

# Opposition Spreading To Johnson's Wars

By Harry Ring

Opposition to Washington's aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic is deeper and more widespread than generally realized. This becomes more apparent when you gather into a single picture the many differing expressions and symptoms of this opposition which have been manifesting themselves at a steadily developing pace.

The opposition has found expression so far primarily among college students and professors. But this campus sentiment does not run counter to a contrary one in the general community.

The first signs that opposition to the Vietnam war was extending beyond the circles of political radicals were the teach-ins that spread from campus to campus early this year. Some of the most impressive teach-ins were held at colleges where there hasn't been any significant expression of political dissent since the '30's.

## Mass Actions

The campus protest has already produced three important wide-scale actions: 1) the April 17 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam which drew 20,000 participants; 2) the May 15 National Teach-In in Washington which attracted 5,000 direct participants, was piped onto more than a hundred college campuses, and was the subject of surprisingly extensive national publicity; and 3) the May 21 Vietnam Day at Berkeley where 15,000 students protested U.S. aggression.

The views of the academic and professional world have been expressed in a number of other ways. Open letters to Johnson, protesting his policies, have been published as newspaper ads by hundreds of teachers. A recent *New York Times* open letter protesting the intervention in the Dominican Republic was signed by more than a hundred specialists in Latin American affairs.

A symptomatic expression of the rising opposition have been the recent dramatic acts of protest by some of the nation's leading intellectual figures.

It was a hard jolt for Johnson when the distinguished architect and literary figure, Lewis Mumford, chose the annual meeting of the ultra-staid Institute of Arts and Letters to cry out against the administration's criminal aggression against the Vietnamese and Dominican people.

## Poet's Protest

Hard on the heels of this blow, Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Robert Lowell rejected an invitation to a White House "arts festival" as an expression of his protest against the administration's foreign policy which he branded "increasingly militaristic and belligerent."

Lowell's action was given added impact when 20 leading artists and writers declared their support of his action. The 20 included such notables as Mary McCarthy, Hannah Arendt, Bernard Malamud, Phillip Roth, Alfred Kazin and Robert Penn Warren.

These expressions of opposition in the academic and intellectual world are very significant in and of themselves. But they are even more important in what they tell about the mood in the rest of the country. Students, when they begin moving, can express views that are not typical of the community and may even run counter to the general sentiment within the community. But the older, more conservative, academic and intellectual figures are not generally noted for any propensity to get out on a limb. If they are ready to speak out on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, you can safely assume that their views are not at logger-



Photo by Finer

**FIGHTERS FOR PEACE.** Young Americans clasp hands and sing traditional song of civil rights movement, "We Shall Overcome," at conclusion of massive rally against Vietnam War in Washington last April 17.

heads with those of the communities in which they live.

Intellectuals generally are more sensitive to social and political issues and tend to react sooner than the rest of the population. But this is in the nature of a preview of a developing sentiment. One political analyst observed in this connection that when a wind begins to blow it is the leaves on the top of the tree that rustle first.

The best testimonial to the extent of the present opposition is offered by the Johnson administration itself. Generally arrogant and insensitive to differing views, it has shown a remarkable degree of sensitivity to the growing criticism of its course. This concern was first expressed with the decision to send State Department "truth" teams to tour the nation's campuses to present the case for the administration. This proved a poor decision since the appearance of the alleged "truth" squads only served to point up the extent of the opposition and, indeed, to deepen and stiffen it.

Further testimony to the administration's awareness of the extent of the opposition was given with its bungling efforts to cope with the National Teach-In, where McGeorge Bundy first agreed to debate and then copped out.

Johnson has made clear his per-

sonal awareness of the significance of the opposition by his frequent radio and TV appearances where he attempts to rebut his critics.

Insofar as the general population is concerned, there is not yet the kind of direct measurable opposition that is visible in the academic world. But it is clear that there is no general popular support for Johnson's line.

The Gallup poll, which is usually quite busy measuring the public pulse at such moments of crisis as the present, seems curiously inactive. The last report we are aware of by them was published May 16. In contrast to the usual reports, this one by George Gallup was strangely incomplete, not quoting the questions asked or even paraphrasing them. He simply reported some very general findings. But even these are interesting.

According to Gallup, "President Johnson wins majority support for U.S. actions, but his majority is less than impressive. Fifty-two percent in the latest survey think the U.S. is handling affairs in Vietnam as well as could be expected [at best, that sounds like pretty faint praise], but almost as many, a total of 48 percent, have yet to be convinced: 27 percent say we are doing a poor job in dealing

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## A BARBARIC AGGRESSION

# U.S. Napalm Burns Vietnam Peasants Alive

By Barry Sheppard

JUNE 8 — In retaliation for recent successes by the Vietnamese guerrillas, the U.S. air force in Vietnam dropped jellied gasoline fire-bombs on Vietnamese villages, burning hundreds of civilians to death and wounding countless others.

Most of the U.S. news reports described the retaliatory air strikes as having been directed against "Vietcong" guerrillas. They say 500 were killed. However, Jack Langguth, writing for the June 6 *New York Times* from Saigon, says the "American contention is that they [those killed] were Vietcong soldiers. But three out of four patients seeking treatment in a Vietnamese hospital afterward for burns from napalm, or jellied gasoline, were village women."

This kind of retaliation against civilians is the same barbaric tactic the Nazis used against the underground resistance in coun-

tries they occupied in World War II. The U.S. hopes that through such tactics it can terrorize the population, and the guerrilla movement which has grown out of the population, into submission. This kind of brutality, however, has increased the determination of the Vietnamese to struggle against the U.S. invaders and against the U.S.-created regime in Saigon.

The U.S. retaliation came after heavy fighting in the central provinces of South Vietnam, where the guerrillas inflicted severe losses on the troops of the puppet regime. More than 1,000 were killed or went over to the guerrillas.

The kind of regime the U.S. is trying to impose upon the Vietnamese was described in a recent series of articles by *New York Herald-Tribune* correspondent Beverly Deepe, who is in Saigon. "The hottest issue in Saigon . . . is corruption," she writes.

"One high-ranking American official . . . estimated that 30 per-

# THE MILITANT

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## Negro Defense Units Spreading in South

JUNE 7 — The Deacons for Defense and Justice, the armed self-defense organization of Negroes which originated in Jonesboro, La., last summer, is spreading across the South.

A report by Roy Reed from Bogalusa, La., published in the June 6 *New York Times*, says that the organization now claims 50 to 55 chapters in various stages of organization in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. "The organization," says Reed, "was formed largely out of a belief that Negroes could not expect impartial treatment from white lawmen and that, if they were to be defended against church burnings, bombings, beatings, killings and terrorism, they would have to do it themselves."

The occasion for Reed's report was a visit to Bogalusa by Ernest Thomas, a 32-year-old Jonesboro Afro-American who is vice president and full-time organizer of the Deacons. Thomas visited the Deacons in Bogalusa following the ambush murder by white racists of O'Neal Moore, a Negro deputy sheriff recently appointed as a result of Bogalusa civil rights activity.

This was the latest in a series of murders that racist terrorists in the South have committed with impunity. Even where local or federal officials have made arrests, the murderers have gone unpunished by white racist juries.

### "Slow Things Down"

Thomas said the FBI — which has been unable or unwilling to bring the terrorists to justice — had tried to discourage the growth of the Deacons. The FBI had tried to convince him instead to join a biracial committee in Jonesboro which was supposed to negotiate improvements in the status of Negroes. Thomas said he doesn't trust such committees, and that "they are to slow things down."

The Deacons, composed of local volunteers, are armed with rifles,

pistols and shotguns, and use citizen-band radios and autos to patrol the Negro community at night. The organization supplies ammunition, which it buys in quantity at a saving, but "everybody owns his own piece," Thomas said. He said they hope to standardize the weapons and that he favors the 30 caliber army carbine and the 38 revolver.

Thomas said the Deacons are organized strictly for defense and are highly disciplined. They consider one of their main jobs to be defense of civil rights workers and volunteers. They protect civil rights workers before and after demonstrations, and watch their headquarters and sleeping places.

### Protected Nonviolence

Richard Haley of New Orleans, the Southern director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said he still maintains his nonviolent philosophy, but appreciates having the Deacons around. "The Deacons have the effect of lowering the minimum potential for danger now," said Haley. "That is a valuable function, and one that CORE can't perform. Protected nonviolence is apt to be more popular with the participants than unprotected."

"One aim of the Deacons," reports Reed, "is to dispel an old Southern white notion that the Negro is docile and will not fight back. Mr. Thomas is a personal example of the Negro's willingness, perhaps eagerness, to fight. He is a hard-jawed, square-shouldered, pugnacious man with a goatee and a mustache who flashes a quick grin. He wants it known that he is not afraid of white toughs." The president of the Deacons is Percy Lee Bradford of Jonesboro.

In recent times, the first publicized instance of organized armed self-defense by Southern Negroes occurred around 1960 in Monroe, N.C., where a defense unit organized by Robert F. Williams beat off an attack by armed Klansmen.



**SHIPPING CLERK.** Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara will carry out Johnson's order to ship thousands more GIs to wage his dirty war in Vietnam.

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# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Some 27,000 members of Ford UAW Local 600, out of an estimated membership of 47,000, voted in elections for new officers last month. The 20,000 not voting included 10,000 of the local's 16,000 retired members who are allowed to vote under the local's constitution, and 10,000 on-the-job workers.

Winner of the election for president, with 14,618 votes, was Walter Dorosh, head of the Unity Caucus, who received the backing of outgoing President Carl Stellato. His opponent, James Rooney, head of the 4-year-old Rank and File Caucus, received 12,620 votes.

Differences between the two caucuses were hard to find, although Dorosh gave complete endorsement to the 1964 contract and Rooney criticized it for failing to alleviate health and safety hazards or inhuman working conditions at the plant level. Both caucuses support the Reuther leadership of the international union.

Most of the retired workers supported Dorosh, who had wooed them throughout the campaign. From all indications he got a minority of the working union members' votes.

In a report to members of the Industrial Union Department (IUD), the president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers (AFHW), Adolph Benet, urged: "I beg you to do something about the South."

The reason for Benet's pleas to the IUD, which is headed by Walter Reuther, was the drastic decline in membership of the AFHW. Benet explained that at its peak the hosiery union had 60,000 members before the industry moved to the South. "We followed it, with manpower and money," he said, "spending 85 cents out of every dollar we had on organizing . . . and still we lost."

According to Benet, 90 percent of the country's 100,000 hosiery workers are in the South and, of these, only 2,000 are in the AFHW,

while national membership, North and South, has shrunk to only 4,200 members.

More than 200 members of Local 7-627, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, picketed police headquarters in Wyandotte, Mich., on May 24 to protest police brutality against striking members of the union.

The local has been on strike against the Wyandotte Chemicals Corp. since May 4 in a dispute over workers' assignments, management rights clauses, pensions and cost-of-living wage increases.

When strikers recently picketed a railroad siding to prevent the removal of boxcars from the struck plant, local cops demanded that they move. When the pickets refused, union officials said one cop shouted, "Club the bastards!" and a squadron of police charged the strikers.

In the club swinging assault, eight pickets and the five-year-old son of a striker were injured.

In addition to police brutality, Local 7-627 leaders have protested that liquor is being provided scab workers inside the plant. They also charge that pickets have been pelted with steel balls and other objects thrown from the plant.

"This occasion is historic by every measure," said President Lyndon B. Johnson in a taped message to the AFL-CIO Community Services dinner at which the Murray-Green Award was presented to the industrialist Henry J. Kaiser. "We are very fortunate in this country," continued Johnson, "to be free of dogma and doctrine that would lead us into mortal conflict and combat between the forces of labor and capital."

This is the first time that the Murray-Green Award has been given to a capitalist. Apparently Meany and his fellow misleaders of labor have correctly concluded that not a single labor leader has accomplished anything in the last year deserving of the award.

In a speech accepting a gold medal and the \$5,000 award, Kaiser observed, "Each year the American people grow more united in our goals. The enemy is dead wrong who would see us pitted class against class."

— Tom Leonard

## 'Free University' Announced in N.Y.

NEW YORK, June 8 — "The Free University of New York has been forged in response to the contemporary educational establishment. Its creators, a group of teachers and students in the New York metropolitan area, have been led to the conclusion that the universities and colleges of America have gone beyond the point of intellectual bankruptcy," say the organizers of the Free University that is to be launched here this month.

Some 15 courses are scheduled to be taught this summer, including: The American Radical Tradition to 1900, by Dr. Staughton Lynd; Seminar on the Press and Satire, by Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*; Marxism and American Decadence, by Dr. Allen Krebs, who was fired from Adelphi University this year because of his political beliefs; The Permanent Revolution, by Lynn Henderson, of the Socialist Workers Party.

Classes will be held at 20 East 14th St. beginning July 6. Registration is from June 28 to July 2. There will be an open house on June 26. For information call CH 3-3981 or 989-8796.

## REPORT FROM IOWA

# 'Truth' Squad Really Got Put Down

By Dave Cunningham

IOWA CITY — I have just finished reading Barry Sheppard's article in the May 17 *Militant* about the misadventures of the government's "truth squad" out here in the wilds of Iowa. Maybe I could add a few observations.

Iowa City was the first stop on the squad's tour through the Midwest. Presumably they decided to stop here because, despite the fact that we had several protest demonstrations and several student and faculty petitions against the war in Vietnam, the University of Iowa does not have the reputation as a demonstrably "radical" school. Thus the squad would be able to use us not only as a warming-up place, but also — should they be successful in winning their point here — would have a lot of favorable nationwide publicity and momentum to dampen opposition elsewhere.

The *New York Times* report doesn't make it very clear that the squad had two sessions here — one in the afternoon for the faculty only; one "open" in the evening for students. Presumably this was set up on some "divide and conquer" premise; that is, either they could decapitate the protest movement for the day by the expedient of separating the articulate faculty from the students or — conversely — by following the Rusk-Bundy theory that the faculties are only the "dupes" of leftist students, attempt to separate them from the students.

### Faculty Meeting

Unfortunately for this kind of thinking, the faculty proved much more incensed at the State Department hacks than were the students (unlike, say, the University of Wisconsin, where the roles were reversed) and the all-faculty meeting was more of an uproar and a putdown than the evening meeting. To top this off, the faculty members who were most outraged by the intrusion of these hacks onto the campus came back for a second shot in the evening session — which wasn't exactly mild.

To a very large extent, the State Department people who came here were their own worst enemies. By their own unaided arrogance and insulting behavior they managed to alienate far more faculty and students than those of us in opposition to governmental policies could have called upon or influenced at that point.

The incredible stupidity — from a tactical point alone — the leader of the "squad" showed in telling Dr. Christopher Lasch, associate professor in history and one of the most admired and respected faculty members here, to "sit down and shut up" didn't make the government's case any more palatable, and showed up the heresy hunt for exactly what it was. (I am happy to report that Dr. Lasch did exactly the opposite of the two things the squad told him to do; he didn't sit down and

## Writers Parley Planned By Liberator Magazine

NEW YORK — *Liberator*, the monthly Afro-American magazine, will celebrate its fifth anniversary June 19 with a writers conference on the theme, "Black Writers at the Crossroads." The conference will be held at St. Luke's Episcopal Church, 141st St. and Convent Ave., and will last from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Panel discussions will be held on four topics: Must the Black Writer Lead?; Role of the Black Woman; Is a Dialogue Desirable between Black and White?; and, Is Pro-Black Necessarily Anti-White?

Reservations may be made with *Liberator*, 244 E. 46th St.

## The Claque From Capitol Hill

An interesting footnote to the National Teach-In on Vietnam in Washington May 15 was offered by Meg Greenfield in the June 3 issue of *The Reporter*:

"Between them, the State Department and the White House are said to have requested (and been granted) more than 300 tickets out of the several thousand available for the affair, and reporters did believe they discerned a pronounced and atypical enthusiasm for the government's position in the first rows of the cavernous hall."

he hasn't shut up yet on the subject.)

To intellectuals, propaganda in itself is distasteful, but stupid propaganda rammed down one's throat by bullies is intolerable. And while my knowledge of the techniques of putting down intellectual revolts is limited, offhand I would say these men were not qualified to propagandize a class of fifth-grade schoolchildren.

Of course, the joint faculty-student uproar here against the government's hacks didn't take place in a political vacuum. There has been quite a lot of opposition to Johnson's war in Vietnam since February (i.e., since the bombing of North Vietnam).

The favorite argument our detractors have brought against us has been that the sections of the campus who have opposed U.S. war designs in Vietnam and elsewhere were so antagonistic and rude to the government's spokesmen that any real "dialogue" on the subject of Vietnam was impossible.

It is true that the meetings here were noisy, the faculty meeting even more so than the students,

## ... U.S. Anti-War Sentiment

(Continued from Page 1)

with the situation and 21 percent either express uncertainty or have no opinion on the matter."

Again without disclosing what questions were actually asked, Gallup says that 59 percent favor bombing North Vietnam with 41 percent opposed or undecided.

An indication of popular thinking was flashed onto TV screens when Norman Thomas, on the Merv Griffin Show, voiced some criticism of administration policy on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. The studio audience greeted his remarks with a spontaneous burst of applause.

It would be surprising if there were not opposition to what Johnson is doing. In the last election the voters made it very clear that they were apprehensive about living with the threat of the bomb and that they wanted no part of Goldwater's bomb-happy stand. A growing number of people now are beginning to feel, correctly enough, that Johnson duped them.

Furthermore, the anticommunist propaganda, pressed so insistently for so long, is beginning to wear thin. The successive dictatorial regimes in Vietnam make it hard for any but the most gullible — or cynical — to accept the propaganda fable that GI's are dying there to preserve "freedom."

In the Dominican crisis, Johnson's list of 58 "communists" didn't have the effect that the late Senator McCarthy used to get with his "list" of "communists" in the State Department.

The American people are becoming aware of the terrible image of the U.S. abroad. Like the

but as a rule the uproar did not occur until after the government men made it unmistakably clear they had nothing to peddle but the same tattered, moth-eaten and discredited White Paper that every political analyst in the country with an iota of contact with reality has demolished. We did expect them to act pretty much as they did (although considerably more intelligently) and prepared accordingly, but we had ample precedent to guess how they would act.

But just in case this argument might possibly be considered too subjective, a statement made by the leader of the squad, reported in the *New York Times*, should make it perfectly clear who was responsible for the failure of a dialogue. Here is Donald Janson, who covered the meeting at Iowa as correspondent for the *Times*, writing in the May 24 *Nation*:

"As it turned out, the Washington team was not open to suggestions. It was interested only in making sure that the 'truth' was dispensed, so that students and others subject to campus 'extremists' would have the ammunition they needed to better uphold the government viewpoint on Vietnam. Conlon, leader of the three-man team, explained privately (!) that the Department had already heard and rejected the types of suggestions being offered by spokesmen of the protest movement."

To which one could only say that it's a pity he didn't dare say it publicly! He would have been laughed out of the state. He almost was, anyway.

I think it was Conlon, by the way, who was responsible for the prize blunder of the evening. At one point, in answer to a remark someone made about the "dirty war," Conlon said, "Well it's not much of a war over there. Matter of fact, it's a pretty crummy war. But it's the only war we have right now."

He really said it! The audience went wild.

troubled Southern white who begins to feel concern about the universal abhorrence of the murderous racist "way of life," so Americans in general are beginning to feel concern over the realization that this country is the target of world-wide condemnation.

Among students, there is a growing realization of the terrible disparity between the administration's word and deed. Involvement in the civil rights movement has made them particularly aware of this. This was given dramatic expression during the Selma events when the cry "Out of Saigon, Into Selma" caught on instantaneously.

Students who are fighting the government's stubborn resistance to taking firm action against racist killers in the South can hardly be expected to long swallow the lie that U.S. troops are being dispatched abroad to preserve "freedom."

In every sense, the present opposition to U.S. war policies is deeply significant. It is the most extensive organized opposition to war that has ever been manifest while a war is going on.

There were antiwar movements in this country prior to World War I and World War II but they collapsed the day the shooting started.

The Korean war was the most unpopular this country ever waged up to now. But there was never the kind of organized opposition as there is today with the teach-ins, demonstrations, etc.

Every fighter for peace has reason to be heartened by the present trend of developments.

## Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO  
FOUR TAPED SPEECHES BY MALCOLM X. Each followed by discussions. June 18, 22, 25 and 29, 7:30 p.m. 302 S. Canal. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Young Socialist Summer School

CLEVELAND  
THE STEEL WORKERS' ELECTIONS: THEIR EFFECT ON THE STEEL NEGOTIATIONS. Speaker: Henry Austin. Sunday, June 20, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Ausp. Cleveland Militant forum.

DETROIT  
THE ORIGIN OF THE UNION MOVEMENT. Lecture 1 of a four-part series on the Theory and History of the Labor Movement. A Marxist analysis by a long-time trade unionist. Speaker, Frank Lovell. Fri., June 18, 8:00 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ausp. Fri. Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES  
THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND THE JOHNSON DOCTRINE: AMERICAN IMPERIALISM'S THREAT TO LATIN AMERICA. Speaker: Theodore Edwards, SWP KPFK radio commentator. Fri., June 18, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East Fourth St. (4th St exit Santa Ana Fwy.) Door donation Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues. June 22, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., June 23, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK  
BEHIND THE SCENES WITH WAGNER AND LINDSAY. Speaker: Bill Mason, staff, SWP campaign committee. Fri., June 18, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**THE FBI NOBODY KNOWS** by Fred J. Cook. Macmillan, 1964, 436 pp., \$5.95.

Fred J. Cook has come through once again in the best tradition of American muckraking. He has used his devastating skill of inquiry, interview, and documentation on that holy of holies among American institutions, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The result is a 436-page exposure of the devious and undemocratic procedures of this sacrosanct arm of the Department of Justice.

The author traces the growth and development of FBI power from its humble beginnings in 1908, when Attorney General Bonaparte asked Congress for a permanent detective force within the Department of Justice. Congress, being fearful of starting such a trend, refused. Bonaparte secretly created the bureau when Congress was not in session, calling it the Bureau of Investigation. From these modest and questionable beginnings in the Teddy Roosevelt administration, the agency has grown into a gigantic bureau employing almost 15,000 persons with an annual appropriation of \$130,000,000. The *Congressional Record* for June 13, 1963, ascribes almost 50 percent of the personnel and appropriation for the Department of Justice to the FBI alone.

### Success Story

The director, J. Edgar Hoover, rose in the Justice Department from the position of clerk. In 1919 District Attorney Palmer appointed Hoover, who was only 24, to head the newly created Division of General Intelligence, which distinguished itself in the infamous Palmer raids, victimizing hundreds of "radicals" and "reds."

The FBI as we know it today did not come into its own until the time of the FDR administration when a host of sensational headline-catching crimes were placed under federal jurisdiction, such as kidnaping, robbing of a national bank, racketeering in interstate commerce, etc.

But it was also in the Roosevelt administration that the FBI was turned from a concern with crime to a concern with "subversive activities." Roosevelt himself, anticipating the approach of World War II, summoned Hoover to the White House and placed him in charge of the investigation and reporting of the influence both here and abroad of the communist and fascist movements. He was instructed to report for intelligence purposes only, and not for prosecution.

Thus Cook notes that it was the liberal hero FDR who, despite criticism of the Justice Department's role in the Palmer raids, "put the FBI back into the . . . business of ferreting out potential dangers in men's ideas." According to Cook,



J. Edgar Hoover

"once this step had been taken there was no chance of confining or limiting the activities and influence of the FBI, for the possibility of subversion, the need for security, could always be advanced as justification for the investigation of any and every man."

When the Second War had actually broken out, Hoover and the FBI were given charge of espionage in the entire Western Hemisphere. They worked with intelligence from various allied countries, and began to claim credit for all internal security, including the guarding of atomic secrets and the "loyalty" of government employees.

One of the best sections of the book is the description of the role of the FBI in stoking the post-war hysteria and the congressional witch hunts with frequent cries from Hoover on the continuing "communist threat" while he was funneling material to congressional committees directly from FBI files. Such extralegal techniques as wire-tapping, surveillance, search and arrest without warrant became the FBI's stock-in-trade.

### Unequal Zeal

These police-state activities are not always employed with the same zeal against felons. Cook reports failure or reluctance of the FBI in prosecuting the great crime syndicates and, even more, violations of civil rights. Between January 1, 1958 and June 30, 1960, the FBI "investigated" 461 cases of police brutality against Negroes in the South without achieving one conviction.

However, what worries the author most is the "monumental propaganda effort on the part of the Bureau and Mr. Hoover to convert the agency and its director into the position of being beyond criticism or accountability." He feels that this dangerous trend can undermine a democratic society. This, together with Hoover's unchecked police operations can and have been used to repress debate on many issues which are outside the province of the FBI. The very existence of dossiers on leading figures inside and out of government goes a long way toward silencing criticism.

Thus, Cook feels that the words of warning of Justice Harlan Stone, who was Attorney General in 1924 and at that time appointed Hoover to head the Bureau, may have been quite prophetic. Stone insisted that the concern of the Bureau be confined to crime alone because he believed that, "There is always the possibility that a secret police may become a menace to free government and free institutions because it carries with it the possibilities of abuse of power which are not always apprehended or understood."

—Vincent Hernandez

## THE ART OF DOUBLESPEAK

# Johnson 'Welcomes' Criticism

By Farrell Dobbs

President Johnson says he welcomes constructive and responsible debate and criticism of his foreign policy. He made the assertion in a speech during commencement exercises at the National Cathedral High School in Washington on June 1.

Little in the speech reflected the real Johnson. His public utterance that "discussion is one of the great strengths of American democracy" differs from his privately expressed emotions about his critics which, according to Washington reporters, range from "indignation to scorn to sorrow." He is not only sore at students and teachers who voice disagreement with his foreign policies in demonstrations and teach-ins, he is equally angry with critics in the press and in Congress.

Despite the mothy platitudes in his speech Johnson made it plain that he has no intention of changing his course. He will continue to step up his brinkmanship in direct continuity with the policies of his predecessors in office. Opposition to his line is brushed aside as "transient winds of opinion." The "principles which I am trying so hard . . . to support in every continent of the world today," he brazenly asserts, are "also the beliefs of the American people."

Johnson contends that it is the duty of American troops to fight and die wherever he sends them to "defend the right to criticize." He does not extend this "right" to poverty-stricken people revolting against U.S.-supported dictators. That kind of criticism is to him an "international communist conspiracy." On the same McCarthyite premise he continues the vicious witch hunt that has been going on for many years against critics here at home.

### An Abuse?

The President thinks it an abuse of the "right to criticize" when American reporters in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, and even editors of major newspapers, object to his falsified "news" handouts. Although news slanting and brainwashing is a major function of the capitalist news media, they apparently find that Johnson is going so far that he endangers the racket. Whatever the motives of press critics of the president, the truth about American imperialism's real aims, policies and actions in the world today is what the people of this country must have, and that truth is exactly what the Johnson administration wants to keep hidden.

The example Johnson sets, or more accurately, the line he lays down, is followed throughout the administration. Secretary of State Rusk said recently in a speech to the American Society of International Law: "I sometimes wonder about the gullibility of educated men and the stubborn disregard of plain facts by those who are supposed to be helping our young to learn — especially to learn how to think." His remark is a none-too-subtle attack on teachers participating in teach-ins and it shows how quickly a bright former academic dignitary who joins the administration can learn to push for a Johnson-style "national consensus."

A similar case is the role of the "truth teams" that Johnson sent to push his line at a few Midwest colleges. Their conduct quickly made it plain that they were there to tell the students, not to reason with them. When questions were put to them they were evasive, condescending and patronizing, even downright rude. In their press statements they tended to lump together as "extremists" all seeming dissidents, those who simply asked probing questions, as well as others who expressed criticisms of administration policies.

Their conduct created a sense of frustration and indignation among



Lyndon Johnson

the young people they were trying to bring to heel. The only explanation the administration could give for the students' reaction to the "truth teams" was to put the blame on the teach-in movement, accusing it of "lack of balance."

At the National Teach-In in Washington, Johnson's right-hand man, McGeorge Bundy, welched at the last minute on his commitment to participate. (It turned out later that he had been sent to Santo Domingo instead to pitch a curve at the Constitutionals lead by Caamaño.) Johnson didn't bother to send a substitute for Bundy, so the teach-in participants had no chance to question an administration spokesman or to express their criticisms directly to the administration through him. The same thing happened a bit later at the big Berkeley teach-in where three chairs left vacant for

Johnson's wheel horses were never occupied.

Governmental attempts to explain away this crude boycott policy succeed only in proving that official interest centers on pushing Johnson's line, not on letting the whole truth come out. What the administration plainly wants is a "discussion" that is rigged in advance and the outcome fixed the way it's done in a crooked prize fight.

The fix doesn't work because the alleged "lack of balance" in the teach-ins actually reflects growing opposition in academic circles to Johnson's foreign policies. Those policies will be subjected to mounting public criticism whether he likes it or not. It has to be that way since Johnson doesn't act in accord with the "beliefs of the American people," as he pompously asserts. He acts as the executive agent of the capitalist bankers and corporation heads who rule over and exploit this country, and who want to dominate the rest of the world, for their own private gain.

The vast majority in this country don't want to rule the world. They want to live at peace with other nations and they want a fair shake in social relations here at home. They won't get that under Johnson and the Democrats who are just as crooked as the Republicans. Johnson, who was elected as a supposed man of peace, is proving he is just the opposite.

If the critical appraisal of his foreign policy goes into this political aspect of the question, as a genuine search for the whole truth would require, there can be only one conclusion. Only an independent, anticapitalist political party, organized in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans, can provide a meaningful political instrument in the struggle for peace.

## MILITANT FUND

# ONE SHORT WEEK TO GO

By Barry Sheppard  
Militant Fund Director

With one week left to go in *The Militant Fund Campaign*, Cleveland and Twin Cities joined those areas which made their quotas in full and before the deadline. Chicago added \$200 more to its pledged quota, bringing its percentage up to a spectacular 111! Cleveland, too, went over the top — how about some other cities following suit?

We want to thank readers who have been keeping the General marching forward — J.B. from Montana, C.G. from Lowell, Mass., Hal and Irene from N.Y., and P.S. from Providence, R.I. These supporters of *The Militant* have put their support where it counts most — into helping *The Militant* keep coming out each week with the

news, analysis and politics you can find nowhere else.

If you are a reader and supporter of *The Militant*, and haven't yet made your contribution to what you believe in, send it in without any delay to *The Militant*, 116 University Pl., New York, N.Y.

Most areas have written that they are confident they will meet their quotas on time — although we still have 20 percent of our goal to raise in the next week. What we need now is a burst of fund-raising energy from those areas which are far behind, so that we will be able to report that our \$20,300 goal was reached in full — and so that these funds, every penny of which is absolutely needed, can be put to use supporting America's best newspaper.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Chicago	\$ 1,800	\$ 2,000	111
Cleveland	800	816	102
Boston	900	900	100
Detroit	1,200	1,200	100
Twin Cities	1,400	1,400	100
Denver	300	247	82
Oakland/Berkeley	900	713	79
Milwaukee	400	310	78
New York	5,800	4,458	77
Newark	200	136	68
Philadelphia	300	193	64
Allentown	200	125	63
San Diego	250	138	55
San Francisco	900	495	55
Los Angeles	4,000	2,119	53
St. Louis	200	87	44
Seattle	500	50	10
General	250	475	190
Total through June 9	\$20,300	\$15,854	79

### NEW YORK

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Vol. 29 - No. 24



Monday, June 14, 1965

## State Department Ducks Another Vietnam Debate

By Ruth Porter

NEW YORK, June 3 — "They didn't show up in Washington, they didn't show up in Berkeley, and they didn't show up here." The disappointed speaker was Dr. Staughton Lynd, professor of history at Yale University and outspoken critic of U.S. foreign policy, who had accepted an invitation of the West Side Committee on Vietnam to debate with a representative of the State Department in a Manhattan auditorium last night.

The burden of telling the State Department's "truth" fell on one Dr. Gerald Steibel, described by the moderator as "foreign affairs director of the Research Institute of America and member of the national committee of American Friends of Vietnam."

### Like the Nazis

Prof. Lynd described the essential question, "the nup of the problem," as whether the war in Vietnam is a war of national independence or whether, in accordance with Johnson's view, it is an invasion of one nation by another, comparable to the Nazi invasions of the Thirties. To support his view that the National Liberation Front is an indigenous, revolutionary, independence movement supported by the masses of people in Vietnam, not a military invasion on the part of the North Vietnamese army, Prof. Lynd cited many sources.

Among them, a recent column by Drew Pearson is very much to the point. Pearson stated that the "disastrous policy of Navy-Air Force bombing of North Vietnam" has failed, and continues:

"And with the beginning of the monsoon rains, we are now right back where we started, fighting an unseen jungle enemy which sleeps by day and raids by night — the kind of warfare the British faced when conducting an unpopular war against 13 relatively weak colonies in 1776. Those 13 colonies won. Significantly, the George Washington of both North and South Vietnam is Ho Chi Minh, now the leader of North Vietnam. But as the father of independence he is revered in the South as much as in the North.



Staughton Lynd

The fact that the George Washington of Indochina is viewed with love and admiration by the people of the South, whose alleged independence we are trying to preserve, is a political fact which no bombing of bridges or raids on supply trains or skirmishes in the steaming jungles can eradicate."

Steibel said that the Vietcong rebellion is not an indigenous national liberation movement because the guerrilla fighters are following Mao Tse-tung's book on guerrilla warfare. Another point he made was that if Lyndon B. Johnson, a man of peace, saw fit to escalate the war, he supports him.

The audience of about 400, cooperating with the plea of the moderator for an orderly meeting, had been making great efforts at self-restraint and self-control. But their repressed disgust and anger could no longer be contained when Steibel said that, despite all of Johnson's efforts to negotiate, "there is no one to negotiate with. Peking and Hanoi have refused. Whom should we negotiate with?"

At this, several in the audience shouted, "With the National Liberation Front," and "Negotiate with the people you're fighting."

### Summer Issue

## International Socialist Review

### SOME FEATURES:

● THE SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE by I.B. Tabata. Text of a fascinating address to the First National Conference of the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa. The first published work in this country of a leading South African revolutionist.

● MANAGEMENT REFORM IN SOVIET ENTERPRISES by Ernest Germain. A contribution to the extensive debate on proposals in the Soviet Union to spur the economy through material incentives.

● AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY FROM COMTE TO THE IBM CARD by William F. Warde. Reviewing two recent sociological works, Warde delivers a slashing attack on the abstract and compartmentalized research of contemporary sociological studies by American universities.

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y. 10003

## Freedom Democrats Press Challenge

# Congress Faces Mississippi Issue

By Fred Halstead

JUNE 7 — The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has completed the legal aspects of its challenge to the seating of the five white racist Mississippi congressmen in the federal House of Representatives. Action is now up to the House, which is controlled by an overwhelming majority of Johnson Democrats.

What action the House takes on this challenge will be an accurate measure of just how serious Johnson and the national Democratic Party are about restoring democratic rights to Negroes in the black belt of the South. It will be a much more accurate measure than passage of the so-called voting rights bill.

For as Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Chairman Lawrence Guyot pointed out: "Between the act of registration and freely voting is a huge gulf. It is only the threat of unseating or the reality of unseating that will serve notice to all Southern states that the Congress really means to implement the voting bill. If Congress passes the voting rights legislation and fails to unseat the Mississippians, it will be extending to the South an open invitation to continue to impede Negro voting. The challenge is the enforcement mechanism of the voting rights bill."

On May 17, the MFDP submitted to the Clerk of the House of Representatives more than 600 depositions (comprising some 15,000 pages) taken in Mississippi. These document the terror and official harassment that prevented Mississippi Negroes from partic-

## Mississippi Authorities Try to Derail Hunt for Missing Negro Family

The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, a state-financed agency established to combat the civil rights movement, has apparently been trying to cover up the disappearance of the Mississippi Negro family of Leon Acker, his wife and six children.

The family disappeared in mid-March leaving a cooked meal untouched on the stove of their home in the Cattahoola community of Hancock County. The disappearance was investigated by Mrs. Annie Devine, a congressional candidate of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and mentioned by her in a speech in Washington, D. C., last April. An interview on the case with Mrs. Devine was published May 1 in the progressive weekly, *The National Guardian*.

Subsequently, the State Sovereignty Commission released a story printed in the May 7 *Jackson Daily News* which claimed the disappearance was a hoax, that the family was living in Montgomery, Ala., and that "Communist publications apparently are helping the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in presenting distortions about Mississippi to get the sympathy of Congress."

The MFDP says it has been unable to find the family. It has demanded retractions by Mississippi newspapers of the charges by the Sovereignty Commission and asked that "all of the resources of the Justice Department and the FBI be thrown into a nationwide search for the Acker family."

A story in the June 12 *National Guardian* says the FBI has listed the family as "missing persons" and that an FBI spokesman in Washington told the *Guardian* it is conducting an "all-out active investigation." The MFDP May 30 declared: "Remember that only last year the disappearance of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner was called a hoax by these same papers."



CROSS BURNERS. Ku Klux Klan members in full bedsheet regalia burn cross to warn Negroes to "stay in their place" by not doing such things as exercising their right to vote.

ipating in the 1964 election.

"We have made enough evidence available to the Congress to convince any reasonable and unbiased panel," said Guyot. On June 2, the depositions were opened before House Clerk Ralph R. Roberts and the MFDP demanded that they be printed for distribution to the members of Congress.

The MFDP is mounting a campaign to take the issue to the country and put pressure on Congress for action. The campaign is scheduled to culminate in a national gathering in Washington in July. The campaign is supported by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Congress of Racial Equality, as well as a number of civic, religious and labor organizations.

The challenge is so far not being supported by the NAACP national office, by the liberal Americans for Democratic Action or by the Democratic Study Group, composed of liberal congressmen.

SNCC is organizing a "Washington Lobby" of some 2,000 student volunteers to engage in lobbying and educational workshops around the challenge from June 13 to July 4.

When the depositions were presented to the House, James Farmer, national director of CORE, declared: "The chronicle of brutality to be presented today in these petitions has no equal in the parliamentary history of our nation. These are real voices of the real Americans who have been bloodied and even murdered in their efforts to exercise the right to vote . . . I ask of the Congress fast remedial action and the rejection of the regular Mississippi congressional pretenders who have been elected on a platform of blood and disenfranchisement."

Rev. Martin Luther King declared: "The unseating of the Mississippi congressmen will be the test of the moral integrity of the Congress of the United States. The weakening of the voting bill by the Senate's shameful action in stripping away the anti-poll tax provision makes it absolutely imperative that the House of Representatives does not waver in its obligation to unseat the congressmen. The unseating will make any voting bill meaningful."

SNCC Chairman John Lewis declared: "The evidence covered by the depositions given cover not only obstruction to registration, but the acts of economic harassment and violence that are also used as a matter of policy by the

state. It is only when the Congress unseats the Mississippians and calls for and conducts free and open elections in Mississippi for these seats that the Negroes in the state will be free to participate.

The fact that the MFDP and SNCC are making a national issue of the challenge is proving an embarrassment to the Johnson administration which has been operating on a pattern like that used in the perfume ad — promise 'em anything but give 'em Goldwater's foreign policy.

Some of Johnson's liberal supporters who claim to be for civil rights are enraged at the MFDP and SNCC for pressing the challenge which threatens to expose Johnson's demagoguery on the domestic scene as it has already been exposed overseas.

This attitude is expressed by Washington newsmen Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in their June 1 syndicated column which contains a venomous attack on SNCC. The odds against the House unseating the five illegally elected racist Mississippians are "roughly 100 to 1," according to Evans and Novak.

But instead of blasting the congressmen and Johnson for refusing to enforce the Constitution, the columnists denounce SNCC because "the virtually inevitable defeat of the challenge will add to the cynicism of the idealistic young Negroes who are so attracted to Snick. Any good feeling engendered by the voting bill may be erased."

The Democratic and Republican Party leaders are enraged at the very idea that SNCC and the MFDP with its grass-roots support in Mississippi have the gall to declare oppression bitter, and that they are not willing to settle for empty promises and gradualism.

Any "good feeling" by freedom fighters toward the demagogue Johnson and the Democratic Party — national or local — ought to be erased. Until it is, and until the freedom fighters break with the parties of the capitalist power structure in favor of independent political action, the old shell game of gradualism will continue.

The simple truth is that the decent common people such as those organized in the MFDP should be running the state of Mississippi, and on a national scale such forces should be contending for political power. To do that, they must stand on their own and take the leadership of a new political movement which cannot be manipulated or controlled by the liberals, who are afraid of the revolutionary consequences.

**By-Product of Dominican Crisis**

# U.S. Role Angers Puerto Ricans

JUNE 8 — U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic is provoking what one correspondent calls "loud repercussions" in Puerto Rico, a country that has been considered, from the viewpoint of the U.S., one of the most politically stable in Latin America.

Meanwhile, from Santo Domingo there are further revelations of brutal repressions by the U.S.-organized military junta. These include wide-scale arrests in the areas of the island which the U.S. occupation force permits the junta to control.

**U.S. Lies**

Barnard Collier, the New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent who exposed some of the U.S. government lies from Santo Domingo, reports from San Juan that, in the poor district of the Puerto Rican capital, walls have blossomed with "Yankee, Go Home!" signs. These provide, he observes, "a rather jarring sight for Americans in American territory."

The Dominican occupation, Collier reports, is the subject of "feverish" debate in Puerto Rico and the "tone of most of the discussion is either strong opposition to the massive U.S. intervention or head-shaking concern over future political and social implications in the hemisphere and in Puerto Rico."

He reports that the aggression against the Dominican Republic has strengthened the pro-independence forces in Puerto Rico.

Businessmen and politicians on the island, who have strong ties to the U.S. power structure, are seriously concerned about this development. The political machine of the island's governor, Luis Muñoz Marin, has long played the game of pretending to be politically independent from the U.S. To maintain this posture they have generally sought to avoid committing themselves to endorsement of the most blatant of U.S. aggressions in Latin America, although

they have never done anything to oppose them.

Now, with opposition rising to the U.S. role in the Dominican Republic, the Muñoz machine is afraid it will be put on the spot. "The fear is," Collier explains, "that moderates may be forced to make a political choice between backing U.S. policy to the hilt and condemning it."

Puerto Rican "moderates" also told Collier they were concerned because, if there is such strong opposition in their country to U.S. policy, this means it is running deeper in the rest of Latin America, and it could have even graver consequences there.

The mood in Puerto Rico was indicated when Jaime Benitez, director of the University of Puerto Rico, spoke at commencement exercises. Benitez, who had been a member of McGeorge Bundy's negotiating team in Santo Domingo, departed from his long-standing practice of avoiding political issues in such addresses. He deliv-



Luis Muñoz Marin

ered a mildly critical assessment of the U.S. role in the Dominican Republic, declaring it "would make life in the Caribbean much more difficult and hemisphere relations more bitter and hostile."

The address, which was televised nationally, was applauded for five minutes by students and faculty.

The revelations of the cruel repressions being carried on by the Imbert junta will not serve to diminish the anger being built up among Latin Americans.

Juan de Onis of the *New York Times* reported from Santo Domingo June 7 that the tactics of the Imbert junta and police force "have generated deep resentment in the civilian population and awakened fears of a restoration of dictatorial power."

**Boy Scouts Jailed**

He reports the experience of a Peace Corps volunteer who returns to a slum area which the U.S. permitted the junta to shoot its way into. The Peace Corps member sought out the Boy Scout troop he had been working with. He found that 13 of the 15 members of the troop had been jailed by the junta's police. "Their crime seemed to be that they were 15 years old," he said.

De Onis added: "The police assumed that all young people were rebel sympathizers."

OAS emissaries who went into the countryside were besieged with accounts of illegal search and seizure by the junta cops.

Fear that the U.S. will put these heirs of Trujillo back in power is even shared by the conservative business community which apparently finds the military dictatorship, with its rampant corruption, an expensive overhead.

One businessman expressed the hope that the U.S. would use its influence "to get the military off our back."

But that's precisely the opposite of what the U.S. occupation forces are there for.

# Left-Wingers Give Views On Polish Bureaucracy

(*World Outlook*) — In an article about the censorship in Poland and the attitude of various oppositional currents to it, Michel Tatu, writing in the May 26 Paris daily *Le Monde*, tells about a tendency that appears to have gained access to "Trotskyist" material and to have incorporated it in its views. The pertinent paragraphs are as follows:

"Among those abiding by the censorship, even if its actions are contested, we remain within the legal domain. A small number of persons in Poland have chosen a more radical road by publishing or seeking to publish clandestinely — generally abroad — writings that have no other way of 'getting by' . . .

"Two recent affairs were characteristic in this respect. In the spring of 1964 a young Communist of 27, Karol Modzelewski, the son of a Communist of the old guard who was the first minister of foreign affairs in People's Poland, was expelled from the committee of the party in the University of Warsaw for having read and approved the manifesto of the 'thirty-four.' But the young university student did not stop there. With several other Marxist students, including Jacek Kuron, the son of another old Communist, Modzelewski drew up a 'revolutionary Communist' program, in which the guiding idea was a radical criticism of the 'bureaucratic dictatorship' put in power in Poland and elsewhere by the traditional Communist parties.

"Largely inspired by the *New Class* analysis of Djilas and by the criticisms levelled by Trotsky against the Stalinist system, the platform of these 'neo-Marxists' sought to put together a bit of everything that had been said or expressed against the bureaucratic

deformation of Marxist doctrine. It was a question of struggling for respect for freedoms and against the single party, but at the same time to go beyond the imperfect bourgeois democracy in order to gain a 'genuine workers democracy,' established on the basis of genuine workers councils which would take away from the bureaucratic machine the property which it had in reality usurped (the example of the Yugoslav workers councils was considered to be tainted with 'technocracy').

"There is no need to say that these authors spoke against the 'reactionary' role of the Polish clergy and for a return to proletarian internationalism, borrowing some arguments from the Chinese on this. All these theories, which despite their at times utopian character, seem to have found a certain audience among the young intellectuals of the 'second Communist generation,' were developed last autumn by Modzelewski and Kuron in a 128-page manifesto, which only a few privileged people know about, among them Mr. Gomulka himself . . . because the police, turning up 'in time,' hastened to confiscate the dangerous manuscript and put the authors behind bars. Seven conspirators were implicated in the affair, but, as is frequent in Poland, were all released after several hours of detention. According to the latest report, the trial involving subversion, which was doubtful in the first place, will not take place."

# Columbia Students Take Dim View of Anti-Demonstrator

By Caroline Jenness

NEW YORK, June 7 — At the annual Columbia Class Day ceremony, the valedictorian of Columbia College, Yoram B. Szekely, was booed and hissed by fellow students when he attacked student political activity as a "waste of intellectual resources."

As examples of "ugly" student protests, he cited the attempt last fall of the Columbia CORE chapter to boycott University cafeterias as a protest against the administration's refusal to allow the cafeteria workers to unionize. Szekely also deplored the demonstrations of May 7 against the war in Vietnam and against the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps awards ceremony at Columbia. Fifty students who participated in the latter demonstration were censured by the administration for "obstructing a university function," and the ceremony had to be postponed until June 1.

**NROTC Picketed**

On June 1, about 40 Columbia students picketed most of the day, during the rescheduled NROTC ceremony in the morning, and during the University graduation exercises in the afternoon. They carried signs protesting the Columbia ROTC program as well as U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Some of the slogans chanted by demonstrators during the ceremonies were "No killers for Vietnam," and "See them graduate . . . into the war machine," as well as chants against the Johnson administration, such as "In your heart you know he's Goldwater."

Most of the demonstrating students were members of the Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which includes all campus organizations and individuals who oppose the war. The committee is planning continued and expanded activity during the Summer Session.

# ... Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

Deepe says, "When the Vietnamese National Army goes back to pacify areas from the Vietcong, the local landowner goes back with them . . . Obviously he wants to collect his back rent. So when it pacifies the area, it pacifies it for the landowner and not for the peasant.

"Of course, 35 percent of the peasants are landless. They become fanatics and will fight for the land given them by the Vietcong because it's as important to them as life," the general said.

Deepe reports that one U.S. official described as "horror stories" the actions of landlords in collecting back rent after Saigon troops had taken an area from the guerrillas. She adds, "In Vietcong-controlled areas, if landowners or their agents return to collect back rent, the matter is simple. The peasant complains to the Vietcong, and the agent is shot."

The U.S. ruling class is attempting to maintain its domination over South Vietnam to keep it a military and political outpost of world capitalism against the Asian colonial revolution. It tried to do this at first through the puppet regime of Diem.

Diem's government and its successors have proven that they cannot stand up against the developing revolutionary movement for land, independence, and reunification of the divided country. The heavy blows that the revolutionaries have recently rained on the pro-U.S. puppet army show that, without direct U.S. military involvement, the corrupt and hated gang in Saigon could not long rule the country. And the U.S., with more than 50,000 GI's already in Vietnam and more on the way, has decided — by a Johnson decree — to throw American units directly into combat against the peasant guerrillas.

— George Saunders

# World Events

**Saigon Atrocities on TV**

The Nippon Television Network in Japan recently began to show a series of films prepared by Saigon on the battle "for democracy" in South Vietnam. As described by the *Japan Times*, one film showed government soldiers attacking a guerrilla stronghold, including scenes of "beheading, cutting off of fingers, the execution of an old farmer pleading for his life, as well as scenes of South Vietnamese soldiers walking around with severed heads in their hands." After a wide outcry, the network decided to "modify" the films.

**Nigeria Witch Hunt Fails**

The Nigerian left is celebrating a court victory involving Celestine Bassong, who was charged with being a member of the UPC (Union des Populations du Cameroun), Ataturk Ananaba, first secretary of the Nigerian Labor Party, and Eskor Toyo. They were charged with running an unlawful society with the sole aim of overthrowing the pro-imperialist government of Cameroun. In court the police gave as evidence, not bombs, rifles, or such equipment, but ink, soap, starch, plus two or three letters. The judge decided the police had failed to prove their case.

**Belgian Reformists Shaken**

The Belgian general elections of May 24 marked a major defeat for the reformist coalition government of the Social Christian (Catholic) and Social Democratic parties. Each lost some twenty seats in parliament. For the Social

Democrats it was the heaviest defeat in 72 years of parliamentary activity. The main gainers were conservative capitalist parties: the Liberals and the Volkunie (Flemish nationalists).

Despite the general swing to the right, however, the parties of the radical left increased their vote. This indicates that among the most conscious layers of the Belgian working class there was a shift to the left in reaction to the policies of sellout to the bosses that the Social Democratic party followed while in office.

The new left socialist party, which has been in existence only a few months and which ran in this election for the first time, won two seats, one in Liège and one in Brussels. The Communist Party increased its strength in the Chamber of Deputies from five to six seats and gained two in the Senate. Another member of parliament could have been won in Brussels if the pro-Peking Communists had joined an electoral bloc with the pro-Moscow party and the new left socialist party. And if all the groupings of the left had joined in an electoral bloc, 10 or 11 seats could have been won instead of the eight that were actually taken.

The left socialist elected from Liège is Professor Francois Perin of the Parti des Travailleurs Wallons, the less radical and more nationalist wing of the new party. In Brussels the member of parliament is Pierre Le Grève of the Union de la Gauche Socialiste.

The highest vote for the left was recorded in the workers' strongholds of the "red belt"

around Liège. This was the only area in the country where the gains of the Communist Party and the new left socialist party came close to equaling the losses suffered by the Social Democrats. In these districts the left bloc received 20 percent of the vote; in one case, 29 percent.

**Covering Latin America**

A new magazine called *Economía*, offering Spanish readers excellent bimonthly coverage of major political and economic developments in Latin America, is being published by students in the school of economics and political and social sciences at the University of Mexico. The most recent issue, for example, includes the following articles: an interview with Guatemalan guerrilla leader Antonio Marco Yon Sosa; "Cuba Tackles the Problem of Bureaucracy"; program of the Bolivian Workers Confederation; "Cuzco: Land or Death"; "The Development of the Armed Struggle in Venezuela." North American readers can subscribe for \$3.00 by writing *Economía*, Apartado Postal 70-191, Ciudad Universitaria, Mexico 21, D. F.

**Apartheid in the Morgue**

The insane lengths to which South Africa's apartheid, or system of racial oppression, goes can be seen from the fact that in South Africa it is illegal for a non-white medical student to dissect a white body, and he must leave the room when a post-mortem is performed on a white corpse.

## FREEDOM FIGHTERS

## Martin Widelin, Anti-Fascist

By George Breitman

When my mind turns to Germans and World War II, I think not only of Adolf Hitler, but also of Martin Widelin, German revolutionist and internationalist.

Widelin was still alive when I reached France as an army draftee in June, 1944. I never met him because he was murdered by agents of the Gestapo in France the next month, on July 22.

Although I learned about him only after his death, everything I heard convinced me he was one of the more remarkable figures of the revolutionary movement of our time.

Martin Widelin was born in Berlin, around 1913 — about a year before the first world war. He joined the revolutionary movement at the age of 15, and served as a youth organizer in Berlin until he was 20. Then the Nazis came to power and wiped out all working class and radical movements.

For the next five years young Widelin remained in Germany, trying, behind the cover of sports organizations, to build an underground movement against Hitlerism.

In November, 1938, with the Gestapo on his tail, he had to flee his native country. He got away to Belgium, where he joined the Belgian section of the Fourth International, which had recently been founded under the leadership of Leon Trotsky.

The war began and Belgium soon was occupied by German armies. Widelin joined in the task of reconstructing, first the Belgian, then other European sections of the Fourth International. Elected to the Belgian party's central committee in June, 1941, he was put in charge of the party's revolutionary propaganda among the German occupation troops.

One of his first successful actions was the publication of a manifesto denouncing the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union — and its distribution among German soldiers in France and Belgium.

Thereafter, in cooperation with other members of the Fourth International, Widelin, under the



Martin Widelin

pseudonym "Paul," began to build revolutionary cells inside the German armed forces and to knit them together into a network that extended back into Austria and Germany itself.

The Gestapo considered this activity so alarming that it sent a special commission to Paris to wipe it out.

In a single German unit, more than 30 soldiers were executed as "Trotskyists" after a stool pigeon had wormed his way into their midst.

Hatred of Nazism was widespread in Europe, and struggle against it in various ways grew as the war proceeded. But the activities of Widelin's group were unique: they were conducted in the spirit of internationalism, not of narrow anti-Germanism.

Widelin and his comrades did not unite with and subordinate themselves to agents of Allied imperialism, as most resistance groups did. They did not content themselves with sticking a knife into the ribs of German soldiers at night.

Their aim was higher, and harder: to undermine the German forces from within, and in the process to organize German sol-

diers so that they would unite with the masses of the occupied countries on a revolutionary basis against their common oppressors. They believed that fraternization was the only method through which the struggle against Hitlerism could have a successful revolutionary outcome.

It is not surprising that the German authorities put a higher price on Widelin's head than on many Allied generals.

In February, 1944, Widelin helped organize the European conference of the Fourth International, bringing its forces together for the first time since they had been dispersed or destroyed at the start of the war. He was elected to the European executive committee of the International.

Under its direction he began his outstanding accomplishment — the publication of an illegal German paper dedicated to spreading the spirit of internationalism, fraternization and anticapitalism among the German soldiers.

The paper was named *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier). Printed underground in France, copies reached even distant German garrisons in Italy. Despite numerous raids, the Gestapo was never able to discover the press on which *Arbeiter und Soldat* was printed.

But on July 13, 1944, "Paul" and a comrade, Marguerite Baget, were captured by agents of the French Gestapo — SPAC (the Anti-Communist Police Bureau). They were tortured horribly for eight days and then, on July 21, turned over to the German Gestapo. Marguerite Baget was sent to the concentration camp at Ravensbruck. Widelin was murdered by the German Gestapo the next day.

The Martin Widelins tried to organize the overthrow of Nazism by Germans in collaboration with revolutionists in other countries. As is well known, they did not succeed. If they had, all of Europe would quickly have reorganized itself on a socialist basis, and imperialism would be a small minority today, or a thing of the past.

## 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 would socialists do about the problem of automation?

The introduction of automatic machinery and computers into factories and offices often results in workers finding themselves without jobs. At the minimum this replacement of workers by machines presents a hardship on the workers affected, who have to go out and find new jobs, often at less pay because their skills are no longer needed. In some cases, as in the Kentucky coal mines, automation has resulted in severe poverty for whole communities where no other work is available.

But why should this be? Doesn't automation mean that goods that human beings need and enjoy can be produced more cheaply, with less back-breaking human labor? Shouldn't it result in increased happiness and greater human welfare? You would think automation would mean these things, but under capitalism it turns out differently.

The capitalists own and control the economy. They make the decision whether to automate or not, and they make this decision on the basis of what would be the most profitable to them — that's what the "profit system" means.

## Profits Above All

Capitalists automate in order to reduce costs. Automation enables the capitalists to cut their wage bill by replacing workers with machines. This helps capitalists to maintain their profits in competition with other capitalists — and, incidentally, happens to be a hardship or worse on the workers. But under capitalism the profits of the capitalists come first, above everything, and if "doing what is necessary" for the good of the capitalists results in misery for the

workers, well, that's just the breaks.

Socialists believe that human welfare is more important than capitalists' profits, and so they approach the question of automation from the opposite viewpoint.

Automation could be used to benefit the workers, who are the vast majority of the people. For example, instead of introducing automation in order to fire workers, why not spread the reduced workload among them, with no reduction in pay? This is the idea contained in the demand "30 hours of work for 40 hours pay."

## "30 for 40"

The capitalists, and their Democratic and Republican spokesmen, are dead set against the idea of a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay, because that would cut into their profits. The fact that a shorter workweek would eliminate unemployment is of secondary concern to them. When there is a choice between their profits and the welfare of the people, the bosses and their parties can be counted on to choose the former.

The AFL-CIO leaders are on record in favor of a shorter workweek, but haven't put up a fight for it because to do so, they would have to stop supporting the Democratic Party which is opposed to the shorter workweek. The demand for a shorter workweek is a political as well as economic demand, one that requires legislation to effect. To put up any kind of a fight at all for this demand and others, labor will have to build its own political party.

Workers can begin to fight right now, while we still have capitalism, for the shorter workweek with no reduction in pay — for a "sliding scale" of hours to spread the work enough to maintain full employment. Workers can begin to fight now for other things connected with the problem of automation under capitalism, such as unemployment compensation at full union wages for the full period of unemployment, and an extensive retraining program for every worker displaced by automation. Fighting for these things will help the workers understand that the root problem is not with the automatic machines, but with the system of private profit for the few called capitalism. They would begin to see the necessity for socialism.

## Soviet Example

In a socialist, planned economy, automation would be used for the benefit of everyone. In the planned economy of the Soviet Union today, even though there are distortions in the system introduced by the dictatorial bureaucracy, automation doesn't result in unemployment but in higher production and lower hours.

Every advance in automation under socialism will open the possibility to further reduce the workweek, and thereby give the workers more free time for themselves, to better their health, education and general cultural level. It could also be used to increase the number and decrease the cost of products. Or, displaced workers could be trained to open up new branches of industry.

Exactly what combination of these blessings of automation would be used in any circumstance would be decided democratically by the workers themselves. Automation would then mean what it obviously should mean: an increase in the general well-being, culture and freedom of man.

—Barry Sheppard

## The Arrangements of Providence

By Frederick Douglass

[Frederick Douglass (1817-1895), the great Abolitionist, escaped from slavery at the age of 21, and spent the following decades organizing for the abolition of slavery. In his early speeches

he frequently infuriated the slaveholders and their clergymen by imitating, in tone, style and gesture, the morality they taught the slaves in their sermons. The language may be outmoded today, but not the ideology. The first selection from these imitations is taken from *Frederick Douglass* by Frederic May Holland; the second from *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. I, edited by Philip S. Foner.]

A slaveholder, preaching to an audience of slaves on the text, "Servants, be obedient to your masters," would say:

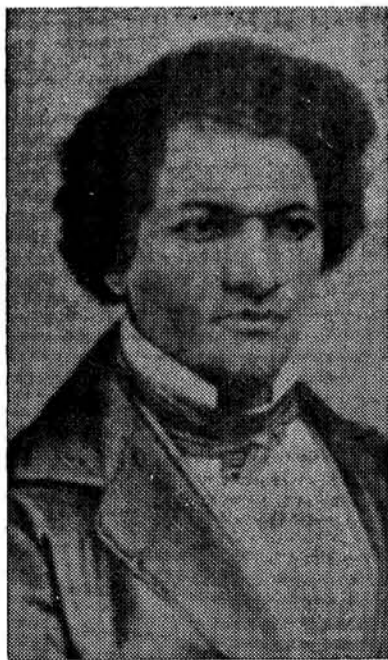
"The Lord in His Providence sent pious souls over to Africa — dark, heathen benighted Africa — to bring you into this Christian land, where you can sit beneath the droppings of the sanctuary and hear about Jesus! The Lord has so established things that only through the channel of obedience can happiness flow.

"For instance, Sam, the other day, was sent out by his master to do a piece of work that would occupy about two hours and a half. At the expiration of that time, Sam's master went out; and lo! and behold! there lay Sam's hoe in one place, and Sam in another, fast asleep!

"The master remembered the words of Scripture: 'He that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.' So Sam was taken up and whipped, so that he was disabled from doing any work for

the short space of three weeks and a half. 'For only through the channel of obedience can happiness flow!'"

They, the ministers, would take a text — say this: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." And this is how they would apply it. They would explain it to mean, "slaveholders, do unto slaveholders what you would have them do unto you;" and then looking impudently up the slave's gal-



Frederick Douglass

## Must Reading

## Inside the Cuban Revolution

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A Marxist analysis of conflicting tendencies and forces within the Cuban Revolution.

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# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## Demonstration in Rome

Rome, Italy

On May 20, Rome was witness to a popular demonstration for peace and liberty for Santo Domingo and Vietnam. The demonstration took the form of a march starting at the Piazza Repubblica and ending at the Colosseum. Thousands of marchers carried signs denouncing the acts of Yankee imperialism and the complicity of the Italian govern-

ment with those acts. "The West is Christian but . . . it kills . . . the West is Christian?" "Hiroshima 1945 — 1965?" "Peace, land and liberty" — were some of the slogans represented.

The marchers chanted, "Johnson, executioner!" and sang revolutionary songs of the Resistance as they marched. Husbands could be seen marching with their wives. Many of the marchers were grimaced. The "Dolce Vita" set were not represented here. A truckload of Iranian students passed by, victims of one of the "free" world's more despotic regimes. Another truck carrying youth singing partisan songs appeared.

Ringling the line of the march, and stationed in considerable numbers at various points, were members of the national guard armed with gas masks and pistols, reminding one what all repressive regimes have in common — large and well-armed police forces. The police did not hamper the demonstration but kept it within its preannounced limits. One surmised that the police legions served as a warning to those who might have tendencies to express themselves beyond the point of official tolerance.

The marchers wound their way around the Colosseum and congregated at the Basilica adjacent to Caesar's Forum to sing and hear speeches. Among the songs sung was "We Shall Overcome." After the singing came some speeches pledging solidarity with the *partigiani* (partisans) of Vietnam and Santo Domingo. Underneath the speaker's platform a large paper facsimile of the flag of the United States was appended. Superimposed across the flag was the word *vergogna* (shame). For some reason, during the speech-making the flag was removed. This act was an offense to the people and they protested long and loudly.

E.B.

## An American in Rome

Rome, Italy

It's truly exciting visiting here. Picture this — marching in a Peace in Vietnam protest parade with a few American students in a sea of thousands of Italians, the Americans singing "We Shall Overcome" as the parade went by the Colosseum!

B.H.

## Rep. Conyers on Vietnam

Detroit, Mich.

Earlier this week I heard Donna Allen of the Women Strike For Peace praise Michigan Congressman John Conyers for his courage in voting against President Johnson's \$700 million special appropriation for the war in Vietnam. If Mrs. Allen gave anyone the impression that Mr. Conyers is an opponent of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, this should be corrected.

In his speech on the appropriation, which appeared in the Congressional Record, May 5, 1965, Congressman Conyers had the following to say: "Throughout the Kennedy administration our policy was to confine our activities to South Vietnam because that was where the problem was located . . . Our involvement in South Vietnam was based on the fact that we were asked for assistance by the government there for help in dealing with a revolution. We agreed to support that government with funds, equipment, and military

advisers because we felt that it was consistent with our national self-interest to assist in the defeat of the Vietcong rebels . . .

"Recent pronouncements of our government have not convinced me that the basic analysis and policy of the Kennedy administration is incorrect . . ."

Conyers is against the present policy of bombing North Vietnam. But he believes it is perfectly okay for the U.S. to send troops, arms and money to "help in dealing with a revolution" in South Vietnam.

Robert Himmel

## A Bouquet

Los Angeles, Calif.

The Militant's coverage of the Dominican Republic has been excellent. The best of any periodical.

T.F.

## Appeal from Mississippi

Indianola, Miss.

Friends and supporters of the Sunflower County freedom movement:

Your financial help is needed to keep the freedom movement alive in this Mississippi Delta county. A decision was handed down by the northern district federal court a month ago ordering that Negroes be registered according to the same standards required of whites. (This injunction will last only one year.) Since then, we have been conducting a massive voter registration drive. We have expanded into areas in the county which we had previously only touched. The response has been good in some

areas. Some 800 Negroes have passed the test over the past few weeks. But there are 13,000 eligible Negro voters in the county, so there is a lot more work to be done.

In December of this year, the municipal election will be held in Indianola. All persons who register before September will be allowed to vote, provided something is done about the poll tax, either through the voting rights bill or through a court suit. Assuming that there will be something done, Negroes stand a good chance of winning some posts in this election.

There are about 1,200 white voters in the city and about 2,000 Negroes eligible to vote. Of these, about 100 were registered before the court injunction and about 250 in the month since. So if we can register about 900 more Negroes this summer, Indianola, "the stronghold of segregation in the Delta," may be the first town in Mississippi to have Negro municipal officials.

To be effective in reaching many of the Negroes who live in rural areas all over the county, we must have tools to work with. These tools really boil down to cars, which often need repair, gas to operate the cars, and some small subsistence for workers who are not supported by SNCC or some other civil rights organization.

You can aid the right of the Mississippi Negro to register and vote by pledging your support to our efforts. Our needs are great and our resources are scarce. If you

want to help, send contributions to: P.O. Box 30, Indianola, Miss. WE SHALL OVERCOME.

John Harris

## Yesterday and Today

Newark, N.J.

When I hear the Northern members of the power structure talking in support of voting rights for black people in the South, I somehow hear the voice of the slaveholder of old who couldn't understand why other slaveholders feared his slaves going to church. His thinking probably ran like this:

"Ah can't understand an owner denying the privilege of congregatin' and prayin'. It ain't Christian! Why, my blacks are happy and less likely to run away when they can sing and hallelujah about crossing the 'River Jordan' into Beulah land. They work better. Ma plantation will show a fine profit this year. Ma Nigras have lost their own, African, rebel heathenism — there's only OUR RELIGION!"

The Northern politician today might put it this way:

"I just can't understand anyone denying Negroes the right to vote. It ain't democratic! Why, even where they have the vote, nothing much has changed. We still make handsome profits from the tenements, the numbers racket, whiskey, dope, and cheap labor (when we hire them). Sure, they're singing 'We Shall Overcome,' but that ain't like independent political action — Negroes are still voting OUR PARTY!"

Lawrence Stewart

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

### BITTER LABOR STRUGGLES CONTINUE IN THE SOUTH

The class struggle has by no means quieted down in the South. Dozens of battles are being waged and strikers are being subjected to police and hired-thug terrorism.

The ten-state strike of Greyhound Bus drivers advanced a step when the company, which for two months refused even to meet with the union, consented to negotiate. This occurred after the strikers had voted emphatically against a company "offer" made — not to the union — but by mail to the men individually. The vote was more than 600 against and one for. Not a single Greyhound bus has operated in the struck areas. The AFL Motor Coachmen recently held a strike meeting in Winston-Salem, N. C. Over 300 strikers attended though many had to come from as far as Florida and Ohio.

In Miami the AFL Hotel workers are suffering heavily from a blizzard of court injunctions which order pickets away from one hotel after another. The union has asked for a Senatorial investigation of alleged collusion by the Hotel Association against individual owners who would like to settle. — June 13, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

UNION WAR VETS PROTEST TERRORISM AGAINST NISEI — Los Angeles — Auto workers, veterans of World War II, have issued a sharp condemnation of terroristic attacks against Japanese-Americans on the West Coast and demanded that enforcement officers bring an end to the campaign of threats and violence.

The action was taken in a resolution passed by veterans of the present war who are members of the United Auto Workers, and was adopted by the Los Angeles District Auto and Aircraft Council on May 25.

The resolution points out that "a jury in Placer County, California, acquitted three persons accused of using rifles and other means of force to discourage the return of Japanese-Americans to their former homes."

It states that "we, the undersigned, veterans of World War II, strongly condemn this lawlessness" and calls upon the governors of California, Oregon and Washington to "take public steps to prevent further recurrences of this incident." It also demands that police be instructed to carry out their duty of protecting the residents of their various communities. — June 16, 1945.

## It Was Reported in the Press

### What We're Fighting For in Vietnam

Attempting to describe the utter decay of the South Vietnamese ruling class, New York Herald Tribune correspondent Beverly Deepe reported an incident described to her by the wife of a Western diplomat: "The wives of embassy officials had voluntarily presented furniture, clothing and toys to a local orphanage. 'Several days after we handed over the goods, one of the embassy wives returned to the orphanage,' the lady explained. 'We were astonished to find the officials had even taken the toys out of the hands of little orphans. The toys were nowhere to be found.'"

steel chairs are stacked with black patent leather cushions and the eight windows have Venetian blinds with mirrored louvres . . . 'Yes, I guess we're frightfully rich,' sighs Alexander Plunket Greene."

**A Really Helpful Hint** — The French government tourist office in Canada has issued a booklet offering hints to Canadians on how to avoid being mistaken for an American when visiting France. We don't know if they're available at the French government tourist office in the U.S.

**No Sale** — Advertising man Charles Adams told a group of marketing specialists that the highly touted American youth market is a "rosy myth." He pointed out that 60 percent of the heads of households who are under 25 earn less than \$5,000 a year and that 36 percent of the nation's unemployed are in the under-25 age bracket.

**Want Profits to Be Healthy Too** — Senator Russell Long disclosed that a drug firm had sought to charge an exorbitant price for use of a patent developed largely at taxpayers' expense for quickly diagnosing a disease known as

PKU which causes mental retardation. Long told the Senate that the Ames Division of Miles Laboratories had sought to charge \$262 for testing kits similar to those produced by various states for \$6 each.

**Darwin Confirmed** — Darwin's finding that man and ape share a common ancestry was given a new boost with the report from the Bronx Zoo that gorillas sit transfixed in front of a TV set. Taken from their outdoor summer cages and confined to small winter ones, it was found that TV shows (particularly the action type) had a strong tranquilizing effect on them. Interesting new light may have been thrown on the question of which of the ape family have the highest I.Q. A group of orangutans in an adjoining cage didn't show the slightest interest in any of the TV shows.

**Nothing But People** — Thailand's Foreign Minister Kohman says guerrilla strength in South Vietnam is overrated. "They are weak militarily and economically," he said. "The only thing they seem to have is people."

—Harry Ring

### War on Poverty

The Office of Economic Opportunity, staff headquarters of Johnson's War on Poverty, has planned a staff of 1,150. The five top jobs, listed as "Executive Pay Act" positions, are: Director, \$30,000 per year; Deputy Director, \$28,000; First Assistant Director, \$27,000; Second Assistant Director, \$27,000; Third Assistant Director, \$27,000. On lower echelons, the staff will include nine assistants at \$24,000 each; 11 at \$21,445; 20 at \$18,935. Total pay for the gang is almost \$1 million.

**A Wistful Story** — Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Plunket Greene of London have piled up a fortune as fashion designers. The Plunket Greenses were the subject of a recent New York Herald Tribune column by Eugenia Sheppard. Describing their London apartment, she writes: "They've just finished doing a mad, black and white dining room. It has a white patent leather floor applied with daisies. Circular white banquettes and

## Thought for the Week

"We actors . . . tend to live in a world of our own . . . and in general we cultivate an 'artist's immunity' to the outside world. It seems to me that this is a mistake that we make. Do you become less of an artist because you refuse to accept inflation, war and lynching? I don't think so. We can't turn to the theater page first." — The late Judy Holliday.

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## Racists Mobilize to Crush Union

## Miss. Negroes Press Farm Strike

JUNE 8 — Plantation owners and white officials in Mississippi's Delta are mobilizing to crush the farmworkers strikes in the area quickly, before they spread further and get national support. The strikes, which began last month, are the first major attempt to organize farmworkers in the area since the 1930's when efforts by the Southern Tenants Farmers Union were suppressed by violence.

Some individual AFL-CIO unionists have joined with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Delta Ministry staff of the National Council of Churches to assist the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, which is leading the strikes. But there is no evidence of the massive financial and direct support from the AFL-CIO, the Industrial Union Department, and the Teamsters Union which could make the difference between success and defeat. A number of major unions — such as the Teamsters, the National Maritime Union and the railroad brotherhoods — are directly involved in shipping machinery, fertilizer and cotton in and out of the area, and would be in a position to give immediate practical aid to the beleaguered strikers.

## "Outside Agitators"

After strikers on the Andrews plantation near Greenville were evicted trustees from nearby Washington County jail were impressed to move the strikers' furniture onto the highway. Offers from other planters to supply labor to break the strike have poured into the Andrews plantation.

The planters claim the strikes are due purely to "outside agitators" stirring revolt among otherwise contented people. But planters have been eliminating jobs and cutting wages. B.F. Smith, executive vice president of the businessmen's Delta Council, said he expected the need for hand labor would be gone in five years as chemical weed killers and cotton



Fannie Lou Hamer

picking machines are perfected. Machine and tractor drivers, who receive about \$6 per day when they work, are also among the strikers. Often they are heads of families who are able to get by only because the wife and children do seasonal hand labor at around \$3 per day and less.

"These colored people are not abused in any way," said R. A. Ingram, owner of the 4,000 acre Daybreak Plantation in Leland, "but the way they're abusing us is just shameful."

TRIBBETT, Miss., June 4 — Some 100 tenant farmworkers were evicted from the plantation owned by A. L. Andrews and W. B. Andrews here May 31. The workers, members of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU), had persisted in asking for a \$1.25 an hour wage.

Two days later the Andrews brothers obtained an injunction against the evicted strikers who were picketing the plantation. It limits pickets to four at a time,

says they have to use small signs, says they can't use loud language, and gave the Andrews the right to throw the pickets' possessions off the land.

The strikers lived on shacks on the plantation and worked for an average pay of \$3.00 per day. Now they are planning to put up a tent city to house their families. The land for the tent city is being donated by a Negro grocery store owner and others.

Mississippi State Highway Patrolmen have been called out to watch the pickets. One striker was shot at by Mrs. Lindsay, the wife of the agent on a neighboring plantation. She was taken into custody, but released when the Justice of the Peace refused to press charges. In nearby Shaw, where the union was first organized, several union officials have been arrested. They are being held on charges of "malicious trespass," for talking to fellow workers in the fields to attempt to persuade them to leave their jobs.

INDIANOLA, Miss., June 5 — Fifteen cotton choppers (weeder) walked off Senator James O. Eastland's plantation in Doddsville near here to participate in a strike in Indianola. They are the first workers to leave Sen. Eastland's land. There are now over 400 workers on strike in Sunflower County and over 1,000 on strike in the Delta.

The same scene is repeating itself in many counties in Mississippi. Negroes who have been harassed all their lives are finding the courage to stand up and speak out against the injustices done to them and their families. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party told a strike rally: "What these people are doing here is the most important thing that has happened in Mississippi. It's something we've all wanted to do for a long time, but they are the first who have had the guts to do it."

## PROTEST AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

## SANE Rally Fills Madison Square Garden

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, June 9 — Madison Square Garden was filled last night by a rally against the war in Vietnam. There were 17,500 present according to the management of the Garden and following the rally, some 5,000 of the audience marched across town to the United Nations.

In contrast to other recent protest demonstrations which were composed largely of students, this audience, which paid from \$1 to \$10 for tickets, was largely middle-aged. The fact that the hall was filled in spite of minimum advance preparation for the meeting is further indication that President Lyndon B. Johnson's foreign policy is not popular.

The meeting was sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and some 30 other organizations. Speakers included Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Dr. Benjamin Spock, the child-care specialist; Bayard Rustin, pacifist and civil rights leader; and Norman Thomas.

University of Chicago Professor Hans Morgenthau, who represented administration critics at the National Teach-In last month, was a principal speaker. He said the bombing of North Vietnam was useless as well as wrong because it is common knowledge in Washington that "80 to 90 percent of Vietcong arms are captured from the U.S., or more particularly sold

to the Vietcong by the Saigon soldiers."

Professor Morgenthau said a central reason for ending the war is that it is an unjust war which "will eat into our moral fibre, brutalize us."

Senator Wayne Morse was given standing ovations both before and after speaking. "There's been a lot of talk about defending freedom in Vietnam," he said, "but there hasn't been an hour of freedom in South Vietnam since the first U.S. involvement."

President Johnson's consensus on Vietnam, he said, "is not a consensus of our people nor even the community of nations; it is a consensus among the State Department, Defense Department, Central Intelligence Agency and the White House staff." He said if the present policy continued there would be hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of U.S. troops fighting in Asia within months. "I predict," Morse continued, "that they will continue to widen and expand this war unless the American people rise up to stop them."

## A Father's Question

Another speaker was M. L. Thorne, of South Dakota, whose son, First Lieutenant Joseph L. Thorne, was killed last April when his helicopter was shot down in Vietnam.

"Can anyone tell me why?" the father demanded. "I for one

am severely wondering just who or what the enemy is. Are the Vietnamese people our enemy? Or is it the right of the Vietnamese people to a free election?" He said both he and his son were anti-communist, but that his son had written from Vietnam that the war could not be won with arms. His son had written him after the bombing of hotel lobbies in Saigon and said: "If the Vietnamese people cared, it couldn't happen."

## Student Spokesman

Clark Kissinger, chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society and organizer of the April 17 March on Washington against the Vietnam War, spoke briefly. "If we are to end the war in Vietnam," he said, "we must understand why the administration is incapable of any response to the Vietnamese revolution other than spiraling counter-revolution." More than Vietnam, Kissinger said, "our problem is America. The war in Vietnam is rooted deep in the American system and the only way we can root it out is with a political movement to change the system."

Kissinger's views on this question echoed those expressed at the April 17 March on Washington by Paul Potter, president of SDS. Potter, too, stressed the need for developing a more fundamental approach to the problem of fighting war by attacking the social system that breeds it.

## DeBerry Raps Lindsay As Phony on Race Issue

NEW YORK, June 8 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, attacked Republican John Lindsay's phony efforts to present himself as a "good government" alternative to Wagner and as a candidate who was "for the people."

In a statement issued here today, DeBerry pointed out that Lindsay has come out against busing students as a method of integrating the schools. "This is not just a matter of differences on methods to end segregation," the SWP candidate declared. "The racists have mobilized around the issue of busing children. It's become a symbolic question. In coming out against busing, Lindsay was letting the racists know that he's O.K. He was telling them that all his talk about being for the minority peoples was just window dressing, necessary to get votes."

DeBerry then went on to point out how bad the record of the Democratic administration in New York was on the issue of education.

"Figures recently released by the Board of Education itself show that there are 18 more segregated schools now than a year ago. There are twice as many now as seven years ago," DeBerry said.

He pointed out that the greatest increase in school segregation had been for elementary school children. "In 1957 the Board of Education classified 63 elementary schools as segregated. They defined a segregated school as one where over 90 percent of the students are non-white. In 1963, at the time of the first school boycott, the number of segregated schools had risen to 134, and last year the number of segregated elementary schools rose to 148.

## Democrats' Record

"These facts demonstrate that Wagner, the Board of Education and the city administration have done nothing to improve the educational system. Instead, they have allowed it to get worse," DeBerry declared.

"What the voters must ask themselves is: why has this happened? And they must understand that segregation will worsen

## Chicago Board Refuses To Act Against Doctor Who Stood Up to HUAC

A civil liberties victory was won on June 2 when the Chicago Board of Health declared that there was "no valid reason" to fire Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, an internationally known heart specialists who defied a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in Chicago on June 3.

Stamler did not take the Fifth Amendment. He openly challenged the validity of the committee by refusing to testify before it. Previously he had filed an unsuccessful suit in court to halt the hearings on the basis of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision enjoining Louisiana's own state version of HUAC from harassing the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

A special meeting of the board voted unanimously not to fire Stamler "in the absence of any proof that Dr. Jeremiah Stamler had behaved improperly at any time while in the employ of the Chicago Health Department, and at the present time, and in his appearance" before the subcommittee. It took no action in the case of Dr. Stamler's assistant, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, who also walked out of the hearing.

whether there are Democrats or Republicans in City Hall.

"The situation will not change until an administration is put in office which represents the Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other working people. Such an administration would act on the principle of equality of education for all. That would mean, first of all, an end to segregation. It would mean the same amount of money would be spent on the education of each child. There would be equal facilities, and the same quality of teaching throughout the system.

"There would be many more Negro principals and teachers, especially in those schools that are predominantly black.

"Afro-American history and African history would be taught in every school in the city. Students are being given a racist education right here in New York, and the lack of an honest treatment of Afro-American and African history plays a big part in that process of miseducation," said DeBerry.

## Nelson Algren Backs Three Indiana Students Indicted for 'Sedition'

Nelson Algren, author of *The Man With the Golden Arm* and *Walk on the Wild Side*, has recently become a sponsor of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. Support continues to grow for the Indiana University students, Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and Jim Bingham, who were indicted in 1963 under the Indiana "Anti-Communism" Act. Over 900 professors and other prominent persons have become sponsors of CABS.

Other new sponsors include: Thomas W. White, Michigan state representative; Hilary Putnam, professor of philosophy at MIT; C. Sylvester Whitaker, Jr., associate dean of graduate students at UCLA; Ernest Mazey, executive director of the Michigan ACLU; and Sidney Lens, Chicago unionist and author.

The Faculty Council of the Chicago City Junior Colleges passed a resolution at their May meeting in support of the case, which states: "Be it therefore resolved: That the Chicago City Junior College Faculty Council viewing the action on the part of the State of Indiana as inconsistent with the principles of academic freedom, supports the action of the administration and faculty of Indiana in upholding the students' rights to a free discussion of controversial issues through student groups."



Tom Morgan