy to combat these infamous frame ups. He helped raise most of the necessary expenses for the Mexican trip of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Against Leon Trotsky headed by the philosopher John Dewey which established the innocence of the accused and proved Stalin's charges to be false.

Through his journalistic enterprise and connections, Solow suc-



THE BIG CRASH. Common street scene during Great Depression of the '30s. The mass unemployment and widespread suffering turned a wide layer of that generation's intellectuals toward radicalism.

ceeded in uncovering and frustrating attempts by Stalin's secret police to implicate U.S. Trotskyist leaders in an alleged conspiracy against the Soviet Union through the abortive "Robinson-Rubens" spy-case.

That concluded his direct participation in the affairs of the radical movement. Thereafter he cut the last of his political ties with us to climb the ladder of the Luce Publications where he spent the remainder of his days. Others will have to commemorate that chapter of his life.

* * *

Herbert was a most representative figure of his generation. His itinerary mirrored that of a constellation of American intellectuals who were impelled to the left by the 1929 depression, swung into the orbit of the Communist Party, became disillusioned with Stalinism and broke sharply with it, collaborated in varying degrees for different lengths of time with the Trotskyist movement and then with the onset of the Second World War or shortly thereafter, turned away entirely from radicalism.

Ex-Radicals

Today there is hardly an institution in the cultural apparatus of the money powers from the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Hearst Press* and *Reader's Digest* to the *Book-of-the-Month Club* and the *Luce Publications* whose leading staff does not embrace one or more of the pro-Communist ex-radicals or the anti-Stalinist intellectuals of the 1930s. Their similars are to be found among the university professors, especially in the English, Sociology and Philosophical faculties, as well as throughout the union officialdom.

If, in the full flush of their radicalism and idealism, they had had any premonition that they would end up devoting their minds and talents, bodies and spirits, to the capitalist establishment which they then despised, they would have shuddered at the prospect. They aspired with all that was decent, strong and undefeated within them to create the new and better world projected by the vision and program of revolutionary socialism. They were ready to make sacrifices for that end.

In their later years they would scorn historical determinism as a relic of the Marxism they had once tried and found wanting. Yet their own transformation from liberalism to revolutionism and back again to the comforts of capitalism testified to the force of predominant social-historical conditions in shaping and reshaping the lives of human beings. Not all at once and not all together, but irresistibly, one by one and step by step, a restabil-

ized American capitalism, assisted by a Stalinized communism and a bureaucratized labor movement, converted them from opponents to servitors of its regime, whatever reservations they retained from their past.

It took exceptional stamina to withstand the remorseless pressures of an imperialist environment with endless sources of corrosion of character at its disposal. The few among us who have persisted in "the road less traveled" by the intellectuals of our generation know this as much as anyone else. In judging the best of our contemporaries at the end of the journey, their good deeds loom larger than their failings and failures.

For such of us, then, Herbert Solow was briefly our political mentor. He helped change our lives for the better before redirecting his own for the worse. That is what we prefer to remember and record in this obituary notice.

December 1, 1964

100 Constitutional Authorities Declare for Abolition of HUAC

NEW HAVEN — One hundred constitutional-law authorities have petitioned the House of Representatives to abolish the Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC).

They charge that the existence of the Committee "is irreconcilable with a system of free expression in this country." The professors, law-school deans, and lay authorities declare that HUAC's activities have hindered new ideas and new approaches to problems "which face us in a rapidly changing world."

The petition was made public here by Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, professor of law at Yale University; and Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, winner of the Presidential Medal of Freedom. They sponsored the petition along with:

Thurman Arnold, former assistant attorney general and associate justice of the U.S. Court of Appeals (D.C.); Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Columbia University and Amherst College; Osmond K. Frankel, civil-liberties attorney; David M. Helfeld, dean of the University of Puerto Rico Law School; Mark

De Wolfe Howe, professor of law at Harvard Law School; Robert M. Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago and current president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; William M. Kunstler, civil-rights and civil-liberties attorney; Shad Polier, civil-rights and civil-liberties attorney; William G. Rice, professor of law at the University of Wisconsin Law School; Malcolm P. Sharp, professor of law at the University of Chicago Law School.

Eighty-eight other authorities on constitutional law joined the above 12 sponsors as petitioners to Congress.

The petition asked that HUAC's files be placed in the government archives and sealed for 50 years.

The petitioners declared that actual operations of the Committee has wrought much harm. They charged that "it has attempted to create in the legislative branch a permanent institution, consisting of a staff, files, informants and similar machinery, designed to serve as a bureaucratic Big Brother to censor the opinions and associations of American citizens."

Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO

By Art Preis

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Robert Williams Delivers Speech

Hanoi Solidarity Conference

The International Conference for Solidarity with Vietnam, held in Hanoi, capital of North Vietnam, ended its six days of sessions on Nov. 30. At its closing meeting it issued an appeal to the American people (see text this page).

Among those attending the conference were Robert F. Williams, former president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Monroe, North Carolina, and his wife, Mabel Williams.

Williams and his family live in Cuba where they have been granted political asylum. In 1961 North Carolina officials retaliated against civil-rights demonstrations in Monroe by egging on rioting white-supremacist mobs. Williams was threatened with lynching and he fled with his wife and children. Subsequently framed-up "kidnap" charges were brought against him.

In a 40-minute radio talk in Hanoi, Williams said:

"I am very happy to have the opportunity to come as a representative of the Afro-American people to participate in the International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam . . .

"The same people who are responsible for the wanton bombing of Afro-American churches, the same people who are responsible for bombing and killing Afro-American mothers and children, the racists in the U.S.A., are the same people who are dropping bombs and murdering the innocent people in Vietnam . . .

"I feel much freer here than I ever felt in the U.S.A. The people here are friendly, hospitable to all people who visit their country. I feel this is the beginning of a new relationship between our two peoples, the people of Vietnam, the Afro-American people and our white allies in the U.S.A.

"Since coming here, I have been very much impressed by the fight-



Robert F. Williams

ing spirit, the patriotism of the Vietnamese people. As an ex-Marine, a part of the U.S. military service that is considered the elite of the U.S. armed forces, I find that no such spirit ever existed in the U. S. Marine Corps, U.S. troops and army.

"This spirit of the Vietnamese people is invincible, and these people, our brothers, are unconquerable, and I am sure that in their struggle for liberation, for the unification of their country, they shall triumph . . .

"We who are visiting Vietnam for the first time, are very much impressed by the capacity for hard work, the determination of her people to build a great socialist society that will raise the living standards of all the people of Vietnam, a socialist society based on peace, on human decency.

"This visit is impressive to me because I come here as a non-Communist, as an Afro-American without affiliation with any political party. The group I represent is a liberation group devoted to

the liberation of the Afro-American people, to the enforcement of the American constitution."

Williams also said that he was "ashamed to discover that brutal aggression is being carried out by the U. S. government, executed and waged by the troops of the U.S., and it is given me to realize that there are black troops, black Americans who are serving U.S. imperialism 10,000 kilometers from home, black American soldiers set against their brother of Vietnam, to murder innocent women and children who look just like their own brothers and sisters."

Worthy There

Present at the International Solidarity Conference as a reporter is the noted American journalist William Worthy. In a dispatch to the Nov. 28 Baltimore *Afro-American*, sent from Cambodia before flying to North Vietnam, Worthy noted that he will be the first U.S. correspondent to visit that country since 1954 when it won its independence from the French colonialists.

That long absence of U.S. correspondents has not been because they lack curiosity about the country or because news wasn't being made there but because the State Department lowered an iron curtain, around it, as it had around China, to keep U.S. visitors and especially journalists from seeing what was truly going on there.

Worthy defied the U.S. ban on travel to China in 1957 and was subsequently deprived of his passport. When the State Department tried to have him jailed several years ago because of a trip to Cuba without a passport, he won in the courts. His present trip to Southeast Asia without a passport is a further challenge to the State Department's unconstitutional limitation of the right of Americans to travel freely and of reporters to report.

Parley in N. Vietnam Appeals To People of United States

[The following is An Appeal to the American People adopted by the International Conference on Solidarity With the People of Vietnam at its closing session, Nov. 30, in Hanoi, North Vietnam.]

This is an appeal to the American people to raise their voices and stop the undeclared war the U.S. government is conducting against the people of South Vietnam. It is the most cruel and murderous war going on anywhere in the world, where the casualties of war and victims of torture and imprisonment already number nearly 1½ million, not counting other millions who are being herded into the concentration camps known as "strategic hamlets." It is a war where innocent civilians are beheaded and disemboweled, bombed with napalm, and sprayed with poisonous chemicals.

It is an unjust war of U.S. imperialist aggression against a people determined to be free. There would have been no war if the U.S. government had abided by its promise not to use force or threats to hinder the carrying out of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam.

U.S. Losing

The U.S. imperialists are losing this war and the longer it continues the greater will be their defeat. Led by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the people of South Vietnam, united and determined in their struggle, have smashed every war plan the U.S. command has devised and overcome the most advanced weapons.

Now the Johnson administration is threatening to carry the war to the North. Since the Tonkin Gulf

incident, engineered on Aug. 5 by the U.S. imperialists to attack North Vietnam, acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have been steadily increased. The U.S. imperialists will never win such a war either, but more people would suffer, including the American people. If the Johnson administration continues on this reckless course, the danger to peace in Southeast Asia and the world will become more serious.

The International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defense of Peace, comprising delegates from all five continents, fully approves the correct solution put forward by the Vietnamese people for ending the war, namely, the U.S. Government must:

1) Respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam.

2) Withdraw its troops and weapons from South Vietnam, let the South Vietnamese people settle their own affairs.

3) Stop its acts of provocation and war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Is not this the very minimum that the American people demand for themselves — the right to settle their own affairs without the presence of foreign troops on U.S. soil? Then how can Americans refuse to support these legitimate demands of the Vietnamese people?

Americans, speak up. Protest resolutely against the U.S. government's plot to widen the Vietnam war. Demand that the U.S. government withdraw U.S. troops and stop forthwith the criminal war of aggression against the people of South Vietnam.

This is only your interest and your duty. Act now.

U. S.-Owned Textile Plant in Saigon Continues It's Union-Busting Drive

The U.S.-owned Vimytex Company, which operates a big textile plant on sweat-shop and company-town lines on the outskirts of Saigon, is still renegeing on its promise to rehire locked-out workers. This is reported by the (North) Vietnam News Agency.

Last August Vimytex, which benefits not only from cheap labor but from "foreign aid" in the form of U.S. tax-money, locked out 1,500 of its 2,000 workers. This sparked a general strike in Saigon by Vietnam Confederation of Labor. It also led to the revelation that the most anti-union company in South Vietnam, was U.S.-owned.

Although most workers were rehired under pressure of the general strike, Vimytex has refused to rehire 245, many of them union leaders, despite its promise to do so. The North Vietnam News Agency also reports further repressive and intimidating measures by the company.

"Within a kilometer on the road leading to the mill, they have set up six posts to control the workers," the agency reports. "Workers on night shifts are searched at these posts and employers' agents flash electric torches in their faces and compel them to show their papers like prisoners.

"The workers were prevented from going in and out of the mill

freely and their dwellings were frequently ransacked. The employers also planted security agents among the workers to sabotage all trade-union activities." Most of Vimytex's workers are women. They are housed in barracks, and receive 65¢ per day as "wages."

The Vietnam News Agency also reports that 5,000 workers of the Saigon Bus Company and rice porters at the Saigon and Cholon River ports sent petitions to the U.S.-Puppet government in Saigon protesting against repression and exploitation. Over 2,000 bus workers demanded that they run the company themselves instead of the puppet administration. Otherwise, they warned, they would stage a slowdown.

The rice porters are demanding a pay raise. They denounced the government for ignoring their claims for one while living costs keep soaring.

World Events

Opposition Voiced in Belgium

Assembly-line workers on two shifts at the Cockerill-Ougree plant, the biggest factory in Belgium, stopped work the day after the U.S.-Belgian paratroop drop in the Congo. The workers passed a resolution denouncing the imperialist intervention and the Belgian government's threats to expel protesting Congolese students from the country.

Despite the chauvinist hysteria whipped up in the Belgian press,

anti-imperialist opposition made itself heard. The *Jeunes Gardes Socialist* (Socialist Youth Guard) joined with Socialist and Communist (both pro-Moscow and pro-Peking) student groups in signing and distributing leaflets denouncing the U.S.-Belgian aggression. There were also demonstrations and protests by workers and left youth groups in Ghent, Antwerp, Liege and Brussels.

Congo Students Protest

Congolese students in Belgium courageously denounced the U.S.-Belgian military intervention in their country. They distributed a protest statement to press, radio and TV on Nov. 23. The "democratic and humanitarian" government of Spaak thereupon announced that the scholarships of the leaders of the Congolese students' organization were revoked and began arrangements to expel them from Belgium and hand them over to Tshombe's murderous security police.

Belgian student organizations began a solidarity campaign to defend the Congolese students.

Bolivia Labor Cleans House

Since the downfall of Paz Estenssoro, Bolivian trade unions have been busy dismantling the bureaucratic leaderships set up by Paz's MNR [*Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*]. At a special congress, the teachers union removed the pro-Paz leaders and elected a new national executive committee. Elected were: Elsa Clodera, widow of Fernando Bravo James, recently deceased leader of the Trotskyist POR [*Partido Obrero Revolucionario*]; Sustovo Avila,

member of the Falange Socialists Boliviana; and René Higuera, of general leftist persuasion. The congress paid homage to Fernando Bravo on the second anniversary of his death. Elsa Clodera had participated in the defense of the University of La Paz late in October, when Paz's armed forces attacked the school. She was jailed for several days.

U.S.-Latin 'War Games'

More than 10,000 men from the U.S., Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela took part in military maneuvers off the coast of Peru Dec. 7-9. Trucks, jeeps, communications equipment, and technical personnel were shipped in U.S. C-47 planes from Panama, where the U.S. maintains its "inter-American" anti-guerrilla-warfare school. Far from being aimed at "aggression from outside the hemisphere," the aim of such shows of force is to intimidate the people of Latin America.

Guerrilla Chase Slowed

The Venezuelan government's "mop-up" operations against FALN guerrillas in Falcon State are being slowed down, reports the UPI; "torrential rains" are blamed but also mentioned are land mines laid down by the guerrillas.

Protest Madrid Trial

In a significant development for Fascist Spain, hundreds of protestors demonstrated outside a court building in Madrid Dec. 2, as 13 Spaniards — including the son of Spain's air minister — were put on trial on charges on underground Communist activity.

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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.]

Top Tom

Yellow Springs, Ohio
Just how far can an Uncle Tom Tom?

Dr. Max Yergan, an American Negro sociologist, is reported as praising South Africa's apartheid policy while in Johannesburg. He said the Verwoerd government's policy of racial segregation gives Africans "more dignity and self-respect."

Dr. Yergan, who describes himself as a consultant on African affairs, has been touring South A-

frica for a month as a guest of the South Africa Foundation. The foundation is financed by the country's leading corporations to promote "international understanding" of South Africa, according to a dispatch from Johannesburg dated Nov. 30.

At a press conference he praised the Verwoerd government for showing "honesty, courage and boldness" in its approach to racial problems.

Yergan's monumental sell-out of his own people is compounded by the fact that his viewpoint cannot be laid up to ignorance of the problem. Yergan said that he lived in South Africa from 1920 to 1936 as secretary of the international committee of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Arthur Maglin

Fan Mail Dep't.

Oakland, Calif.
We all enjoy reading the Militant. Keep up the good work. God bless you.

A Reader

U. S. Role in Southeast Asia

I wholly agree with the conclusion of the six graduate students of East Asian affairs at Columbia University whose letter (N. Y. Times Dec. 1) advocates negotiation of the Vietnam crisis. But it seems to me that history denies their premise that "the basic reason for our presence in Vietnam has been to contain Communist expansionism."

The United States drove into Southeast Asia with decisive military force 66 years ago — when Admiral Dewey sank the Spanish fleet and took the Philippines. In the same year we acquired Guam and "annexed" Hawaii. In that year, Mao Tse-tung was a boy of seven and "Communism" consisted of small groups of dedicated men and women hiding in the cellars of eastern Europe.

By 1898, the predatory, expanding American people had swarmed across the Alleghenies, over the Great Plains and the Rockies (killing 600,000 Indians and stealing a third of Mexico on the way) and stood impatiently on the shores of the Pacific, eyeing covetously the riches of Asia, the door to which Dewey had just opened and which the European powers were busily dividing among themselves. We were straining at the leash to get our snouts in the trough and forthwith started on the last (Pacific) lap of our historic expansionism across half the world, eagerly embracing the heady doctrine that it was our "manifest destiny" to become the overlords of the "inferior" races of the Far East. In January, 1900, Senator Albert J. Beveridge, spokesman for the Expansionist Wing of the Republican Party, rose in the U.S. Senate and made this announcement:

"The Philippines are ours forever . . . And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets . . . We will not retreat from either . . . will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, under God, of the civilization of the world . . . The power that rules the Pacific is the power that rules the world . . . That power will forever be the American Republic."

This was the beginning of the U.S. "presence" in Southeast Asia — raw, naked aggression that has grown steadily ever since, maintained with armed force through the Boxer Rebellion, the Japanese and the Korean Wars and into the desperate situation in

Vietnam today. The record of our Far Eastern policy shows that it was not "Communist expansionism" (the Communists weren't even there until 1921) but rather our own which is the "basic reason for our presence in Vietnam" today.

Just as Franklin D. Roosevelt, in World War II, declared that our frontier was the Rhine, so in the Cold War of today we have arrogantly advanced our western boundary to the very shores of the Asian mainland. To hold this questionable line, we have established a vast arc of atomic bases from Ominato (Japan) through Okinawa, the Philippines and Taiwan to Vung Tao in Vietnam, with two great beachheads on the mainland itself (Korea and Vietnam) while the world's most powerful nuclear fleet (U.S. 7th) patrols the China coast and raids her seaports.

Taylor Adams

Abolish FBI

The recent ungentlemanly attack by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover against Rev. Martin Luther King causes me to question the validity and future usefulness of the F.B.I. For far too long Mr. Hoover has been treated as a political "sacred cow" above criticism or repudiation. The egocentricity of his statement seems to indicate that he regards himself as the indispensable man; which he certainly is not!

Regardless of what one might think of the Nobel Peace Prize; it is certain that such an award would not be given to a "notorious liar." The press of this country has long been treated to

Detroit, Mich.

Mr. Hoover's bleatings in regard to the non-existent threat of internal Communism. Indeed: it has been stated that there are today more undercover agents in the U.S. Communist Party than there are bona fide members. In contrast; Mr. Hoover has been strangely silent in regard to the threat posed to this country by the ultra-right.

Many ex-F.B.I. agents have become professional anti-Communist witch-hunters and super-patriots for financial gain. This list includes men like Dan Smoot and W. Cleon Skousen who have aroused hatreds across this country. The many church bombings as well as the murder of the three Freedom Fighters have so far gone unpunished. Local law officials have refused to take any action and the F.B.I. has more than timid in taking the initiative. Is it not possible that even the "vaunted" F.B.I. has fallen under the taint of race prejudice?

I, for one, would favor the creation of a "blue ribbon" panel to investigate the F.B.I. with a view to either reorganize it or even abolish it entirely. One thing is quite clear: the usefulness of J. Edgar Hoover has been impaired if not destroyed! We may yet find that the best thing to do in the interests of preserving the democratic process would be the abolition of the little kingdom that Mr. Hoover rules.

R. M. W.

Prof. Not Educated Guesser

The Society For Social Research recently held its Fall Colloquium on the University of Chicago cam-

pus. This year the symposium was on the civil-rights movement. The program was divided into three sessions: "The Negro in the Metropolis," "Forms of Negro Protest," and "The Negro in Politics." Various prominent liberal academicians were the featured speakers on the program.

Some of the most interesting remarks were made by Professor Meier, a member of the panel on Negro protest. He contended that the civil-rights movement is not a revolutionary movement because Negroes want to be accepted into this society and are not struggling for basic social changes. He maintained that it is important to clarify this question since the "communists" and "Trotskyists," who really are genuine revolutionists, are trying to persuade the civil-rights movement to become a revolutionary movement.

Since the civil-rights movement thinks of itself as revolutionary, he argued, it might be possible "in a moment of extreme disillusionment with the power structure" to persuade the movement to become a genuine revolutionary movement. Professor Meier stated that he thought such an occurrence would be "very unfortunate."

When a student from the audience asked Professor Meier if he thought the power structure could grant Negro demands for acceptance into this society, Professor Meier replied that he was a specialist in history and not in the nature of the power structure and was thus not qualified to answer the question. Another time, when asked a similar question, he replied that "your guess about the future is as good as mine."

Robert Hill

It Was Reported in the Press

Sounds Familiar — In a typically racist description of the Congolese freedom fighters, *New York Times* correspondent Lloyd Garrison wrote from Leopoldville, Dec. 3: "Superstition has inspired the Simbas to what appears as bravery . . . his swearing in ceremony is half drama and half black magic . . . Such rituals do not end with induction. There are visits with the priests before each battle . . . Dead rebels are always found with talismen — beads, tufts of monkey fur, handfuls of polished stones, twisted chicken bones — in their pockets." Sounds familiar. Most of the Belgian paratroopers who went in there were probably Catholic. We can just see them receiving benediction from their priests, being sprinkled with holy water, and taking off with their crosses, medals and rosary beads.

Those Moral Militarists — A recent AP dispatch from Copenhagen reported: "Jens Hansen, 20, a Danish enlisted radio operator yesterday was sentenced to 20 days in the guard house for broadcasting excerpts of Henry Miller's controversial novel, *Tropic of Cancer*, over a powerful radio transmitter in the official NATO military code."

For Your Mother-in-Law, Maybe? — Our continuing search for unusual Xmas gifts has led to pure gold. A book containing eleven tributes to Yuletide delivered on the floor of the Senate and taken verbatim from the *Congressional Record* — plus a stereo recording of Senator Dirksen reciting "A Visit from St. Nicholas." The complete deal only \$18.50.

Doesn't Like Postal Snoopers — A Minneapolis businessman has protested on learning that his name may have been turned over to HUAC because he subscribes to two Chinese Communist magazines. Last month a federal court in San Francisco ruled unconstitutional the Post Office's practice of requiring recipients of such mail to sign statements that they want it before it is forwarded to them. The court confirmed that such names have been turned over to HUAC. Robert McCoy, who works for the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., told the *Minneapolis Tribune*: "I am not a communist and I work for a great capitalist organization. I am a little concerned they suspect me without even finding out who I am."

Double-Standard — Commenting on the refusal of members of the Catholic hierarchy to support anti-bias selective-buying campaigns' Father Daniel Mallette wrote in the Nov. 28 *Saturday Evening Post*: "I hear that Negroes are going over in great numbers to the Black Muslim

movement. They'd be coming over to Catholicism if more Catholics cared enough to be Christians . . . If an archdiocesan selective-buying campaign against discrimination is immoral, then so is a Legion of Decency pledge against dirty movies immoral. What a phony morality we Catholics have!"

Plugging the Holes — The bankrupt New Haven railroad may not be engaged in such revolutionary practices as improving passenger service in order to better its financial position but it is trying to keep some holes unplugged. Conductors have been instructed to punch each commuter ticket several times. This is done in the belief that some people have been retrieving the punched-out piece and pasting it back in for a free ride.

Direct Action on Rise? — Three young men in Yonkers, N. Y., were charged with arson in the burning of a police car. Police claim they had threatened to get even after cops threw them out of a tavern.

20 Years Ago

"HANDS OFF EUROPE — In Italy, Belgium and Greece, troops are being utilized against the revolutionary masses to bolster up counter-revolutionary regimes headed by puppets wholly subservient to Allied imperialism.

"The troops in these Allied armies were dragooned into the war on the assurance their mission was to destroy fascism and to safeguard democracy. Their use in disarming the Belgian workers, in checking the Italian revolution, and now in shedding the blood of the Greek masses proves that the assurances of Churchill and Roosevelt about democratic aims were false to the core.

Roosevelt's and Churchill's real aims are emerging for all to see. They are simply fighting to retain world domination against the challenge of German imperialism. They aim to crush the revolutionary movement of the insurgent masses and impose on them, by force of arms, the rule of the same old crew of bloodthirsty monarchs, Fascist generals and exploiting capitalists and landlords that ground down the European masses before the outbreak of the present world slaughter . . .

"The people cannot afford to stand idly by while the Wall Street plutocrats and the British Tories thus shackle the workers' movement. The soldiers cannot easily express themselves. It is all the more imperative that the workers at home should energetically protest these crimes being committed against the people of Europe." — December 16, 1944

Thought for the Week

"We have been reading about apartment-dwellers in New York City who watch murder taking place on the street under their windows without lifting a finger. This whole society is watching calmly, as if from a window, while people are murdered day after day in Vietnam." Prof. Staughton Lynd in a speech to the annual *National Guardian* banquet.

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Frame-Up Charges Dropped In Ga. Rights Worker Case

AMERICUS, Ga. — Trumped up charges of "assault with intent to murder" against four civil-rights workers have been dismissed here but in nearby Albany one of the four still faces "insurrection" charges which carry the death penalty.

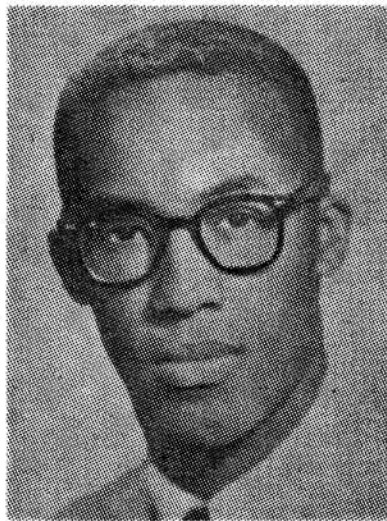
The four — Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee workers, Donald Harris, 24, of New York City; John Perdew, 23, of Denver; Ralph Allen, 24, of Melrose, Mass.; and Thomas McDaniel, 21, of Americus — were freed when Solicitor General Stephen Pace, Jr. announced he was dropping charges against them. Harris and McDaniel are Negroes, Perdew and Allen are white.

Along with CORE staff member Zev Aloney, the four were jailed here Aug. 8, 1963 and held for 87 days without bail under an 1871 Georgia "insurrection" law. The five were freed when a panel of federal judges ruled the law unconstitutional. As further harassment after they were freed, the four were indicted on the charges of "assault with intent to murder." Allen was convicted in December, 1963 on that charge, but the Georgia Supreme Court ruled he was entitled to a new trial because Negroes had been excluded from the jury.

Charged Again

The Americus charges were based on arrests in August, 1963, following a night demonstration against a segregated movie theatre.

Harris, who directs SNCC's Southwest Georgia Project, faces the "insurrection" charge again in Albany, where warrants were taken out against him and leaders of the Albany Movement after a demonstration protesting the slaying of an Albany Negro by a white policeman. Harris, who was not in Georgia when the warrants were issued, was not arrested at the time, and has still not been jailed though the charges are still pending. A panel of federal judges has taken under advisement motions made by Harris' attorney,



Donald Harris

C. B. King, of Albany, to prevent Albany officials from using the law which has twice been ruled unconstitutional.

The Albany Movement leaders have not only been harassed and jailed by local officials, but segregationists have prevailed on the U.S. Department of Justice to act against them on "conspiracy" charges arising out of a 1963 picket line in front of a white-owned grocery store.

A pamphlet on this case has recently been published. Entitled *Upside-Down Justice — The Albany Cases*, it is available from the National Committee for the Albany Defendants, 532 Mercer St., Albany, Ga.

Miss. Freedom Party Appeals to U.S. Court

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party on Dec. 7 asked a federal court in Jackson to invalidate a state injunction barring the organization from using the word "Democratic" in its name. A Mississippi court had ruled the word was the property of the Mississippi Democratic Party.

3 Defy HUAC; Face Citation For Contempt

DEC. 8 — Dagmar Wilson and Donna Allen, leaders of Women Strike for Peace, and Russ Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*, face contempt of Congress charges by the House Un-American Activities Committee. They declined to testify at a closed hearing of the HUAC subcommittee, yesterday, contending that the hearings should be open to press and public.

The subcommittee — consisting of Joe Pool (D-Tex.), Richard H. Ichord (D-Mo.), and August E. Johansen (R.-Mich.) — voted unanimously to ask HUAC to cite the witness for contempt.

Each of the three was called twice before the subcommittee in a closed room, and each refused to testify in secret. They demanded that the hearings be conducted openly.

Hearings' Purpose

The hearings were to investigate the admission of Kaoru Yasui, a prominent founder of the Japanese peace movement, into the United States in 1963. Yasui's visa was withheld by the State Department after he had accepted an invitation from the *National Guardian* for a speaking tour in this country.

Nixon, Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Allen intervened in Yasui's behalf and petitioned the State Department to rescind its ban. The petitioning was done in accordance with formal procedures at the State Department. Reportedly, Nixon remarked that he suspected that the State Department and the Department of Justice might be the real target of the investigations.

Women Strike for Peace sponsored one of the meetings at which Yasui spoke. More recently, it got wide publicity for its efforts to get China seated in the United Nations. More than 400 of its members picketed at the UN Dec. 2 demanding the immediate seating of Communist China.

N. Y. SOCIAL AGENCY VETOES STAFF PURGE

By William Bundy

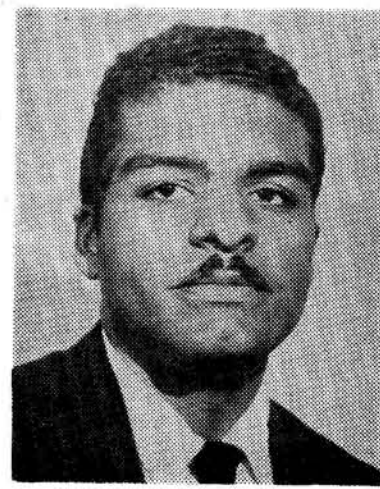
DEC. 9 — A gain for the right of individuals to hold jobs without regard to their political beliefs was registered when Mobilization For Youth — the experimental social agency on New York's Lower East Side — announced Dec. 3 that it would not fire five staff members who had been accused of "subversive" affiliations.

MFY came under a vitriolic smear attack beginning last August by the reactionary New York *Daily News*. The paper asserted the agency had been "infiltrated" by "subversives" and that public funds were being used to foment "disorders."

There followed months of witch-hunt pressure from right-wing groups, elements in the "liberal" city administration, slumlords and other forces opposed to action projects by slum dwellers. Counter pressure built up from civil-liberties, neighborhood, labor and social worker groups, and the MFY Board finally issued its statement declining to fire anyone. The statement, issued by Board Chairman Winslow Carlton, does not take a clear civil-liberties position, however, since it implies that if anyone had been proven to be a member of the Communist Party, he would have been fired.

The only individual specifically mentioned in the statement is Leroy McRae, an MFY community worker who has assisted neighborhood housing groups involved in rent strikes. McRae was on the ballot in 1962 as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of New York. The statement said in part:

"In the instance of one staff member, Leroy McRae, evidence was presented to a hearing committee of the Board confirming that he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Mr. McRae, represented by counsel, testified at the hearing. He confirmed his membership. The committee held, however, that there was insufficient evidence to characterize that party as a subversive organiza-



Leroy McRae

tion. It based its conclusion upon the decision of the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of *Scythes vs. Webb*, 1962 (307 F. 2nd 905). The recent finding of a federal court, however unpopular, was deemed obligatory upon MFY. . . . The Committee also noted that the Socialist Workers Party has not been designated subversive by the U.S. Subversive Activities Control Board.

"Mr. McRae has performed satisfactorily on the job. We have found no evidence that he violated any policy of MFY."

(The precedent referred to involved George Scythes, a Canadian-born Wisconsin man whom the U.S. Immigration Department attempted to deport on the grounds of past membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Scythes acknowledged his past membership. The court ruled there was no substantial evidence the party advocates the violent or forceful overthrow of the government, and overturned the deportation order.)

McRae's counsel in the hearing was Rowland Watts, long-time legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union, presently a legal advisor to the ACLU and president of the Workers Defense League. Watts said of the MFY announcement: "I consider the decision of the Board in the McRae case not only of benefit to the program of Mobilization For Youth, but of importance in upholding the rights of all social workers."

The attack on MFY began shortly after the social explosions in Harlem last summer. At that time the liberal city administration reacted hysterically and with smear attacks and injunctions against demonstrations by the Harlem rent-strike organization and its leader Jesse Gray. Right-wing forces and slumlords simply picked up the ball put into play by the liberals and ran with it, this time against MFY. As part of its program to encourage self-help, MFY had lent assistance to neighborhood groups involved in peaceful protests such as rent strikes.

As a result of this red-scare campaign, "investigations" of MFY and its staff were ordered by the city administration and the MFY Board itself appointed a special legal counsel, Phillip Haberman Jr., to prepare a report on the agency in light of the charges in the press.

The Haberman report was released Nov. 25. It accepted the witch-hunt philosophy that "subversives" should be excluded, but concluded that of a staff of some 300, only five alleged "subversives" were presently employed. It declared that except for McRae, whose affiliation was acknowledged, there was "no legal evidence on which action could be taken." Haberman continued: "This phase of the investigation, then, arrives at a Scotch verdict [charge not proven]."

More Than 50 Incidents in November

Continue Harassing Freedom Fighters in South

ATLANTA — More than 50 incidents of harassment and intimidation aimed at civil-rights workers and local citizens involved in the struggle for equality have been reported for the month of November by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The incidents occurred in Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and Georgia.

The SNCC office here said the incidents included the killing of a dog belonging to a Negro woman active in the rights drive, the continued burning and bombing of churches throughout Mississippi, an FBI agent calling a SNCC worker "just a nigger" the jailing of two children under ten years of age, and numerous trumped-up traffic arrests of civil-rights workers.

Charge Conspiracy

"The pattern of harassment shown especially in Mississippi, clearly indicates that local law officers are conspiring to prevent any sort of organizing campaign or drive to register Negroes to vote," the SNCC office said.

One of the most insidious incidents was the Nov. 27 arrest of eight staff persons for the Conference of Federated Organizations (COFO) in Meridian, Mississippi, on charges of assisting in a burglary. COFO is the state-wide alliance of civil-rights groups which

sponsored the Mississippi Summer Project. (The three civil-rights workers murdered in nearby Neshoba County last June were working out of the Meridian COFO office.)

Accepted Gift

The office had accepted a gift of a portable phonograph from a sailor, Vincent Cuminsky of Queens, N.Y. who said he had been one of those assigned from a naval base last summer to participate in the search for the bodies of the three murdered workers. COFO worker Mrs. Ken Slote said: "It sounded reasonable to us. We are accustomed to getting donations."

Cuminsky was later arrested on a charge of having stolen the phonograph and local police then arrested the eight COFO workers. The eight were: Joseph Morse of Minnesota; Sandy Watts of Oregon; Luke Cabot of Palo Alto, Calif.; Louise Somlyo of Washington, D.C.; Judy and Frank Wright of Boston, Mass.; Gail Falk of Pittsburgh; and Eric Weinberger. All but two were released. Morse was held on \$2,500, and Miss Watts on \$1,500 bail.

ATLANTA, Georgia — Sargent Shriver has been asked by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to suspend a

poverty fund award to a Mississippi city because the director of the program favors segregation.

Shriver, who is head of President Johnson's "War on Poverty" program, was asked to find a new director for the five-county program because the present director, State Senator J. P. Dean, has advocated using Federal Urban Renewal funds to maintain housing and school segregation. Shriver was also asked to suspend implementation of the award "and to consider ways in which federal money can be distributed to those who need it in a manner equitable to all."

Few Negroes

A Nov. 30 letter to Shriver from SNCC Chairman John Lewis pointed out that the five counties in the northeast part of the state, for which the money is intended, have the lowest percentage of Negroes in the entire state, while a recent study by the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare reported that Tunica County, Miss. — which is 79 per cent Negro — is the poorest county in the nation.

Tunica is one of 18 Delta Counties where Negroes are more than half the population. "In Mississippi," the letter said, "the battle line in the War on Poverty is in the Delta, not in the northeast." "We suggest," the letter said,

"that you contact the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) a state-wide group whose many programs include the alleviation of poverty for all the people of Mississippi."

JACKSON, Miss. — Mississippi has the highest infant death rate in the United States according to latest figures released here. The Mississippi State Board of Health reported that the infant death rate for Mississippians was 15 per cent higher than the District of Columbia and 17 per cent higher than Alaska, which have the second and third highest rates in the U.S. Mississippi is the most impoverished state in the country, according to government figures. A SNCC spokesman said here that "there is a direct connection between the high death rate and the poverty which Mississippians experience daily."

Senator Clinton Anderson (D-N.M.) thinks Senator Russell Long of Louisiana has a good chance of becoming Senate majority whip, the job held by Hubert Humphrey until his election as vice president. Commenting on the record of the racist Senator from Louisiana, Anderson said it wouldn't hurt to have a "fairly conservative" Democratic whip. He didn't say who it wouldn't hurt.