

# THE MILITANT

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## Johnson Acts to Thwart Freedom for Dominicans

By Harry Ring

JUNE 1 — There is a division within the Johnson administration as to what is the best way to disarm and crush the Dominican Constitutionalist movement. Lodged in the division like a smoldering dynamite fuse is the acute danger that it could culminate in a decision to unleash a bloodbath on the Dominican people.

The U.S. is already permitting the counter-revolutionary Imbert junta to carry on mass slaughter of helpless civilians.

Representatives of Col. Caamaño's government at the United Nations charged May 28 that the Imbert junta has executed "hundreds of civilian sympathizers" of the Constitutional cause. The delegation said the killings had taken place without trial in the Santo Domingo cemetery and in other areas of the country. Washington officials replied that they had no knowledge of such executions.

### Revelations

This barefaced lie was exposed in advance by tersely-worded revelations sandwiched into dispatches from Santo Domingo.

A single sentence in a dispatch to the May 26 *New York Times* revealed that "About 3,000 persons have been arrested" by the Imbert junta.

On the same day, this brief paragraph appeared at the end of a news round-up from Santo Domingo in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

"Representatives of the Organization of American States dis-

closed that they will ask the UN to send a human rights commission to try to prevent the continuation of reported mass executions by the junta forces."

Nor is the junta even bothering to take all its victims to the cemetery before slaughtering them. Hearst correspondent Leslie Whitten reported from Santo Domingo May 24:

"A junta spokesman firmly assured the world that the Geneva conventions on prisoners were being kept. The next day we saw four men dead in the street. The father of three of them — and neighborhood children and adults supported him — said junta troops had captured them and forced them to lie in the street and machine-gunned them."

Responsibility for this barbarism rests squarely with Washington, whose 20,000 troops could easily prevent it if they so desired.

But, contrary to Johnson's pious mouthings, the occupation forces are not there to safeguard human lives. They are there to disarm the people of Santo Domingo and thwart their aspirations for a return to constitutional government. The question of how best to do so is the source of the present tactical division within the administration.

The fact of the division broke into the press briefly last week with the revelation that McGeorge Bundy's efforts in Santo Domingo to create a "coalition" government headed by millionaire landowner

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## 2,000 JAM TEACH-IN AT U OF CALIF.

By Syd Gardner

BERKELEY, May 30 — More than 2,000 students jammed Wheeler Auditorium at the University of California to hear State Department representatives debate professors on the question of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. The students thoroughly rejected the State Department's position.

William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, and Robert A. Scalapino, professor of political science, presented the pro-administration view. O. Edmund Clubb, of Columbia University, and Franz Schurman, U of C expert on China, opposed them.

Scalapino said that although in 1956 the U.S. might have been fighting a legitimate nationalist movement, now it was merely trying to keep South Vietnam free from foreign interference. This statement, along with many more of the most outrageous government platitudes, drew laughter, jeers and hisses from the largely hostile audience.

### Question Period

The most lively part of the discussion developed during the question period. Prof. Stephen Smale, organizer of Berkeley's recent Vietnam Day Protest, said: "We in Berkeley know particularly well how a movement can be conveniently branded 'Communist' for the benefit of its enemies." The applause following this remark barely exceeded in volume the boos directed at Bundy when he stated in response to a question: "The people of Southeast Asia will never choose communism except when terrorized or misled."

In answer to Bundy's remarks, Clubb said: "We are not the world's law giver. We are not the world's law enforcer. And we should not be the world's law breaker."

When asked by a student how students could best make their opposition to the war felt, Bundy was clearly aware of the hostility

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## New Explosions Building Up in Black Ghettos

By Clifton DeBerry

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York

NEW YORK, May 31 — The elements of another social explosion in the big city ghettos of the country are building up. Two incidents within 10 days in the same Bronx slum neighborhood where crowds of passersby objected to arrests of Negro youths are symptoms of this.

In one of the Bronx incidents, that of May 17, the newspapers were jubilant that one person on the street, a grocer named Enrique Negron, had actually taken the side of the policeman against the crowd of some 200 persons which gathered. This was considered so unusual that the grocer, who received stab wounds, was hailed as a hero in headlines and was paid a personal visit by a top police official.

The cop involved, Patrolman Phillip Siegel, reported on a TV interview after the incident that the grocer had come up behind

him as he faced the crowd and urged him to shoot into it. Someone in the crowd stabbed the grocer after he made this suggestion, which Siegel wisely declined.

News commentators, the Democratic and Republican politicians and the police themselves attempt to explain that these incidents involved legitimate arrests of youths engaged in attempts to break into stores, and that the passersby interfered without knowing how the trouble had started and on the false assumption that the cops were acting in an unjustified way. Even if this were true — and we have only the word of the police — these explanations miss the central point entirely.

These incidents are yet another proof that hatred and mistrust of the police are very widespread and deep among ordinary decent people in the ghettos. This attitude flows in part from many incidents of racial prejudice, callousness and brutality on the part of police.

(Continued on Page 4)

## A Modest Proposal

### An Open Letter to Johnson

Dear President Johnson:

You have proved to all good Americans that unlike some of your predecessors you have not been intimidated by the international conspiracy. Your actions against the Godless people in Vietnam (South and North) and your forthright moves against the obviously red-controlled rebellion in the Dominican Republic have demonstrated to the world that you are politically reliable.

We therefore conclude that you are the only man who can save the free world from the ever-present menace that daily intrudes upon freedom loving peoples of all nations.

We propose that you now carry your policies to their logical conclusion: the United States should occupy every country in the world and thus make this planet forever safe from the menace. Only if this is done will we know before we turn out our bedroom light each night that we have done all we can for the causes of freedom, justice and democracy. We will have carried out Woodrow Wilson's greatest dream: we will have made the world safe for democracy, i.e., the American way of life.

There are, of course, exceptions, such as the great Republics of South Africa and West Germany, which don't need to be converted. But by and large there is no country that has proven itself safe from the menace. With total mobilization, plus withdrawal of U.S. troops from the secure nation of West Germany, we can, with some tightening of our belts, sleep peacefully each night, free from the fear that the menace will strike at some remote point on our planet. Nothing short of this will suffice.

Only then can we lift the new American banner high, while we march to a brighter day, chorusing: Peace is our Profession.

The people are behind you, Mr. President. Do not yield to the crybaby complaints of the wishy-washy liberals and left-wingers. Yours is a truly American policy, gutsy and manly. What are a few — or a few thousand — lives in history's grand scheme, compared to the cause of justice, freedom and democracy. The people, led by you, our leader, must march and maintain the everlasting vigil.

—Ramparts Magazine

The above "Open Letter to President Johnson" will appear in Ramparts' special Southeast Asia issue, dated July 1965, and is printed with permission of the editors. Ramparts is a militant lay Catholic magazine, published at 1182 Chestnut St., Menlo Park, California.



Lyndon Johnson

### Court Victory Proves Insufficient

## Miss. Negroes Face Terror at Polls

INDIANOLA, Miss., (*Southern Reporting Service*) — Soon President Johnson's 1965 voting legislation will be passed. What is happening now in Sunflower County, Miss., may be a preview of events to come throughout the South — in "black belt" counties where Negroes are a majority — when the new bill becomes law.

Sunflower County lies in the heart of the Mississippi Delta cotton country. The total population of the county in 1960 was 45,500 — 14,700 white, 30,800 black. The voting-age population is 60.6 per cent black.

On April 10 a federal injunction was issued ordering the registrar in this county to allow Negroes to register without any qualifications more difficult than for whites. Negroes are therefore able to register without any tests except for copying four lines of the Constitution and fulfilling the age and residency requirements.

The Sunflower County Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee immediately began a county-wide voter registration drive. In a period of three weeks, over 450 people were registered and an additional 150 tried and failed.

Reaction to the injunction in the white community was voiced by the *Enterprise-Tocsin*, Indianola's newspaper. An April 29 front-page column, entitled "City Notes," said: "A hint to the White people of

Indianola and Sunflower County: Many negroes (sic) are registering over the county without being required to pass any sort of examination . . . that is a Court Order, we understand. Now, are we going to allow apathy on our part to turn this decision of electing our City and County Officials over to the colored race because they are more interested in who will run Cities and Counties in the future? Well, if you don't open your eyes as to what is going on, that is exactly what is going to happen, and much sooner than you think . . . DON'T LET THIS HAPPEN. Go and register yourself and protect YOUR RIGHT as a GOOD citizen."

Some "GOOD" citizens of Sunflower County were already preparing themselves.

### Fire Bombings

On May 1, beginning at 2:24 a.m., four places in Indianola were fire-bombed. The first was the SNCC freedom house where two SNCC workers were asleep when two fire bombs were thrown through the window. Only one went off, and the people in the house were able to put the fire out immediately.

Minutes later, the home of Mrs. Maguader, a Negro woman who was the first person in Indianola to house civil rights workers, was bombed. The six people in the house were able to get out unhurt, but the house was de-

stroyed. The fire engine had arrived within five minutes, but the crew had taken 20 to 30 minutes setting up the hoses.

Third target of the fire bombers was the store of Mr. Oscar Giles, a member of the state executive committee of the MFDP and the first person in Indianola to be associated with the movement. With the help of neighbors, Giles was able to put out the fire before the store was a total loss. The fourth target was the home of Mr. Doug Wilder, another Negro active in the movement. His home was totally destroyed.

Aside from these fire bombings, there have been almost daily "incidents" taking place since the injunction went into effect. Meanwhile the MFDP attempted to have the May municipal elections delayed so newly registered Negroes could vote in them. The suit was turned down by U.S. District Judge Claude Clayton.

In a statement about the Sunflower County situation and the new voting bill, the MFDP said: "What good does it do for Negroes to have the right to vote when there is no police protection against the people who harass and intimidate them? What good does it do to register if you can't vote in an election?"

"Is what is happening in Sunflower County the same thing we can expect to happen in the rest of the black belt when the voting bill is passed?"

# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, has added his voice to the growing list of AFL-CIO union bureaucrats lining up in support of Johnson's war in Vietnam.

Curran's grovelling is even more disgusting than that of the other labor fakers because it is contaminated with out-and-out international scabbery.

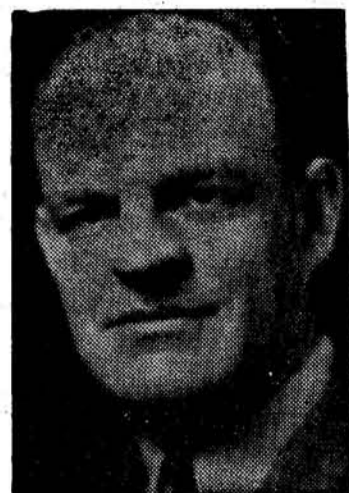
In a recent telegram to President Lyndon B. Johnson, Curran offered to man LST ships carrying war supplies to Vietnam from Okinawa with American merchant seamen. His offer came after the U.S. Navy's military sea transport service experienced difficulty in manning some 17 of the munitions and supply carriers. The reason for this difficulty is that the All-Japanese Seamen's Union, backed by Japan's largest labor organization, Sohyo, had refused to cooperate with the U.S. Navy by supplying experienced crews. In other cases Japanese crewmen have refused to handle equipment destined for Vietnam and in Okinawa longshoremen have refused to unload ammunition headed the same way.

In his telegram offering Johnson the use of thousands of unemployed American seamen to be used as scabs against the Japanese Seamen's Union, Curran complained that "we should count on our own citizens not the unskilled and politicalized Japanese who obviously aren't that nation's best seamen."

**An example of increased productivity** due to technological advances was reported in the May 20 *Lorain Labor Leader*. "Fifty years ago," it said, "the cigar industry produced 4 billion cigars annually with 125,000 workers. Today 30,000 workers produce 7 billion cigars a year."

According to Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, technological improvements are being introduced in some industries so rapidly that, under existing union contracts, some unions "are unable to take strike action to protect themselves."

A recent report by the U.S. Labor Department, however, reveals that one category of workers who were supposed to be among the hardest hit by automation have actually experienced a sharp increase in jobs in the recent period. During the four-year period from 1961-65, unskilled and semi-skilled blue collar jobs increased by 2.9



Joseph Curran

million jobs. By comparison, there was a drop of 1.8 million jobs in this classification in the period 1957-61.

White collar jobs continued to expand, but at a much slower rate. This classification showed an increase of 3.1 million jobs during 1957-61. In the four years since then, however, the rate of increase dropped to 2.3 million.

**The United States led all capitalist countries** in the number of workdays lost as a result of strikes in the 10-year period 1954-63, according to a report in *Free Labor World*, official monthly journal of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The U.S. lost 1,048 workdays for every 1,000 workers employed in mining, manufacturing, construction and transport during the ten years. This compares with 818 for Italy; 412 for Japan; 329 for France; 297 for the United Kingdom; and only 67 for West Germany.

No statistics were given for non-capitalist countries in Eastern Europe and Asia, or for colonial areas of the world.

**There were more workers on strike** in the first quarter of 1965 than in any first quarter since 1956. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, approximately 810 strikes involving 351,000 workers started during this period. Strikes continuing from 1964 brought the total to 432,000 and a total of some five million man-hours of labor were lost.

During all of 1964, there were 3,505 strikes involving 1,560,000 workers for a total loss of 22.8 million man-hours.

Wages and shorter hours continued to head union demands but safeguards against the introduction of automation, union jurisdiction, and non-discrimination against Negroes and other minorities were among other prominent grievances raised during the past year.

**A House District Subcommittee** has approved a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour for some half million Washington, D.C., workers. If passed, the bill would raise wages to \$1.00 six months after passage, to \$1.15 in September 1966, and to \$1.25 a year later. Not covered in the proposed law are thousands of domestic workers and employees of hospitals, nursing homes, and educational, charitable, religious and nonprofit organizations.

The proposed \$1.25 minimum falls far short of the \$3,000 annual wage which is considered the start of the poverty level by most statisticians.

Another example of poverty in Washington was recently provided by Senator Wayne Morse who revealed that the U.S. Senate has men and women toiling in its kitchens for as little as \$1.02 an hour.

— Tom Leonard

## And They Shot Jesse James

# Johnson Gets a Law Degree

By Farrell Dobbs

Truth was struck a foul blow the other day at Waco, Texas. Cant and hypocrisy were paid homage in a grotesque spectacle that President Johnson slyly interpreted as a tribute to "selfless service" for the "betterment of the condition of man to the ends of this earth."

The occasion was the May 28 ceremony at Baylor University to confer an honorary degree upon the president. Unlike Caesar, who at least had the grace to pretend lack of merit before accepting public honor, the international outlaw Johnson brazenly took as his due the accolade "Doctor of Laws." Cynically enough, the good "doctor" chose as the theme for his acceptance speech — the Dominican situation!

"We do not seek to impose our will on anyone," he piously asserted. People are expected to believe that he rushed thousands of U.S. troops into Santo Domingo simply to "help the Dominican people find a Dominican solution to their problems." We are told he merely wanted to prevent "Communists" from "destroying the hopes of Dominican democracy."

Toward that end his first act was to use U.S. military power to save the military heirs of Trujillo from defeat by the constitutionally elected Caamaño government supported by the armed people.

Pretending concern for the poverty-stricken Dominican masses, Johnson said, "The roots of the trouble are found wherever the landless and the despised, the poor and the oppressed stand before the gates of opportunity seeking entry into a brighter land." Then he warned that they can't get through the gates by exploding in "fury and anarchy." They must have a "peaceful, democratic social revolution," and Johnson is obviously prepared to shoot every insurgent who violates his dictum.

Since he needs a Dominican facade for the military occupation of that beleaguered country, "Doctor" Johnson has also sent in FBI agents to make security checks on potential candidates for

**Has FBI Penetrated CIA?**  
Columnist Art Buchwald offers this observation on Johnson's decision to send the FBI into the Dominican Republic:  
"Rumor has it they're being sent to infiltrate the CIA. The CIA, as you remember, was said to have warned the United States of a Communist takeover in the Dominican Republic. When it was impossible to find any of the Communists, President Johnson got very mad and said the FBI could have produced a dozen Communists on a half-hour's notice. Most of them would have been FBI informers, but they still would have been Communists."

a puppet government. He made no mention of this sneaky action in his Baylor speech. Instead he voiced platitudes about safeguarding the "principles and values of all the American republics." His actions in the Dominican situation reveal the actual "principles and values" that concern the U.S. ruling class which he represents. These are that no social change will be allowed anywhere by anyone without prior approval from Washington.

As a "Doctor of Laws" the president declared obsolete the "old distinction between the civil war and international war." He called for "an international peace-keeping military force," obviously intended to wage hemispheric war against national liberation struggles anywhere in Latin America. The United States, he said, will make its forces a part of that inter-American force. Trying to make a big thing out of the handful of troops and political cops sent to Santo Domingo from other Latin American countries, he stressed the appointment of General Penasco Alvin of Brazil as "commander-in-chief" of the "inter-American" military occupation.

The very day that Johnson spoke at Baylor, the U.S. commander in Santo Domingo, General Palmer, blurted out the truth about his role as a "deputy" to the Brazilian general. Palmer told an AP reporter that he would still decide which troops to use, how to use them, and when, "I wear two hats," he added.

Johnson described the military occupation of the Dominican Republic as the "model for permanent operation aimed at arresting subversion in Latin American countries." This "permanent operation" is plainly intended to assure that no government anywhere in Latin America be allowed to stand one minute longer than necessary unless it acts as a puppet for Washington. As the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes recently remarked, "Only the most anti-social military regimes can feel secure under the Johnson doctrine."

The Johnson doctrine introduces into real life the Orwellian concepts described in the novel "1984." In Johnsonian terms social change is retrogression, and preservation of the capitalist status quo is progress; ergo, national liberation struggles are antidemocratic and imperialist military intervention against them represents democracy in action.

Johnson's whole speech, delivered in cap and gown at an institution supposedly dedicated to higher learning, was in fact an insult to human intelligence. He left a mountain of lies for the teach-in movement on the campuses to level before the truth can be brought into plain view. There can be no confidence in a president who betrays the voters' trust by passing even beyond the Goldwater policies that were rejected by a landslide vote in the 1964 elections. Johnson's criminal foreign policy gives urgency to the demand implicit in the rise of the teach-in movement that the people of the U.S. be allowed to debate and decide questions of war and peace.

## ...Calif. Teach-In

(Continued from Page 1)  
of the audience. He turned to the audience as a whole and snapped, "You aren't as strong as you think."

MINNEAPOLIS — A crowd of 4,000 people, mainly students, jammed an auditorium at the University of Minnesota to attend an all-night teach-in on the Vietnam war on May 24. Response from the audience showed that the majority was against administration policies in Vietnam.

Prof. Hans Morgenthau and Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas spoke, supporting an end to the war and withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley, noted civil-libertarian, who was involved in a bitter controversy over academic freedom at the University of Minnesota last year, was loudly applauded at one of the seminars when he called for the U.S. to get out of Vietnam.

DENVER — A dusk-to-dawn teach-in at the University of Denver attracted a capacity crowd of 1,200. This teach-in covered both Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

Howard Wallace, recent candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the Denver School Board, was the main anti-administration speaker in the debate on Vietnam. Harry Nier, Jr., Denver attorney who was active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was the principal speaker in opposition to U.S. policy in the Dominican Republic. Bruce Lancaster, a State Department official, defended the government's policy in both debates.

## 1,000 New Readers Needed To Meet Circulation Goal

By Karolyn Kerry

This year *The Militant* is 37 years old. In New York last Saturday the Militant Labor Forum held an anniversary celebration. It was a grand affair. The actual date of the first issue of *The Militant* was November 15, 1928, which gives other sections of our Militant Army plenty of time to organize similar affairs.

I would like, this week, to quote from one of the many letters we receive from readers of *The Militant* throughout the world. This one is from Le Havre, France, dated May 21:

"It is now three years since I read *The Militant* for the first time. Please believe me when I say I would really miss not reading it.

"Quite evidently there are still many aspects of life in the U.S. which I fail to grasp, particularly as regards racism. I must say, however, that thanks to your paper I no longer feel grossly misinformed as we, in Europe, are bound to feel. Particularly concerning the tremendous task which, despite frightful odds, American socialists are bent upon carrying through.

"Moreover, at a time when American foreign policy, aggressive as it is, cannot but fill socialists throughout the world with apprehension and indignation, it is actually quite comforting to be

informed about the lucid and courageous opposition campaign which is being led in your country. This is the more reassuring for us, in France, as a chauvinistic 'Gaullist' press would have us believe that everyone in America agrees with the imperialistic policy of Washington officials."

The writer ends with best wishes to the success of our struggle — part of which, I am impelled to add, is meeting our quota in *The Militant* introductory sub campaign before the June 15 deadline.

### Scoreboard

City	Quota	Subs
Detroit	500	449
Chicago	500	431
New York	500	428
Boston	275	250
Oakland	250	150
Cleveland	200	111
Denver	100	100
Twin Cities	175	90
Newark	200	83
Philadelphia	125	78
Seattle	75	77
Los Angeles	200	67
San Francisco	100	60
Milwaukee	100	27
San Diego	50	11
St. Louis	15	8
General	—	75
Total to		
May 31	3,365	2,496

## Weekly Calendar

**DETROIT**  
IS MARXISM VALID TODAY?  
Speaker: Eric Reinthaler, Fri., June 11, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**LOS ANGELES**  
WOMEN SPEAK OUT. Speakers: Helen Colton Field, author, lecturer on "The Potential of Women"; Della Rossa, Militant correspondent; Ella Jones, member Freedom Now Party; Jean Pestana, attorney, active in human rights struggle. Moderator: Theodore Edwards, KPFK commentator. Fri., June 11, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East Fourth St. (4th St. exit Santa Ana Fwy.). Door donation. Ausp Militant Labor Forum.

**NEW YORK**  
HUGO BLANCO: THE FIDEL CASTRO OF THE ANDES. Speaker: Peter Camejo, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., June 11, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp Militant Labor Forum.

**PUBLICATIONS**  
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**SPEECH BY STAUGHTON LYND**

# A Call for Action Against the Vietnam War

The following speech was delivered by Staughton Lynd on May 22 to the Vietnam Day protest held at the University of California at Berkeley. Lynd is professor of history at Yale, and was the director of the Mississippi Freedom Schools last summer.

Professor Robert Scalapino, who pinch-hit for McGeorge Bundy at the National Teach-In in Washington, initially agreed to present the administration's viewpoint at the Berkeley protest, but he then backed out, as did the official representatives of the State Department.

First, a word to Professor Scalapino. I too believe in precise and responsible intellectual discourse. But I think it exposes a curious and revealing double standard that a man who finds it possible to support the government of South Vietnam, with its indiscriminate napalm bombing of unprotected villages and its torture of men, women and children, should find it impossible to attend our meeting on the ground that the program is — God save the mark — "unbalanced."

I am employed by Yale University, the institution which produced the architect of the Bay of Pigs, Richard Bissell; the creator of Plan Six for Vietnam, W. W. Rostow; and that unagorized reappraiser, McGeorge Bundy. Hence, while Professor Scalapino considers himself an expert on Vietnamese insurgents, I consider myself something of an expert on American counter-insurgents. I think I know something about the Ivy League training which these unelected experts receive: a training in snobbishness, in a provincial ethnocentrism, in a cynical and manipulative attitude toward human beings.

**"Public Entrepreneurs"**

Look at the American secretaries of state in the 20th century and I think you will find that almost without exception they were former corporation lawyers. They were what the president of Yale calls "public entrepreneurs," that is, corporation lawyers who spend part of their time in Wall Street defending the interests of their private clients, and part of their time in Washington defending the general interests of their class. I think you need to say to your teachers, as I need to say to my colleagues, that annihilation in a Brooks Brothers suit is still murder.

And I would like to say this to Professor Scalapino. You say that no self-respecting intellectual would attend this meeting. But the educated community of the entire world now remembers those professors who spoke up in Nazi Germany with gratitude. And I predict that the time will come when the entire academic community of the United States will say of those few professors who publicly op-

posed what we are doing in Vietnam: "They kept the spirit of truth alive."

We have been talking a long time at this teach-in and our thoughts should now be turning to action. But I would like to make two analytical points which bear on the action we must take.

First, this country is not only in a foreign policy crisis, it is in a constitutional crisis. The *New York Times* has stated that a style of executive decision-making hitherto employed only in temporary emergencies has now become almost a way of life. The Johnson Doctrine means not only that we refuse to give people in other countries the opportunity to determine their own destinies, but also that in this country the government will do what it likes, without permitting the creation of an informed public opinion or debate in Congress.

**Not Represented**

Therefore, those of you who have been concerned with the Freedom Democratic Party must realize that it is not only some Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama who are unrepresented, it is — with respect to our present foreign policy — all of us. And those of you involved in the Free Speech Movement, and similar groups on other campuses, must turn your attention to the unelected Board of Regents who run this country.

Second, this morning's *San Francisco Chronicle* has made the point for me that we are about to commit tens of thousands of American soldiers to full-scale ground warfare in Vietnam. Professor Scalapino said at last weekend's Washington teach-in that we would only put in a few more troops, who would repulse the Vietcong during their monsoon offensive and bring them to the conference table. As a historian I consider this proposition fantastic. Four hundred thousand French soldiers were unable to defeat the Vietminh. Why should we assume that a handful of American soldiers will convince the Vietcong after one campaign that they cannot conquer Vietnam? Our troops are going to be there a long time.

Professor Schlesinger, who sought at Washington to defend the administration's position with a difference, represents himself as a spokesman for Senator Robert Kennedy. Does he know that, according to Homer Bigart, Robert Kennedy said in February, 1962: "The United States is in a war in Vietnam. American troops will stay till we win." This is hardly a formula for negotiation.

Here let me make a digression. I found that quotation in a publication of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs entitled, "The United States' War in Vietnam." There are some who, sincerely opposed to the terrible war in Vietnam, neverthe-



Photo by Finer

**Staughton Lynd**

less feel that certain groups — such as Progressive Labor, the May 2nd Movement, and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs — should be excluded from the movement because they do not understand honesty and truth. I should like to testify as a historian that this DuBois Club publication seems to me the best analysis of the war's origins produced by any of the antiwar groups.

**Escalation of War**

There will be an escalation of the crisis this summer, produced by the landing of tens of thousands of American troops. As the casualty lists mount there will be a crystallization of public opinion in one direction or the other: either toward increased repression at home and a rallying to the administration; or a wave of revulsion against the war. We can affect which of these takes place.

**What then is to be done?**

One strategy which has been suggested is coalition politics within the Democratic Party. The critical flaw in this strategy was suggested by Michael Harrington himself in an article in *Partisan Review*. He wrote: "'Escalation' of the Vietnamese . . . crisis would not only end talk of the War on Poverty, and of the Great Society, but threaten World War III." That escalation has occurred. Coalitionism now means coalition with the Marines.

As an alternative strategy I offer nonviolent revolution.

**Civil Disobedience**

For the benefit of FBI agents present, let me make clear that I am not advocating violent overthrow of the United States government. I am advocating nonviolent retirement of the present administration, that is, the creation of civil disobedience so persistent and so massive that the Tuesday lunch club which runs this country — Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Bundy — will forthwith resign. We do not live in a parliamentary government where a vote of no confidence can compel an administration to resign, as the British compelled their administration to resign in the Suez crisis. Yet we cannot wait until the next presidential election in 1968. Therefore, we must vote with our feet by marching and picketing — if necessary, vote with our backsides by sitting in jail.

Is this merely what Bayard Rustin has called a moral gesture? Is there any chance of such a strategy succeeding? I think, yes.

In the first place: There are two spirits in conflict in this country. One is that of an article in yesterday's *Wall Street Journal* which said, "Battle statistics are

showing a dramatic change. Last month's 3,120 Vietcong dead was up from 1,965 in March." Death, too, is thus now listed on the Stock Exchange. The other spirit is that of the 38 Columbia University students who, when 12 others were recognized at an antiwar demonstration and threatened with expulsion, wrote to the University administration and said: We were there also; if you kick the 12 out, then kick us out too. I just don't see how in the long run this spirit can be defeated. People may die, people may suffer, but in the long run Stock Exchange morality cannot defeat the ethic of solidarity.

Secondly, I believe in the power of world public opinion. One reason I favor civil disobedience in Washington this summer is that it will have international visibility. To my mind, one of the most important things about the Selma protest was the sit-ins at the White House. Hitherto there has been a kind of mental sound barrier against direct action in Washington. Among suggestions for this summer are:

- That professors organize themselves in a parallel Senate Foreign Relations Committee, hold the hearings in Washington the Senate committee has failed to hold, and continue until Bundy shows up.

- That concerned persons conduct a teach-in on the steps of the Pentagon after leafletting government employes throughout Washington. The Committee for Nonviolent Action has planned this for June 16.

- That there be convened in

America a new war crimes tribunal, made up of men whose spiritual authority is unquestionable — such as Vinoba Bhave, Danilo Dolci, Pastor Niemoeller, Michael Scott, and hopefully Martin Luther King — who would conduct an inquiry into the moral responsibility for the horror in Vietnam.

- That there come together in Washington a new continental congress, made up of representatives from community unions, Freedom Parties and campus groups, which would say in effect: This is a desperate situation; our government no longer represents us; let us see what needs to be done. Under its aegis mass civil disobedience could take place on such symbolic dates as Hiroshima Day and Labor Day.

Finally, I believe in the power of nonviolence. In the 1840's Thoreau said that one man ready to die could stop slavery in America. I think all of us here this weekend should search our hearts and souls for the courage and clarity of spirit to go to the White House, to go to the Oakland Army Terminal on June 22, if possible to go to Vietnam and stand in front of the flame-throwers, and say: "If blood must be spilled, let it be mine and stop killing Vietnamese children. If you must search and destroy, let me save you the trouble, here am I. And if you are worried that the natives overseas are restless, we want you to know that the natives at home are restless, too, and perhaps you should make a contingency plan to keep some of the Marines here to deal with us."

## ... Dominican Republic Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

Antonio Guzman had been torpedoed by the CIA. The cloak-and-dagger agency did this by leaking a story to the *Washington Daily News* and others that Guzman had been involved in a multi-million-dollar bank swindle.

*Herald Tribune* correspondent Bernard Collier gave this information from Santo Domingo May 26: "According to informed American sources, the real obstacle to a solution of the Dominican crisis is a 'ferocious battle' within the Johnson administration over the pros and cons of forming the proposed Guzman coalition. . . ."

"U.S. officials here privately suggested that the information — or misinformation — [about Guzman] was circulated by the Central Intelligence Agency."

Anyone who concludes that this is a division between "doves" and "hawks" couldn't be more badly mistaken. If Johnson is a "dove," he's the first one with talons and blood-stained teeth.

**Imposes Coalition**

Bundy was sent to impose the "coalition" swindle on the Constitutional forces because Johnson realizes he is in a very bad spot.

He originally dispatched the Marines to the Dominican Republic because the Constitutionals had armed the people and he knew that an armed people are a threat to the oppressive status quo which he is sworn to maintain.

Contrary to his calculations, the arrival of the Marines failed to frighten the people into surrendering their arms. Meanwhile he had aroused unprecedented anger in Latin America and the world.

Recognizing that it would take a bloodbath to disarm the people — a bloodbath that could touch off new explosions in Latin America — he tried to improvise a plan that would employ a combination of force and fraud to accomplish his aim of disarming the people. He made it clear that the occupation forces intend to remain

for a long time to come. Meanwhile, he calculated that a "coalition" regime could provide a facade behind which the remains of the Trujillo forces could be re-installed in power. Pliant pro-Bosch politicians carefully screened to ensure "moderate" views would be included for window dressing. The Bosch constitution, which called for democratic rights, nationalization of the vast Trujillo holdings and a curb on foreign control of the economy, would be scrapped in favor of a more clearly "anti-Communist" document. The murderous Trujillo army now headed by Imbert would be preserved intact. In the name of the "coalition" government — and backed by the presence of the Marines — the army would undertake the process of disarming the people.

But reaction inevitably breeds more rampant reaction. Just as prosecution of the cold war has stimulated ultra-right forces within the U.S., so a reactionary game such as Johnson's in the Dominican Republic juices up sinister forces like the CIA who impatiently declare: To hell with the fancy maneuvering! Let's just move in and wipe them out!

The danger is that if Johnson is permitted to continue his occupation of the Dominican Republic he may well decide to do just that.

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Monday, June 7, 1965

## MILITANT FUND

### Why YOU Should Contribute

By Barry Sheppard  
Militant Fund Director

Are you one of those who thinks *The Militant* is a good paper, useful, the kind you would not want to do without?

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It costs more to produce *The Militant* each year than all the money it receives from subscriptions, single copy sales, advertising, etc.

It costs more than the dime you pay for a single copy, or the 50 cents you pay for the special introductory (17-week) subscription, or the \$2 you pay for a six-month sub, or the \$3 you pay for a one-year sub.

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Those who are ready to give life or liberty to the cause of emancipation from exploitation and oppression: How about giving some money too?

Those who've already given to the fund: How about giving some more?

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## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$ 900	\$ 900	100
Chicago	1,800	1,800	100
Detroit	1,200	1,200	100
Cleveland	800	706	88
Denver	300	247	82
New York	5,800	4,358	75
Oakland/Berkeley	900	673	75
Twin Cities	1,400	1,050	75
Allentown	200	125	63
Newark	200	115	55
San Diego	250	138	55
Milwaukee	400	193	48
Los Angeles	4,000	1,747	44
St. Louis	200	87	44
Philadelphia	300	87	29
San Francisco	900	220	24
Seattle	500	50	10
General	250	442	177
Totals through June 2	\$20,300	\$14,137	71

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### Think You've Heard Everything?

## 'Socialist' Favors Bombing N. Vietnam

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — I have been active in radical politics since the mid-1930's and in the course of that time have heard a wide variety of ideas presented under the label of "socialist." In fact, I thought I had heard just about everything. But I hadn't. Last week I attended a meeting where a man who had once been a prominent revolutionary socialist leader, and who still claims to be a socialist, argued vehemently against the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and in favor of the bombing of North Vietnam. And in the name of socialism, no less!

The speaker was Max Shachtman. He had been a founder and leader of the Socialist Workers Party until he broke away from it in 1940. From then on he became steadily more conservative in his views. In the late 1950's he joined the Socialist Party, where he finds himself today to the right of Norman Thomas and others whose "socialism" is barely distinguishable from liberalism. The fact that there is room in the leadership of the Socialist Party for someone with a warmongering position like Shachtman's suggests, I think, how minimal the Socialist Party's commitment to socialism actually is.

I heard Shachtman's views at a symposium on Vietnam and the Dominican crisis sponsored by *Dissent*, a political quarterly edited by Irving Howe, also a right-wing socialist.

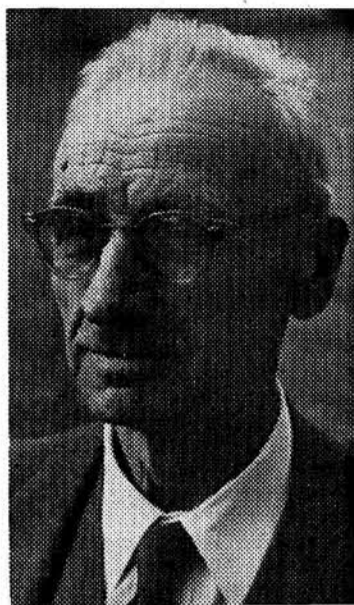
The other speakers were Joseph Buttinger, a writer on Vietnamese affairs; Richard Lowenthal, a specialist on China; and the pacifist leader, A. J. Muste. All are supposed to be liberal or socialist-minded. Yet Muste was the only one who favored withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Buttinger is presented as an authority on Vietnam on the basis of a history book and numerous articles on the subject. His actual qualifications are a bit more unique.

According to advance excerpts from an article that is to appear in the July issue of the liberal, lay Catholic magazine, *Ramparts*, Buttinger played a key role in mobilizing powerful U.S. support for Ngo Dinh Diem back in 1955 at a time when the hated Vietnamese tyrant was in a shaky position. *Ramparts* reports that Buttinger, who was in Vietnam at the time of Diem's difficulties, returned to the U.S. and discussed the problem with Diem's mentor, Cardinal Spellman.

Spellman reportedly set the wheels in motion for stepped-up material and propaganda support for Diem, with Buttinger playing a key role in lining up the most influential sectors of the press.

At the *Dissent* symposium, But-



A. J. Muste  
Lone Dissenter

tinger presented himself as quite a liberal. He announced proudly that he had resigned from an outfit called American Friends of Vietnam when it went on record in favor of the U.S. bombings. Buttinger argued the bombings would do no good because they would not force the North Vietnamese to negotiate.

Besides, he added (and I really couldn't tell if he was being ironic), the bombings are strategically unsound. After all, he observed, if U.S. troops invade the North, they'll need those bridges!

Lowenthal also argued for negotiations as opposed to withdrawal. (This is in distinction from some liberals who favor the idea of negotiations as a means of getting the U.S. out.) Lowenthal presented a rather unique criticism of Johnson's foreign policy. He insisted that Johnson's trigger-happy diplomacy was not a logical development of the foreign policies of his Democratic predecessors, but a departure from it.

Truman and Kennedy, he asserted, recognized the global struggle against "communism" as primarily political — "with the need, from time to time, for the struggle to take military forms." But Johnson, Lowenthal argued, wants to solve all problems of "containing communism" by "purely military means."

Truman, he said, was a forward-looking statesman because he had the great wisdom to accept the political defeat of the "loss" of China. Kennedy, he added, showed the same sagacity in accepting his defeat at the Bay of Pigs. On the basis of that twisted logic, it occurred to me that Adolph Hitler, who blew his brains out as the Allies converged on Berlin, was the greatest statesman yet.

## ... Explosions in Black Ghettos

(Continued from Page 1)

Its fundamental source is that police are looked upon as a colonial army of occupation, whose role is not to protect the ordinary people in the slum areas from crime and lawlessness, but to protect those who cheat and exploit the slum dwellers.

The people in the ghettos themselves are the chief victims of the common crime which abounds in New York City. Their apartments are broken into with an infuriating regularity. But the police almost never solve such crimes or recover the stolen goods.

Rackets like dope pushing, prostitution, and the pawning of stolen goods flourish more or less openly in many of these areas, right under the noses of the cops. The honest ghetto resident concludes that the cops must be involved.

More important still is the double standard by which sweatshop employers, cheating store-

keepers, fraudulent and gouging credit houses, and slumlords are given rapid and effective aid by courts and police, but the laws which are supposed to protect the poor are almost never enforced, and when they are it is only after the most infuriating red tape and runaround.

A fundamental source of the tension is control of the political machinery by the exploiters — the class enemies — of the ghetto dweller so that the law, the political process, seems absolutely closed to him except as a sham he would rather not waste his time on. The civil rights leaders who fail to break completely with the Democratic and Republican parties and build an independent political party which can attract and channel the class rebellion of the ghettos in a constructive, revolutionary direction, are by that failure contributing to the explosive oppression.

Shachtman demanded to know of Buttinger and Lowenthal how North Vietnam was going to be compelled to negotiate except by the use of force. Hence the need for the bombings.

But his main argument was with those in the audience who favored withdrawal.

"Monstrous to continue the war?" he shouted back at one questioner. "It's more monstrous to withdraw."

His attempt at a "socialist" justification of this stand was sickening. Socialists, he asserted, have different interests than imperialists, but at given moments these differing interests can coincide.

In this case it is, he argued, a coincidence of interests between "socialists" and imperialists that "communist totalitarianism" be militarily defeated in Vietnam.

"Even if it was a pure civil war," he brazenly said, "I'd be against U.S. withdrawal."

"This doesn't mean," he added, "that the regime in Saigon is good. But it does permit the possibility of the people fighting for their rights."

He elaborated:

"In South Vietnam, you can organize a demonstration and get beat on the head. You can't do that much in North Vietnam."

A. J. Muste was visibly appalled by the views expressed. He told the audience that when he had accepted the invitation to participate there had been a different panel of speakers. When he learned of the composition of the actual panel, he said quite frankly, he had no desire to speak and was there only because he promised to come.

### Brief Lecture

He went on to deliver a brief lecture explaining the classic socialist attitude toward war, observing wryly that it might be worth while in view of the background of the speakers.

Before World War I, he recalled, the socialist movement had been antiwar as a matter of course. "We all assumed," he explained, "that in order to attain a warless society, it was necessary to build a classless society." Stressing the character of war as a product of capitalism, he asked the other panelists to illustrate how U.S. capitalism could support popular democratic movements throughout the world. There is absolutely no evidence, he declared, to support such an assertion.

I'm not familiar with the political evolution of Buttinger and Lowenthal, but Shachtman was a shocking example of what can happen to a man who is blinded by anticommunism. Shachtman started out as a revolutionary who understood that Stalinism represented a betrayal of authentic communist principles and that it could only be fought effectively as a part of the fight against the capitalist system which was primarily responsible for its rise. It cannot be fought in alliance with capitalism.

But in 1939, during the Stalin-Hitler pact, Shachtman succumbed to the anticommunist propaganda barrage in this country and forgot what he had previously taught so many others. Like someone who becomes antiunion because the labor movement is headed by bureaucrats, he decided that the nationalized, planned economy of the Soviet Union was no longer progressive because of the emergence of Stalinism.

This phobia that nothing is worse than Stalinism and everything must be subordinated to the struggle against it is what has led Shachtman to his present disgraceful position.

(P.S.: Shachtman, Buttinger and Lowenthal joined Muste in opposing U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. They said they agreed with him on this because there was no real danger of a "communist takeover" in the Dominican Republic.)

# Soviet Historians Argue Meaning of Stalin Era

(World Outlook) — A document published in the April issue of the Polish emigré monthly *Kultura* reports a debate June 17-18, 1964, at the Historical Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The discussion at the Institute was about the draft text of the ninth volume of the *History of the USSR*, covering the years from 1933 to 1941.

On the prison camps, A. P. Korushev argued that the official history should at least tell how much concentration camp labor was used in prewar Soviet projects. He also wanted to know if the Stalin-Hitler pact contained secret clauses. If so, they should be revealed. Also, the lessons of the Finnish war should be discussed.

Another speaker said that the breakdown of democracy in the Soviet Union was due to Stalin and not to Hitler and that the "cult" period should be analyzed.

Professor Genkin took the opposite view, holding that the speakers were too critical. The tendency to omit Stalin in recent publications was unwise, she held. Her argument that the Soviet archives are no longer inaccessible led to a sharp exchange and queries as to what sections are open.

A. V. Snegov created a sensation when he conceded that the 1930's were a contradictory period in the Soviet Union, marked by both progress and regression. The half-truths in the draft volume were better, he held, than the flat lies of previous Soviet historians, but it should contain more factual material. When he asked whether it had been unavoidable to shoot Zinoviev and Kamenev as traitors, somebody in the hall answered "no."

"Mr. Snegov went on to argue that the psychological puzzle of Stalin must be solved and an answer given to the question: what did he do for Russia? Stalin's provocative policy towards minority peoples should also be discussed.

In general, he urged, Soviet historians must stop repeating Stalinist formulas about rightists, leftists and Trotskyists; nothing had harmed the reputation of socialism more than Stalin's behavior in the 1930's. He asked whether the murder in Moscow of the leading Polish communists had been really necessary; or had it been a precious gift for Hitler? He wondered why the book praised the partition of Poland between the Germans and the Russians in 1939. What had this really done to facilitate the defense of Russia?"

One of the drafters of the book, a woman, pleaded that no serious study had been possible until after the first attacks on the "personality cult." Until then one could only write about the exceptionally good or bad.

"We still tend to act that way," she continued. "We are still, in this respect, under Stalin's influence. Have we managed to produce a balanced opinion of a personality, including its good and bad features? (cries from the hall of 'no.'). And yet nobody is either God or devil. This cannot last. We cannot write that way. We must write in such a way that we need not burn with shame in 10 years' time."



Joseph Stalin

## Vietnam Isn't Our Country

# Teach-Ins Pose Negotiations Issue

By Fred Halstead

As an observer at the National Teach-In on the Vietnam War held in Washington, D.C., last month, I was impressed by the courage of the many professors who spoke out against the involvement of their own country in an unjust war. But there is one criticism which I feel should be made.

Almost all the speakers — including critics of the administration — made proposals for ending the war by negotiations between the United States government and other parties involved or interested in the Vietnam war.

There were a variety of ideas as to what should be sought in these negotiations. But all of them involved proposals for the kind of government or governments there ought to be in Vietnam, or the way they should be brought about, or the foreign policy (such as neutralism) which they should pursue.

These proposals were made by United States citizens petitioning the United States government for action. With all due regard for the overwhelmingly positive features of the National Teach-In, it seems to me that all these proposals reveal a certain American arrogance and prejudice toward the people of Vietnam, and for that matter of Asia, Africa and Latin America in general.

For the speakers at an American teach-in are not citizens of Vietnam. The U.S. has no right whatever to determine what the government of someone else's country shall be, or how that government shall be selected, or what that government's foreign policy shall be. It is to be hoped that in the future, the professors of this country will take it upon themselves to teach the American people respect for the sovereignty of small nations, rather than violate it in the spirit in their speeches, as the U.S. government has been violating it in the flesh.

Only the Vietnamese have the right to determine the gov-



Ho Chi Minh

ernment of Vietnam. And they have the right to determine it in their own way, no matter what anyone else may think of their methods. They have the right to determine it by civil war between classes, or between sections of their country, or by guerrilla warfare, or by terrorism, or by elections, honest or otherwise, or by any other good or bad methods they may choose or fall into.

The people of the United States itself have used all these methods in determining their governments and resolving social problems for better or worse over the years. The Alien and Sedition Laws, Bloody Kansas, the Civil War and Reconstruction, the Palmer "red" raids, the Ku Klux Klan and McCarthyism are but a few examples. But that didn't give another nation, or an international organization, the right to become a military factor within our country.

Any proposal for "negotiations" involving the U.S. in Vietnam, implicitly recognizes some U.S. "rights" in Vietnam. But the United States government has no rights whatever in Vietnam, and neither does anyone else but the Vietnamese. U.S. troops are the only foreign troops in Vietnam, and the presence of U.S. troops there, and the U.S. escalation of the war, are the sole factors threatening to make the Vietnam situation become an international — and possibly a nuclear — war.

The only demand upon the U.S. government which can in decency be made by U.S. citizens opposed to the Vietnam war is for the complete and immediate withdrawal of the U.S. forces.

### National Sovereignty

The principle of respect for national sovereignty was raised in passing by a few speakers at the National Teach-In. When it was, the apologists for the State Department retreated behind the old saw that there are no simple answers to complex problems.

It is true that respect for this simple principle will solve no complex social problems, but without it there can be no peace between nations and every internal revolution threatens to become an international war. This is the logic of the Johnson Doctrine, a doctrine which openly proclaims the rape of the principle of sovereignty of nations.

It is also true that violations of this principle — whether under cover of "negotiations" or "peace keeping" or "neutralization" or "rescuing U.S. citizens" — almost always make the internal problems of the violated country worse, prolong disorder, greatly increase bloodshed, and arrest the natural resolution of the social problems

within a country by its own citizens.

Almost always, a "peace" established through the violation of this principle simply leaves a time-bomb to explode with even greater fury at a later date. This was certainly the case with the Geneva accords of 1954 which ended the war of liberation by the Vietminh against the French and which provided a temporary partition of Vietnam at the 17th parallel.

As was pointed out by Professor George Kahin at the Washington Teach-In, this agreement, "it was generally agreed, gave the Vietminh control over far less territory than its military strength warranted." Professor Kahin continued:

### Temporary Division

"The political accords agreed to at Geneva established the conditions for transferring political competition to the electoral plane. The Vietminh, yielding to Soviet and Chinese pressure, laid down its arms and agreed to the temporary partition of the country, pending reunification through nationwide elections. It dismantled its government south of the 17th parallel and withdrew its armed forces to the North. It was generally anticipated that the Vietminh would win the elections scheduled for 1956 . . .

"It was obviously a much surprised Vietminh that came to realize during 1955-56 that the French were disengaging from the responsibilities they had accepted at Geneva — thereby permitting the introduction of an increased American presence — and that elections were not going to be held."

Those outside of Vietnam who are supporters of the Vietnamese revolution have a special obligation to avoid the pitfall of recognizing U.S. "rights" in Vietnam by demanding "negotiations." A May 2 statement by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International makes the following points:

### Not a Principle

"Negotiations in a struggle between revolution and counter-revolution cannot be excluded in principle, of course. . . . But it is up to the revolutionists themselves to decide whether or not to enter into negotiations. It is the business of their supporters to do their utmost to weaken the enemy — in this case to compel his withdrawal from an area where he is nothing but a bandit, attempting to shoot his way into a position of 'negotiating from strength' with the victim."

"When Johnson talks about the Geneva agreement, he is referring in reality to a new sellout, which he would find acceptable. The Vietnamese and Chinese, on the other hand, specify that by 'living up to the Geneva agreement,' they mean complete withdrawal of American imperialism. This, in fact, would register the new relation of forces in South Vietnam gained at immense cost to the Vietnamese people. It corresponds with the determination of the freedom fighters not to lose their victory at the conference table. That is one of the reasons why Johnson is trying to change the relation of forces by escalating the conflict."

# World Events

## Pause in Bolivia Conflict

Bolivia's military junta called a temporary halt May 25, in its drive to break the unions, particularly the tin miners unions. The surprising strength of armed resistance by workers in the industrial suburbs of La Paz was credited with slowing down the assault on the mines and creating divisions among the generals over tactics. A section of the junta, headed by Gen. Barrientos, reportedly viewed truce negotiations, carried on by Gen. Ovando, as just a maneuver to gain time before renewing the drive to occupy the mines.

At a big textile mill in La Paz the workers views were that this was a "temporary settlement that the junta achieved by sending planes to machine-gun our families. But if the army advances on the mines, we will resume the strike, and our women and children will join us, even if it means starvation."

## Venezuela 'Land Reform'

The Venezuelan government has mobilized its police and National Guard to remove thousands of peasants "who have squatted on private property at various points in the interior." The peasants apparently expected the government to legalize their action through expropriation of the landowners. It was not reported who gave them this peculiar idea.

## Urge Aid for Dominicans

The secretariat of the Permanent Congress of Labor Unity of Latin American Workers, meeting in Havana May 17-20, called on work-

ers to "mobilize in support of the popular struggle of the Dominican Republic." It also urged support for other revolutionary movements in the Hemisphere.

## Rule of the Whip

According to statistics released by the United Nations, 850,000 lashes have been administered by the courts of South Africa in the past 10 years. The yearly average is 80,000 lashes on 17,000 victims. This is eight times the amount 20 years ago.

## Oppose Brazil Trooplift

Brazilian police arrested several students "and others" May 23 for distributing leaflets opposing the sending of Brazilian troops to help U.S. Marines occupy the Dominican Republic.

## Green Light for Gusanos

The Cuban Coast Guard announced May 22 that it had destroyed an armed launch operated by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, killing one operative and capturing two. The launch had the mission of taking aboard a spy who had infiltrated into Cuba earlier. The Cubans said the launch had come from Key Marathon in Florida and that one of the captured men was Silvano Martinez Romero, a CIA specialist in smuggling men in and out of Cuba.

Meanwhile, Cuban exiles in Miami are "suddenly feeling a loosening of reins from Washington," according to the May 27 *Christian Science Monitor*. Since the Dominican crisis, say the counter-revolutionaries, "the red light

on our activity has turned green." One of them said, "There has been more activity in the past few weeks than in the past six months." The *Monitor* added that in particular the *gusanos* "find fewer restraints on movements in and out of Cuba."

## Prize for 'Terrorist' Novel

The Portuguese Writers Society has been banned by the Salazar dictatorship. Its crime was to award a prize to "Luandino Vieira" for his novel *Luanda*, the name of Angola's capital. It turned out that "Vieira" is the pen name of José Vieira Mates da Graça, a white Portuguese who grew up in a slum outside Luanda and writes about it. He is now serving a 14-year prison term for "terrorism."

## Ease Curbs on Rebel Poet

Rebel Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko has been permitted to make a month-long tour of Italy. He was restricted to his country in early 1963, at the height of Soviet officialdom's campaign against nonconformist intellectuals. Especially offensive to officialdom was the uncensored autobiography Yevtushenko published while in France that year. Khrushchev's successors have been easing controls on artists somewhat, as part of their bid for greater popular support. Rarely published in the past two years, Yevtushenko has recently had a number of controversial works printed in the Soviet press. In one, *Bratsk Power Station*, he again attacks anti-Semitism and "heirs" of Stalin still in power.

— George Saunders

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## FREEDOM FIGHTERS

## Bill — and the Blacklist

By Eugene V. Debs

[Eugene V. Debs, 1855-1926, was a great union as well as socialist leader. Rebellious against craft unionism, he organized the American Railway Union, an industrial union for railway workers. The ARU was crushed by the federal government and the employers in the mid-1890's. Debs' article appeared in *Wayland's Monthly*, September, 1902, reprinted in *Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs*.]

It was on a mixed train on one of the mountain roads in the western states. The conductor and both brakemen had already shown me their old ARU cards, which they treasured with almost affectionate tenderness. The soiled, illegible scraps were souvenirs of the "war," and revived a whole freight train of stirring reminiscences. The three weather-beaten trainmen were strangers prior to '94; they were off three separate roads, and from three different states.

Each of the brakemen had told the story of his persecution after the strike. The companies had declared that no ARU striker should ever have another job on a railroad, and they were doing their level best to make good their brutal avowal. These two brakemen had to suffer long in the role of the "wandering Jew." Again and again they had secured jobs, under assumed names and otherwise, but as soon as they were found out they were dismissed with the highly edifying information that the company no longer needed their services.

## Blacklisted

They were on the railroad blacklist. Only they know what this means who have been there. Many times had these brakemen been hungry, many times ejected from trains, often foot-sore after a weary walk to the next division point. But they bore it all and made no complaint. Fortunately they were both single men and their privations were at least free from the harrowing thought that wife and child were being tortured by their merciless persecutors. They finally conquered the blacklist and were once more allowed to become the slaves of the railroads.

\* \* \*

It was about noon when the conductor tapped me on the shoulder and invited me into the baggage end of the car to have dinner with the crew. They had their own kitchen and cooking utensils and had managed to dish up a most appetizing bill of fare. I was first served with a steaming platter of "mulligan," a popular dish with the mountain men. Then followed cold meat, bread and butter and hot coffee, topped off with a quarter section of pie.

The pipes were next lighted and a lively exchange of reminiscence followed.

The conductor was obliged to leave us for a time and while he was gone the two brakemen told me how he had "stopped the blacklist." It is a short but immensely suggestive story. The conductor, like all brave men, was too modest to tell it himself. Here it is:

## Bill's Story

Bill, that was the conductor's name, was running a train on the S. . . railway when the strike of '94 came. He was also chairman of the local grievance committee. He lost out with the rest and took his medicine without a whimper. When he left home to look for a job his wife had the cheerful assurance that she and the two children would soon hear from him and that they would be united again at an early day.

Bill secured five jobs in early succession. He was a first-class railroad man and could fill any



Eugene V. Debs

kind of position. But as fast as he got a job he lost it. The black demon was at his heels. He had offended his former master and now he and his loving wife and innocent babes must die.

The last job Bill had held good for some days before he was spied out and discharged. He drew \$15, but he did not send it to his wife, nor did he use it on himself. Bill had a grim determination written in every line of his swarthy face when he pocketed that \$15 and his discharge, and started toward the city. He stopped short before a hardware store and his eyes scanned the display in the window. In less than five minutes he had entered, investigated and emerged again.

With rapid strides the blacklisted man hurried toward the railroad station.

\* \* \*

We next see Bill on the streets of his old home. His friends, if any remained, would scarce have recognized him. Upon his wan features there was an ugly look that boded ill to someone, and in his hip pocket a loaded six-shooter was ready for action. The superintendent turned deadly pale when Bill entered. He instinctively read his indictment in Bill's grim visage before a word was spoken.

"What can I do for you, Mr.

## The Farmer and His Sheep: A Fable by Albert Parsons

[A pioneer American socialist Albert Parsons was framed-up in 1886 and executed in 1887 as one of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs. This fable-editorial by him appeared in *The Alarm*, a labor paper which he edited from 1884 to 1886.]

A farmer had gathered his herd of sheep into a pen preparatory to shearing them of their wool. Finally, one sheep, becoming more bold than his timid comrades, seeing the farmer standing at the gate with his long shears in his hand, addressed him thus:

"Pray, sir, why do you huddle us together in this style? Will you not let us out to play and gambol on the hillside? It is hot, dusty, and dry, and very uncomfortable to be cooped up in this pen."

Farmer: "Certainly, certainly. But before I turn you out I must shear you of your wool."

Sheep: "Pray, sir, what harm have we ever done you that you should now take the covering from our backs, and leave us unprotected to the storms of winter and the heats of summer?"

Farmer: "You ungrateful

—?" tremblingly asked the pilloried official.

"Not a damned thing," replied Bill in a strange, hoarse voice.

"You know what I'm here for," continued the victim of the blacklist, "and if you've got any prayers to offer before I make a lead mine of your carcass, you'd better begin at once."

While Bill spoke the superintendent looked into the murderous pistol pointed at him by the desperate man, and an instant later his office was turned into a prayer meeting. Such piteous pleas were rarely heard from such coward lips.

Bill's heart was touched; he would give the craven assassin another chance.

Withdrawing the weapon and shoving it into his pocket, Bill looked the official straight in the eye and in a steady voice said:

## One More Chance

"You have beaten me out of five jobs and you are responsible for my wife and babies being homeless and hungry. You know that there is not a scratch upon my record as an employe, nor a stain upon my character as a man. You have deliberately plotted to torture and kill an innocent woman and two babies who depended upon my labor, and by God, you deserve to die like the dog you are.

"But I'm going to give you another chance for your life — mark me, just one. I shall get another job, and I shall refer to you as to my service record. If I lose that job, G—d—your black heart, you'd do your blacklisting in hell, not here, for I'll send you there as sure as my name's Bill —"

The superintendent drew a long breath of relief when Bill turned on his heels and left him alone. He did not doubt Bill's word. It is hardly necessary to say that the blacklist was ended. Bill got the job and holds it to this day. Not a man on the road is more respected than he, especially by the officials.

Bill did not appeal to the courts. He took no chances on a brace game. His nerve and his six-shooter settled the case and there were no costs to pay.

Bill and his two brakemen are now Socialists. The three hours I spent with those three men rolling over the western mountains I shall remember always with interest and satisfaction.

## Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and Marxism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcomed.]

## What conditions are necessary for a socialist revolution against capitalism?

James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party and leading defendant in the 1941 Minneapolis "sedition" trial, gave the following answer to that question when he was on the witness stand in federal court:

"The first one is that the existing society must have exhausted its possibilities of further development. Marx laid down as a law that no social system can be replaced by another until it has exhausted all its possibilities for development and advancement. That is, you may say, the fundamental prerequisite for a social revolution.

"Then I can give a number of collateral prerequisites which have been accepted by our movement.

"The ruling class must be unable any longer to solve its problems, must have to a large degree lost confidence in itself. The misery and desperation of the masses must have increased to the point where they desire at all costs a radical change. Unemployment, fascism and war become problems of increasing magnitude which are patently insoluble by the existing ruling class. There must be a tremendous sentiment among the masses of the producers for socialist ideas and for a socialist revolution.

"And, in addition to these prerequisites I have mentioned, it is necessary to have a workers' party that is capable of leading and organizing the movement of the workers in a resolute fashion for a revolutionary solution of the crisis."

[From *Socialism on Trial*, the official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony, Pioneer Publishers.]

\* \* \*

## Doesn't the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union indicate that socialism is undemocratic?

The widely held belief that the Soviet Union, with its admitted record of brutal suppression of democracy under Stalin and his heirs, is a living example of socialism has led to the following serious consequences:

In the first place, it enables capitalism to "justify" the hounding of radicals and militant opponents of war, racism and the witch hunt as a crusade of democracy against totalitarianism.

Secondly, it is used as a moral cover for U.S. military intervention against the freedom-seeking peoples in Cuba, the Congo, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

And finally, it impedes the new generation of freedom fighters from advancing beyond the present stage of protest and partial struggles against injustice, oppression and war — to a struggle for the complete removal of the causes of these blights upon society.

## Socialist Society

Socialism as a form of society exists nowhere on the earth today. The scientific and practical work of outstanding socialists (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky) has established the main features of a socialist society as follows:

One — As a higher stage of society than capitalism it will possess in its material foundation a higher economic development than the most advanced sections of capitalism. The rational planning of a socially owned productive complex, to which atomic energy, automation and cybernation are applied to satisfy the needs of all,

is today technologically removed from the realm of a visionary utopia.

Two — Based upon an abundance of goods and services, unhampered by private ownership and private profit in society's production plant, all class divisions of exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed will disappear. They will be replaced by a free association of creative producers, of men and women on a cultural level far above what is possible in a society of commercial rapine, degradation and violence.

Three — With the development of equality and freedom for all members of society on a world scale, the oppressive instrument of the state will wither away without a trace of a cop or sheriff, an FBI or CIA man.

## Russian Revolution

When the workers and peasants of backward and war-torn Russia established the governmental power of their democratic councils which they called Soviets, they did not thereby at one stroke constitute socialism. It meant only that the movement for socialism was victorious and that by abolishing the economic and state power of the capitalists and landowners they could begin the transition to socialism.

Under the best of circumstances, a society in transition between capitalism and socialism would necessarily contain features of both. The defeat of the revolution outside Russia, and the new Soviet Republic's isolation and poverty, weakened the revolutionary and democratic forces in Russia and favored the growth of a parasitic caste of privileged functionaries. With little of the necessities of life to go around, the bureaucrats assured themselves of the good things first of all and constructed a political system that upheld this inequality and systematically destroyed the democracy in the Soviets and in the Communist Party.

The capitalist features of inequality, thought control, lies, frame-ups and torture, such as existed in capitalist Germany under Hitler and are not at all unknown in the "democratic" nations of capitalism, grew to great proportions under Stalin.

## Planned Economy

However, the socialist features of this transitional society, the planned nationalized economy, pulled the country out of its dismal backwardness and established the Soviet Union as the second most powerful nation in the world. This advance from harsh scarcity, as well as the breaching of the isolation of the Soviet Union by the defeat of capitalism in one third of the world, has forced the bureaucracy to give many concessions to the Soviet working masses who have grown more confident of their power and more insistent upon their rights. Sooner or later they will follow the example of the Hungarian workers of 1956, sweep out the bureaucracy and re-establish democracy.

A socialist revolution in an advanced capitalist country, say the United States, would start from a high technological level of production. The transition from capitalism to socialism would be much shorter than in the backward "socialist" countries and from the very beginning the capitalist features would begin to give way to the norms of socialism. The first sphere in which this would occur would be in an enormous growth of democracy, equality and freedom.

—David Stevens

# 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.]

## Lenin on U.S. Elections

New York, N. Y.  
Every election year in America the old "shell game" begins. Democrat denounces Republican who, in turn, indicts Democrat. The same thing is now occurring in the New York mayoralty race. The Siamese twins, Lindsay and Wagner, are denouncing each other.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

JIM CROW UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING PUSHED IN CONGRESS — On the eve of the Big Four Conference and in the wake of the UN tenth anniversary orations about "peaceful coexistence," the Eisenhower administration is ramming through Congress a big chunk of its program for the total militarization of the American youth.

On June 28 another four-year extension of the draft and a two-year extension for doctors was passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 388 to 5. The Senate passed the draft extensions within 15 minutes of the House and sent it to Eisenhower.

Four hours earlier the House Armed Services Committee passed Eisenhower's Military Reserve program by a vote of 29 to 1 after three Committee members dropped their previous fight against the measure. This legislation would increase ready reserve forces from 700,000 to 2,900,000 by 1960 . . .

The kind of military life the Big Business government is trying to foist on the youth is clearly revealed by the fight Eisenhower and the Southern Democrats are waging against any amendments to the Military Reserve bill that would ban segregation.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell some months ago introduced an anti-segregation amendment to the Reserve bill. Eisenhower denounced this action as "extraneous" and "erroneous." — July 4, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

STALINISTS MAKE OFFICIAL CHANGE IN THEIR POLICY — The "new" Stalinist line has been handed down, a little more than a week after the May 24 publication of the article of Jacques Duclos, French Communist Party leader, which foreshadowed the latest switch . . .

Likewise, the U.S. section of the Stalinist organization continues in its resolution its support of the American capitalist government and opposition to the attempt of the militant workers to regain the use of the strike weapon.

The crucial political sections of the resolution read as follows:

"It is imperative that the American people resolutely support every effort of the Truman administration to carry forward Roosevelt's program for victory, peace, democracy and 60 million jobs."

"Continue uninterrupted war production and uphold labor's no-strike pledge for the duration."

In actual practice, therefore, the present resolution continues the previous line of class peace with the bosses. — June 9, 1945.

V. I. Lenin long ago commented on the yearly electoral farce in the U.S.:

"Since the emancipation of the Negroes, the distinction between the two parties has been diminishing. The fight between these two parties . . . has not had any serious importance for the mass of the people. The people have been deceived and diverted from their vital interests by means of spectacular and meaningless duels between the two bourgeois parties." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, pp. 402-403. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.)

The people of New York should seriously ponder the words of Lenin and reject with contempt the phony fight between the capitalist, slumlord Democratic and Republican parties. They should, instead, vote for a genuine alternative: the Socialist Workers Party slate headed by Clifton DeBerry.

Gerald Cohen

## Need to End Death Penalty

Glens Falls, N.Y.  
In connection with your "Need to End the Death Penalty" editorial which cited the case of George Whitmore, the following passage from Quentin Reynolds's *Court Room* is of interest:

"A few years ago, a Massachusetts district attorney made a speech in which he declared, 'Innocent men are never convicted. It is a physical impossibility.'

"This statement so enraged Edwin M. Borchart, professor of law at Yale University, that he promptly wrote a book which he called *Convicting the Innocent*. In it he discussed the cases of 65 defendants who were found guilty of crimes and whose innocence was later established. In a majority of these cases, witnesses lied or were mistaken but were believed by the jury."

I do not believe there is any doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Borchart's findings. The public record is crammed with cases of people who have been tried, convicted and imprisoned on such charges as robbery, embezzlement, forgery and similar offenses but who were later found to be innocent, were liberated and financially compensated by the state for false incarceration. If it is possible for innocent people to be convicted for such offenses, why I often have wondered, do so many of the police authorities consider it ridiculous and absurd (or so claim, anyway) to believe that people can be falsely convicted, imprisoned and executed on a charge of murder?

Be all this as it may. Suppose there was no Richard Robles or anyone else besides Whitmore on whom the Wylie-Hoffert murders could have been pinned? How would George Whitmore have fared? Would he have been definitely exonerated?

K.M.G.

## White Radicals Irrelevant?

Minneapolis, Minn.  
When someone is beating you on the head, hard and with a heavy club, do you think about his point of view, his personal problems, his family? Do you generalize from this clubbing you are getting to the dialectical inter-relationship between action and reaction, between defense and offense, between that club and your

head? Well, if you do, your head will be more mushy than it already is.

Along comes a "friend." He looks carefully at the situation, examining carefully your rights, the rights of the man clubbing you, then he thinks back to when he was a little kid and the neighborhood bully pounded the daylights out of him. And then he tells you he understands how you feel. It isn't fair you should be getting such a raw deal. So he decides to help you. He writes his congressman. By now you are dead.

There is another possible outcome. While your "friend" is watching and deploring such violence, you take the club away from your adversary and shove it down his throat. Your "friend" jumps back and says, "Two wrongs don't make a right." Do you shove the club down his throat too? — for you know better since it was your head that was getting clubbed, not his.

When you have a situation all over the world where the majority of people are being clubbed day in and day out, is it progress when the clubs are changed from heavy oak to light birch? Can there be progress in a relationship between slave and master? No. Only change. And all of those on the side of the master have their fate sealed by history. But here is the rub. Which side are you on? You can't qualify your support; it's either or neither, all or nothing, sink or swim. This is an extremely difficult decision for a phony "radical" to make, so he hides his phonyism by claiming some kind of intellectual, theoretical difference, perhaps tactically, with the slave's position. But here is the

most important thing I want to say.

The have-nots, the oppressed, have a long experience with these "radicals" and with these liberal "friends." Their sellouts hurt the oppressed's cause, but can never stop it or defeat it. What a glorified self-image some "radicals" have — that they, with their half-baked "theories," are vital to the struggle for freedom the have-nots are waging.

Then there are the idealistic youth caught up in the "cause," most sincere but many worse than their parents as far as understanding reality. At least the old-time radicals have been through some struggle, a world war and a depression.

I wonder if white radicals in the main realize how irrelevant they sound sometimes. They can write splendid documents crammed with quotes from Marx and Lenin, or they can diligently footnote everything they say to show their bibliographical energies. But can they go all the way, can they forget their old paternalistic notions about the "white man's burden" and the need for a Marxist party, and open their eyes to the realities of 1965? Well, really, whether they can or not might not be that important. Most radicals are in a reactionary bag and don't realize it.

B.J.

## Your Help Is Needed

Ithaca, N.Y.  
The story of the Cornell-Tompkins County civil rights project in Tennessee in 1964 — the Fayette County Project — is told in the recently published *Step By Step* (W. W. Norton, \$1.45), the pro-

ceeds from which go entirely to the Fayette County Fund. But that tells of last year. The project is now preparing for this summer, and once again financial help is badly needed . . .

This summer there will be about 40 volunteers in the county. Two of our project members from last summer have stayed in the county and are working there fulltime, along with two people from the county itself. We support all of them, at a total monthly cost of \$100. The work of these four has provided valuable continuity for our future efforts.

This summer there will be, in effect, two projects working side by side: 1) a full-fledged literacy project, for which training began some months ago; 2) what we call the West Tennessee Voters' Project, an attempt to develop and strengthen political organization, through registration and related activities, in several counties adjacent to, and including Fayette County — the latter now being the most developed area politically in that region. What is comprised in these efforts is a congressional district.

We need \$10,000 to support our project for this summer . . . The project volunteers feel very deeply an obligation to continue to build on the foundations begun last summer; we will not turn our backs on our friends in Fayette County. We hope and trust that this deep sense of obligation and involvement is shared by our supporters at home.

Please write your check today to the Fayette County Fund, P.O. Box 259, Ithaca, New York.

Douglas F. Dowd  
Project Chairman

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Only in America** — A Dallas lawyer who had been retained by Jack Ruby disclosed that at a meeting of the defense lawyers, one of the attorneys proposed that they incorporate and sell Jack Ruby beanie caps and dolls. A friend of ours, equally imaginative, suggested they should have also considered Jack Ruby badges — "Get you into any police station in the country."

**Free Speech Union** — Mario Savio and Suzanne Goldberg, leaders of last fall's Berkeley Free Speech Movement, were married May 23. They told newsmen that the only wedding present they wanted was from President Johnson — that he get the troops out of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. "Very little would make us happier," Savio said.

**Gov't Formula** — The *Wall Street Journal* has been assured that intense anger in Latin America over U.S. aggression in the Dominican Republic is only one side of the story. An unidentified Washington spokesman "confidentially" stated: "The use of force when it works discourages more communists than it creates."

**Food for Thought** — "Night of Camp David" [by Eugene Burdick] is the perfect formula novel of politics. It deals with a political crisis that in real life hasn't happened yet but could — the discov-

ery that the President is insane." — From a *New York Times* book review.

**Thinks Johnson Is Improving** — Senator Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina racist, is encouraged by Johnson's action in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. He said he should take similar measures in this country against the Negro "insurrection." Just give him time and an opportunity.

**In Memoriam** — Belatedly we report the death last April 6 of William Waters Schwab, one of the nation's biggest dealers in diamond and wedding rings. A true American, he stimulated the growth of the double-ring wedding ceremony and during World War II persuaded the government to lift the restrictions on the use of gold and platinum on the grounds that wedding rings were morale boosters. He held that wedding rings were "necessities," not "luxuries." He served in the jewelry division of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

**Fitting Tribute** — The John F. Kennedy Center for Special Warfare at Fort Bragg was officially dedicated May 29.

**American Educator** — Brooklyn civil rights groups have slated a picket line at Public School 207. The school's principal, Lewis Berlin, on a world tour, sent back a letter from the Union of South Africa which was excerpted in the bulletin of the school's Parents' Association. Commenting on South African racial apartheid, the letter said that the country "is free of race riots, muggings, pressure for special treatment and consideration on the exclusive basis of race."

**Adding Insult to Injury** — If you're one of those who keep their eyes riveted on the meter when they take a cab, it may become an even rougher ride. A device has been patented which will flash commercials on a screen just above the meter. It begins working as soon as the meter starts running.

—Harry Ring

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## Thought for the Week

"A child in a French school in Saigon — where sons of ministers and generals go if they are not in France — can easily pass an exam with a 10,000 piastre deposit under the table . . . Transfers for Vietnam battalion commanders from the remote provinces to Saigon cost 50,000 piastres. For 50,000 piastres a young man can obtain a certificate that he's involved in undercover work for the Ministry of the Interior — and is thus exempt from the army draft. The Ministry has issued 1,300 of these certificates in recent weeks." — A few of the examples offered by the New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent Beverly Deepe of the rampant corruption in South Vietnam.

## Two Negro Teen-Agers Framed-Up in Georgia

AMERICUS, Georgia — As part of increased harassment of civil rights workers in Americus, two Negro teen-agers have been sentenced to long reform-school terms on trumped-up charges of "fornication."

Robertina Freeman, 15, one of the three Negro students who integrated Americus High School last fall, and Alex Brown, also 15, have been sentenced to incarceration in the Georgia Training School until they are no longer minors. This would mean three years for Robertina and six years for Alex.

Both teen-agers are very active in the movement. During the summer of 1963, they, along with many other civil rights demonstrators, were arrested and put on

three years' parole. On Sunday, May 9, the two were arrested in Sunset Park here by a Georgia state patrolman and charged with "fornication." They denied the charge.

On May 21 they were found guilty in a closed-door hearing by county Judge James W. Smith, who sentenced them to the maximum penalty allowed under the law, though the same judge had released persons found guilty on the same charge previously. Robertina and Alex are now out on appeal bond, but this is good for only 30 days and there is small chance they will be able to get an appeal.

### Serve Notice

There have been several protest meetings to discuss this and other harassments. Local Negro citizens say that if no action is taken on this case, they will tie up the city with demonstrations.

Another victim of the harassment is John L. Barnum, owner of the Barnum Funeral Home and president of the Sumpter County Movement. He is now serving a four-month jail sentence, and may be put on the chain gang as a result of losing an appeal May 18 on a charge of arson.

Barnum had been a witness in the notorious "Insurrection Cases" here in 1963. In the fall of that year he was found guilty of perjury when he refused to disclose the names of people who had urged students to boycott schools in protest of mass arrests of other students for civil rights activities. He was put on parole for three years.

In November, 1964, Barnum was charged with drunk driving and parole violation. He denied the charge. While he was in jail, the authorities refused to allow him to use the telephone and he burned his mattress in protest. He was then charged with arson and found guilty.

A strike of Negro tenant farmhands on the A.L. Andrews plantation near Leland, Miss., began May 31, after meetings of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. The walkout involved 12 tractor drivers — who get \$6 a day working from sunrise to sundown — and about 70 field hands, many of them women and children, who get \$3 a day for chopping cotton. The workers are demanding a minimum of \$1.25 per hour.

Stafford, was clubbed and lost his left eye. Hamm and Baker, who were in the street, were arrested and beaten in the police station along with another onlooker.

Within two days after Frank and Margit Sugar, a white couple, were knifed in their clothing store at 3 West 125th St., police arrested five of the youngsters and announced a search for the sixth, Wallace Baker. Baker gave himself up voluntarily on May 4. Mrs. Sugar died.

Police have kept the young men in jail over a year without bringing them to trial in an effort to force "confessions" from them. Apparently the cops succeeded in getting an acquaintance who was held as a material witness, Robert Barnes, Jr., to "confess" that he was involved with the accused six in a "plan" to rob the clothing store and kill the owners. Barnes is the main witness against the six.

### Fruit Stand

On April 17 a melee broke out on 129th St. in which a fruit stand was allegedly overturned and police attacked a group of elementary school children with clubs. One adult bystander, Frank

# Demonstrators in Chicago Give HUAC a Hard Time

CHICAGO — In the course of three days of witch hunting by the House Un-American Activities Committee, which began here May 25, several thousand people, mostly young, demonstrated against HUAC outside the Court of Appeals building where the hearings were held.

A wide variety of peace, community and political organizations participated, including the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, DuBois Club, Women for Peace, Friends of SNCC and the Socialist Workers Party. FBI agents made movies of the demonstrations from a second-story window.

Some of the young people engaged in various acts of civil disobedience. Several who were admitted to the hearing room were dragged out by cops and arrested when they voiced their disapproval of the HUAC and its witch hunt, shouting "HUAC must go!" Another group at one point tried to charge the front door to get into the hearing, but were stopped by state police and arrested when they sat down. A total of 70 were arrested in the three days.

There were small counter-demonstrations by John Birchers, Nazis and other rightists. The Nazis carried signs reading "Gas all reds," and "Down with the NAACP."

The hearings began with two paid stool-pigeons for the FBI "testifying" about their experiences and acquaintances while members of the Communist Party. Lola Belle Holmes, who was a paid FBI fink for over five years, related that she was reluctant to undertake this activity at first out of fear of "hurting innocent persons," but later decided to suppress these qualms. She refused to say how much money she received for her "work."

The other fink, Lucius Armstrong, was paid a total of \$34,376

## Meeting in Harlem Honors Malcolm X

NEW YORK — Civil rights militants Fannie Lou Hamer of Mississippi and Gloria Richardson Dandridge, formerly of Cambridge, Md., were among the featured speakers at the memorial meeting for Malcolm X held at the Rockland Palace Ballroom here May 26. Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, who is expecting Malcolm's fifth child this summer, was present and greeted the audience of some 500 persons.

Fannie Lou Hamer said Malcolm was "one of the greatest men I ever met because he was one of the only men I ever met who had the guts to tell the truth." Gloria Richardson Dandridge, who led the famous Cambridge Nonviolent Action movement until she married and moved to New York last year, said that unlike those people who disliked some sides of Malcolm "my admiration was for the whole man." She liked the direction in which Malcolm was moving, she said, and for "White America with its elaborate myths it was a more dangerous Malcolm who was developing." He was cut down, she said, when it only remained for him to "fashion the political weapon oriented toward the black people and necessary for our freedom."

Among the other speakers who appeared were Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray, comedian Godfrey Cambridge and actor-producer Ossie Davis. The meeting was chaired by writer Sylvester Leaks.

for concocting reports for the FBI from 1953 to 1963, according to the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. The two informers spent many hours at the hearings spinning tales about the activities and goals of the Communist Party, and trying to finger the other 11 subpoenaed witnesses. These other witnesses got no opportunity to cross-examine their accusers, and their requests to have the hearings conducted in closed sessions were repeatedly denied.

The HUAC inquisitors plied those subpoenaed with questions about their activities in peace and civil rights organizations, and their alleged activities in the Communist Party. Most of the 11 blocked the witch hunters by refusing to testify on the grounds of the constitutional amendments contained in the Bill of Rights.

### 3 Balked

However, three of the witnesses refused to submit to the committee altogether, and walked out of the hearing after stating their names and addresses, and issuing statements. The attorney for Milton Cohen read a statement for his client challenging HUAC's authority, particularly because the names and addresses of the subpoenaed witnesses had become public information before the hearings, in violation of the committee's own rules.

He also noted the importance of the suit which another subpoenaed witness, Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, had filed the previous week, seeking to halt the hearings on the basis of the U.S. Supreme Court decision of April 26 enjoining the Louisiana version of HUAC from harassing the Southern Conference Education Fund. Dr. Stamler's suit was denied on the ground that no substantial constitutional questions were involved!

Following the reading of his statement, Cohen and his attorney said, "We are going to leave the hearing room and are not going to participate in this proceeding," and walked out, although they were warned that they could face contempt charges as a result.

The hearings came to an abrupt end on the final day when Dr.

Stamler, an internationally known heart researcher for the Chicago Board of Health, and Mrs. Yolanda Hall, his assistant, walked out. Dr. Stamler made the following statement: "I am now and I have always been a loyal American citizen. However, on the advice of my counsel, I respectfully decline to give any testimony or to further cooperate with this committee . . . I have nothing to hide. I take this position as a matter of principle and conscience in order to test once and for all the validity of this committee."

Albert Jenner, Jr., attorney for Dr. Stamler and Mrs. Hall and onetime head of the Illinois Bar Association, said: "This distinguished committee has been embarking upon a program of exposure for exposure's sake, character prejudice and degrading of U.S. citizens of good reputation such as my clients. The time has come for loyal citizens to stand up and resist the high-handed tactics of this committee. That is what Dr. Stamler and Mrs. Hall have chosen to do, regardless of the risks that course of conduct poses to their reputation in the minds of those who construe resistance to the committee as suspect and disloyal conduct."

Other witnesses charged that the HUAC hearings were aimed at discrediting people active in the civil rights movement. They pointed out that the committee is dominated by Southern congressmen.

## Meetings in Detroit Hear Socialist Who Faces Deportation

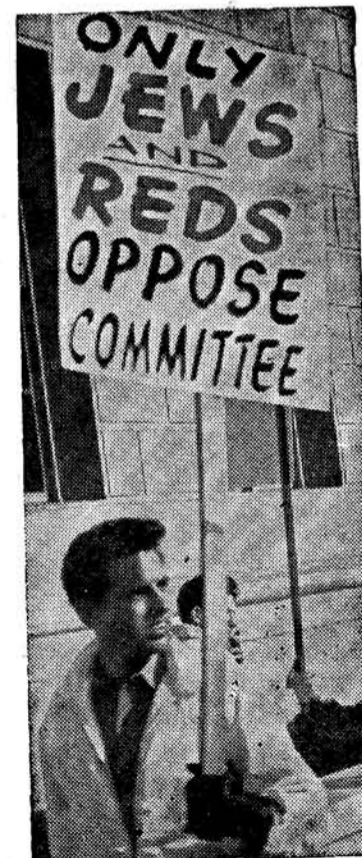
DETROIT, May 28 — Joseph Johnson, native-born American who is threatened with deportation, paid a four-day visit to Detroit this week to gather support for his case.

An active socialist and organizer of the Minneapolis Socialist Workers Party, Johnson ended his stay at a meeting of the Friday Night Socialist Forum. He held his mainly student audience spellbound as he traced his personal history as a youth, his two years in a federal penitentiary as a "draft dodger" and his final evolution as a socialist. It was the last that prompted the Immigration Department to seek his deportation from the country of his birth.

Earlier in the week on Wednesday, Johnson spoke at Wayne State University to a meeting for Donna Allen and Russ Nixon, defendants in another important civil liberties case. The Wayne State Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, which sponsored the meeting, invited Johnson to their business meeting on Thursday, and heard his full story. Several of the students offered help on research connected with the case.

A radio interview on station WDTM was taped on Thursday afternoon which included a strong statement of support from Ernest Mazey, executive director of the Michigan ACLU. Mazey also became a sponsor of the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson.

Other Detroit sponsors include James Lafferty, executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild; Charles Lockwood, Dean Robb and Harry Philo, prominent local attorneys; and Professors Emily Newcomb and Mel Ravitz, both of Wayne State University.



LIKE HUAC. Members of the American Nazi Party like to picket in support of their favorite committee.