

# MUST GI'S KEEP DYING IN VIETNAM TO SAVE MILITARY DICTATORS?

By Fred Halstead

DEC. 22 — The latest coup in South Vietnam in which the facade of a civilian legislature was overthrown Dec. 19 adds another example to the overwhelming proof of the rottenness of the social and governmental structure the U.S. is trying to prop up there.

Once again the process of one group of greedy, bloodstained military commanders elbowing a similar clique aside has been repeated. Once again the new powers promise to pursue the war against the peasant revolutionaries. This is, after all, the only reason the U.S. props up the Saigon government. And that government gets support from nowhere else — certainly not from any significant section of the Vietnamese people.

The only people in South Vietnam who are willing to continue the slaughter of their fellow countrymen at the behest of foreign imperialists are the most brutal and corrupt militarists.

## Dirty War

It is to keep one or another group of these sticky-fingered butchers in power that American GIs are fighting in a dirty war that brings only dishonor, disgust and death.

This war can only be compared to the attempt of the French to hold on to North Vietnam and later to Algeria. It is a war which Americans, like the French in Algeria, are involved in tortures and mass killing of civilians in a futile attempt to repress a popular revolutionary uprising. It is a war which can only end in defeat for the U.S. troops as Algeria ended in defeat for the French, or in a nuclear holocaust which could destroy the world.

It is a war in which the U.S. governmental figures and military commanders involved have lied so blatantly to the American people that no reasonably informed person believes them anymore. In spite of all the claims of "gains" and "victories," it is now clear that Saigon controls only a small fraction of the country.

The most recent coup was immediately preceded by a week in which mass desertions to the rebels by Saigon troops occurred in three major battles. In the single battle in which the liberation forces captured the Anlao valley, over 400 Saigon troops were reported "missing."

In the latest round of musical chairs in Saigon a group of younger officers seized the power in the middle of the night. Their spokesmen are General Chanh Thi and Air Commodore Nguyen Cao Ky, commander of the air force.

(Continued on Page 2)



FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM. Part of the crowd that rallied at New York's Washington Square to demand end of war in Vietnam.

## Rallies in U.S. Demand: "Stop War in Vietnam!"

NEW YORK — A thousand people met in Washington Square here in one of a number of rallies held throughout the country Dec. 19 to demand a cease-fire order followed by withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

**CAUSE FOR ALARM. The subpoenas served on participants in the New York rally against the Vietnam war is a menace to everyone's civil liberties. See editorial, page 4.**

The meeting was sponsored by peace groups and a committee of clergymen, writers and professional workers. In contrast to other rallies sponsored by peace groups here in recent years which tended to avoid the Vietnam issue the dominant theme at this demonstration was unequivocal opposition to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war.

Members of the crowd, which included many students, carried signs reading: "Withdraw U.S. Troops from Vietnam," "Complete Withdrawal From Vietnam," "Bring the Boys Back from Vietnam," and "End the War in Vietnam." Speakers included the distinguished pacifist leader A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council, and Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party.

During the rally, three members of the May 2nd Committee,

a non-pacifist student group opposed to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, were served with subpoenas to appear before a city grand jury investigating last summer's social explosion in Harlem.

David McReynolds, field secretary of the War Resisters League and chairman of the rally, denounced the police for serving the subpoenas. He said he didn't agree with the May 2 Committee, but opposed the attack on its civil liberties.

Other cities where similar rallies were held included Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and San Francisco where folk-singer Joan Baez and State Assemblyman John Burton spoke.

A rally on the same theme was also held at the U.S. consulate in Toronto. It was sponsored by the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

## RACIST MERCENARIES NOT DOING WELL

# Anti-Tshombe Forces Gaining Ground

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Dec. 21 — The confident spirit in Washington and Brussels following the paratroop capture of Stanleyville Nov. 24 was largely dispelled last week by significant gains of the Congolese National Liberation Front forces. In two cities, the mercenary armies of U.S.-Belgian puppet Tshombe were being besieged by Congolese fighters — and most of the area previously terrorized by the mercenaries had been retaken.

The mercenary armies were reported to be trapped in Paulis and Bunia, two cities in the north-eastern Congo which are considered the military keys to the area. Meanwhile, according to the *New York Times*, the Congolese were beginning to receive arms and supplies from neighboring Sudan.

Equally unsuccessful were Tshombe's efforts to rally support for his and the imperialists'

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 28 - No. 47 Monday, December 28, 1964 Price 10c

## Meetings in Harlem Hear Malcolm X and Fannie Lou Hamer

By Ed Smith and David Herman

NEW YORK, Dec. 20 — Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and Malcolm X were the featured speakers at two rallies in Harlem, today. The first meeting was to kick off the drive here to support the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge of the seating of Mississippi Dixiecrats in Congress.

The second meeting was the regular Sunday night meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. The SNCC Freedom Singers, who had come along with Mrs. Hamer, performed at both meetings.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is demanding that Congress unseat five congressmen elected in November, on the grounds that they do not really represent the state of Mississippi, where hundreds of thousands of Negroes are prevented from voting.

Mrs. Hamer began her talk at the MFDP rally by recounting the shocking story of police harassment and brutality which she had told to the Democratic Party Credentials Committee at the Atlantic City Convention last August. Attacking the compromise proposal which had been cooked up by Johnson and Humphrey, she stated:

"We didn't have anything to compromise for — what good would two votes at large do us?" Mrs. Hamer pointed out that MFDP had appealed to the President and the Attorney General



Photo by SNCC

Fannie Lou Hamer

for protection in the South, but had got no response.

"They can't do a thing in the South," she commented, "but when a white man gets killed in the Congo . . . look what happens. I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired," she said. "This whole society is sick . . . I've never been a place where this man wasn't standing with his feet on the black man's head."

"Just taking a chance on trying to register to vote," she pointed out, "you can lose your job. You can be killed." Mrs. Hamer called

(Continued on Page 2)



A. J. Muste

### Don't Miss Our Next Issue

Our next issue will feature the complete text of the hard-hitting speech delivered by Cuba's "Che" Guevara at the UN Nov. 11 in the debate on the Congo issue.

# Abel Opens His Campaign For Steel Union Presidency

By Fred Halstead

I.W. Abel formally opened his campaign to replace David J. McDonald as president of the million-member United Steelworkers of America Dec. 19 with a policy statement. The key section reads: "So long as management is primarily concerned with profits, the interests of management and labor cannot be identical. We have great faith in the ability of management to analyze its own problem and propose intelligent solutions, and while we will not be unsympathetic, we believe the primary function of the union must be to represent the membership."

That's a pretty faint echo of the ringing call in the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." As a matter of fact, the Abel statement is just about the minimum that a union could subscribe to and still be a union. But this minimum statement of the basic role of a union is being reported as a "sharp attack" on McDonald and his policies.

## Class Collaboration

This is a commentary on just how far McDonald had gone down the primrose path of class collaboration. The Abel statement is an attack on the Human Relations Committee set up by McDonald and the corporations in 1959. This committee, composed of the top Steelworkers bureaucrats and management representatives was set up to meet almost any time to discuss "mutual problems" in a leisurely way and come to a meeting of minds. All this would take place long before the ranks and the secondary union leadership were even consulted about what bargaining demands were to be. Local problems were simply ignored. Formal collective bargaining became a rubber-stamp operation.

In effect, this nullified the threat of strike, the pressure of the union on management, and the pressure of the rank and file on negotiations.

## Strikes Old-fashioned

The theory behind the Human Relations Committee, as enunciated by McDonald and readily agreed to by the corporation heads, was that strikes in steel were really old-fashioned, and that if reasonable people could only talk things over in an atmosphere free of pressure, they could avoid that messy "crisis bargaining" which sometimes leads to a test of strength between the workers and the capitalists.

The truth, of course, is that steel — or anything else useful — is not produced by "labor and management representatives,"

## CORE Considers Idea Of Building Negro Union

The formation of Negro Unions is being considered by the Congress of Racial Equality, according to CORE National Director James Farmer. He said a pilot project is now underway in Boston, and depending on how it works out, the building of Negro unions may be encouraged in New York and elsewhere. Farmer said the possibility was being considered because of the policy of certain unions in excluding Negroes from skilled jobs, membership or apprenticeship program.

Farmer said that because certain locals — particularly in the building-trades craft unions — had excluded Negroes, it might be necessary to form new unions based on Negroes in those areas. If formed, he said, the new unions would be open to whites.



McDonald

nibbling smoked turkey and guzzling the finest booze in hotel banquet rooms. It is produced by people who work. And by and large they still work under the not-so-gentle goad of supervisors instructed to get as much work as they can, as cheaply as they can. This goading and chiseling — and the resistance to it — has been going on all the time at the point of production.

But the workers on that all-important but difficult spot have been at a distinct disadvantage without their union's backing in their day-to-day struggle with the supervisors, with the latest machines, with the chiseling plant managements, etc.

## \$50,000 Salary

For McDonald, who gets a yearly \$50,000 salary plus expenses and has one home in a Pittsburgh suburb and another in Palm Springs, Calif., the class struggle may indeed seem old hat. But his theory that the union and management have everything in common has cost the steelworkers a serious decline in wages and conditions relative to other industries in the last five years.

For his part, Abel has been the union's secretary-treasurer, and himself a member of the Human Relations Committee all this time. Until this campaign, he never uttered a public word of criticism. In a small way, his criticisms now have something of the character of Khrushchev's belated denunciations of Stalin. But whatever his reasons, Abel has chosen to appeal to the secondary union leaders and the rank and file by promising a more union-like policy.

## Clear Choice

In his statement, Abel declared: "We present the rank-and-file members with a clear choice between conscientious trusteeship — a devotion to the self-interest of the entire membership — and so-called mutual trusteeship, in which the union presumes to solve its problems while also serving management."

The fact that the election contest is taking place while the union is negotiating a new contract with the major steel corporations, has afforded the ranks a means of direct pressure on the negotiations for the first time in years.

This ounce of democracy is disturbing to the capitalist power structure. The financial journals are paying more attention to the situation than to any labor development in recent years. The Johnson administration is reported to be "concerned" and there is heavy buying of steel inventories as a hedge against a possible strike. A "crisis atmosphere" appears to be building up, and that's good, for there can be no gains for the workers without it.

Those most opposed to the theory of evolution usually have the most reason to fear it.

# Early Organizer Of Tobacco Union Dies in Florida

Donald Henderson, 62, a prominent early organizer of agricultural and cannery workers, died of a kidney ailment in Miami Dec. 12.

Henderson was an economics instructor at Rutgers and Columbia University in the mid-1920s. During this period he played a key role in the student and anti-fascist movements and was active in organizing the National Student Union and the American League Against War and Fascism. These activities led to his dismissal from Columbia.

He then devoted his efforts to the organization of agricultural workers, at that time completely unorganized in the U.S. Beginning by organizing workers in the truck farms of New Jersey, he established the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural workers union. The FTA under his leadership became one of the largest agricultural unions in the U.S., with a large membership of Southern Negroes and Mexican-Americans in southern California.

The deepening of the cold war, resulted in the expulsion of a large number of "left-wing" unions, including the FTA, from the CIO in 1950.

Henderson was an unco-operative witness at the McCarthy hearings in the 1950s and eventually had to become a salesman to earn a living. By 1958 the illness which eventually took his life forced him into complete inactivity.

## ... Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

They left premier Tran Van Huong in his seat, but ousted the "civilian legislature" that had appointed him. The window-dressing "civilian government" itself had been installed by military dictator Nguyen Khanh as a sop to the citizens of Saigon who expressed their opposition to military rule two months ago by massive street demonstrations.

This "civilian government" was a complete fraud, and was facing a Buddhist campaign of hunger strikes and noncooperation aimed at its overthrow, when the younger militarists made their rightist coup.

For the time being, U.S. Ambassador Maxwell Taylor is expressing displeasure with the new military regime. It is still unclear what will emerge as the next government. But this clique of young militarists know that if they can hang on for just a few months, each one of them can emerge a millionaire.

Last year the U.S. reportedly poured \$1½ million a day into the South Vietnamese war. The figure is now believed to be closer to \$2 million a day. The opportunity for the controlling figures in the Saigon apparatus to line their pockets with this U.S. tax money is virtually unlimited and it is hardly even denied that they take full advantage of it.

Thus, the real story of President Johnson's policy in South Vietnam is that GIs are laying down their lives in this dirty war to enrich and keep in power corrupt politicians and militarists whose only "merit" is that they keep the war going.

There is increasing evidence that the American people are becoming aware that there is something wrong with U.S. Government policy in Vietnam. In spite of the unrelieved barrage of propaganda from the commercial news media, and by almost every single capitalist politician, 20 per cent of those questioned in the latest Harris Poll favored U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Only 40 per cent favored continuing the present policy.

# Student 'Sedition' Case Argued in Indiana Court

By Jack Barnes

INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 15 — The Indiana Supreme Court heard oral arguments here today in the case of the Bloomington students. Tom Morgan, senior at Indiana U. in Bloomington and one of the defendants, was present at the hearing.

Jim Bingham and Ralph Levitt, along with Morgan, were indicted in 1963 under Indiana's anti-Communism law. Monroe County prosecutor Thomas Hoadley first had charges brought against the three students because of their participation in campus meetings of the Young Socialist Alliance. The three were officers of the YSA in Bloomington. At a preliminary hearing in March of this year, Judge Nat U. Hill of Monroe County (where Bloomington is situated) declared the law unconstitutional and quashed the indictments.

Hill's March decision was based on defense arguments presented by attorneys Leonard Boudin and Daniel T. Taylor III that the law was unconstitutional on three main points: 1) state sedition laws have been superseded by federal legislation; 2) the Indiana statute violated state and federal constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, association and assembly; 3) the law and indictments were unconstitutionally vague. They also pointed out that Hoadley's reply to a request for a bill of particulars indicated that he intended to prosecute for some vague, broadly defined "conspiracy," and not for the act of assembling dealt with in the law.

After Hill's decision in favor of the defense, Hoadley appealed to Indiana's Supreme Court, which resulted in today's hearing. Today Hoadley admitted that the law was unconstitutional as it stands because it dealt in part with sedition against the U.S. government as well as the state of Indiana. However he urged the judges to overlook the clauses



Tom Morgan

referring to the U.S. and to uphold the remainder of the law on the basis of "state's rights."

Leonard Boudin who, as general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, has won several of the precedent-setting cases in the field of state "subversion," pointed out the absurdity of trying to prove intent to overthrow the State of Indiana but not the federal government. Boudin also argued the other constitutional questions of freedom of speech, association and assembly. Taylor dealt with the law's vagueness which prevents defendants from knowing just what they are accused of.

The Indiana Supreme Court decision should be handed down early next year. One of the five judges disqualified himself since he had been in the Indiana legislature when the witch-hunt law was passed. A decision against Hoadley's appeal or a two-two tie would result in a victory for the defense and Judge Hill's ruling would stand.

# ...Meetings in Harlem

(Continued from Page 1)

for people to write their congressmen to support the MFDP challenge, and pointed out that even if they didn't get a fair shake, which they probably wouldn't, the campaign would expose the U.S. government before the whole world.

At the MFDP rally Malcolm X made a slashing attack on the Democratic Party. The black nationalist leader pointed out that the "mistake we make is letting the Northern crackers shift it over onto the Southern crackers.

"All of these crackers belong to the Democratic Party," Malcolm X observed, and he pointed to Mrs. Hamer and said, "Johnson or Humphrey could have opened their mouths and had her seated . . . Northern crackers smile in your face and knife you in the back."

"When you talk about one part of the Democratic Party," he stated, "you should talk about the whole. Wagner, Johnson, Eastland and Ray Jones [the Negro politician just made head of Tammany Hall] are all in the same party. "I'm not for anybody who's telling black people to be non-violent," Malcolm X stated, "we will never get our freedom non-violently."

The topic of the Sunday night OAAU rally was "Political Power in the Black Ghetto." Malcolm X declared it was necessary to study and understand the freedom struggle all over the world in order to win freedom here. Looked at in isolation, the American power structure seems invincible, he pointed out, but from a world perspective it doesn't seem that way at all.

He noted that most African and

Asian nations were turning away from capitalism toward some form of socialism. "You have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist," he said. "Show me a capitalist and I'll show you a blood-sucker."

Malcolm X pointed to the strategic importance and the riches of the African continent. He explained that the European economies depended on the exploitation of their African colonies, and that the United States and Europe had kept Latin America, Asia and Africa from industrializing to keep them as a source of cheap raw materials and a market for finished products.

Malcolm X introduced Mrs. Hamer as "the country's number one freedom-fighting woman." He said that the OAAU was "solidly behind any struggle of our people for freedom."

Mrs. Hamer gave a rousing, militant speech that drew warm applause from the Harlem audience. She spoke of her recent trip to Africa and said, "Yes, I love my African brothers and sisters." She added: "I'm not only concerned about the black people of Mississippi, but about the black people of Harlem, too." She thanked Malcolm X for his support.

The SNCC Freedom Singers followed Mrs. Hamer with two songs: one about Kenya's fighter for independence, Odinga Odinga, who visited them in Atlanta, and one about the Ku Klux Klan.

The Militant was singled out by Malcolm X in his concluding remarks as a newspaper worthy of the audience's support. "Why you would think it was printed in Harlem," he said referring to its coverage of the OAAU activities.

## Two Stool Pigeons Unveiled At SACB Hearing in Boston

BOSTON — The Subversive Activities Control Board continued its harassment of the Communist Party by holding a series of hearings here Dec. 10. The announced purpose of the proceedings was to determine whether four individuals are members of the Communist Party and guilty of failing to register with the U.S. Justice Department, under the notorious McCarran Act. The four are Ann B. Timpson, Otis A. Hood, Lewis Johnson, and Edward Teixeira.

Surprise witnesses were Elsie and Charles Piper of Beverly, Mass., who melodramatically revealed themselves as spies for the FBI for the last ten years inside the Communist Party. With "patriotic" zeal reminiscent of the notorious Herbert Philbrick and other informers, Mrs. Piper identified the four accused as members of the Communist Party.

### Paid \$31,000

She testified that she had been working for the FBI in the Communist Party since 1953. Her husband said that he joined the CP as a spy in 1956. For their services, the pair testified, they received a total of \$31,000 from the FBI.

Their duties consisted of writing monthly reports on the activity of the local CP organization. As part of their undercover activity they worked in peace groups, civil-rights organizations, and participated in other "subversive" activities.

Mrs. Piper said that the last Communist Party meeting she attended was last month and after the four received their notice that the SACB hearing was going to be held. This particular meeting that she attended was called to plan

defense strategy for the hearing. She claims that out of concern for legal fair play the FBI told her not to make a report on that meeting.

Under cross-examination Mrs. Piper admitted that during all the years that she was in the Communist Party she never heard violent overthrow of the U.S. government advocated. In a TV news interview that same day she stated that the American Communist Party seeks to achieve its goals within the present electoral process.

### "Evidence"

After hearing this, one wonders what kind of damaging evidence could be contained in the 29 volumes of monthly reports from the Pipers which the FBI is submitting as "evidence." While all 29 volumes are being admitted into evidence by the SACB, the defence counsel is being allowed to examine only a small portion of them purportedly because the FBI doesn't want to "endanger" its stoolpigeon network.

The current series of hearings demonstrates that the Johnson administration is proceeding full steam ahead with the witch hunt.

At least one organization saw fit to protest the hearings as an infringement of civil liberties. The Young Socialist Alliance maintained a picket line the first day of the hearings in an extremely hostile atmosphere. Self-styled "investigator" of left-wing organizations Gordon Hall and a stooge sought to bait the pickets by identifying them by name to the press and onlookers. The picket line included students from Harvard, MIT, Brandeis, and Boston University.

## ...Anti-Tshombe Forces Gain

(Continued from Page 1)

were mown down as we approached. And then we were in amongst them. They did not put up any fight. We just killed, until, by the time it was dark, we thought there was not one person left alive."

The delegate from Morocco, Dey Ould Sidi Baba, revealed the total hypocrisy of the U.S.-Belgian pretense that the attack on Stanleyville was necessary to protect the whites in the Congo from the Africans. He pointed out that Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak, him-

self, had admitted in the Security Council that the whites were not killed before the paratroop drop.

Baba quoted Spaak's testimony: "I have been told," Spaak said, "— and the argument carries a certain weight — that no one had been killed in Stanleyville before 24 November. This is true — or rather there was a single person killed."

In other words, every so-called hostage who was killed in the Congo — save one according to the Belgian Foreign Minister, was killed after the paratroop drop. All the racist propaganda spewed forth by the American press, the hysteria about the danger of "black cannibals," was phony to the core.

It is little wonder that African leaders have been incensed by the deliberate distortions in the American press about the Congolese events. To date, only one of the numerous speeches exposing the U.S.-Belgian attack has been printed in the *New York Times* — and that with serious omissions.

What the *Times* has not seen fit to print has been a vivid and documented account by prominent African diplomats of one of the most brutal acts of imperialist aggression in recent history — the slaughter of thousands of Congolese civilians.

### Freedomways Magazine To Hold N.Y. Benefit

NEW YORK — A holiday benefit for *Freedomways*, the quarterly journal devoted to the Negro freedom movement, will be held at the Village Gate on Sunday, Dec. 27, at 2 p.m. The program will feature Dick Gregory, John Coltrane, Max Roach, Abbey Lincoln, Bill Dixon, Len Chandler and many others. Tickets, at \$5.75 each, are available from *Freedomways*, 799 Broadway, Suite 542. Phone GR 7-3985.

## ALL THE WAY WITH LBJ

# Loss in Socialist Vote Pleases 'Worker'

By Harry Ring

The Communist Party, which claims to be working for socialism, is jubilant because the socialist vote declined in the 1964 elections.

The party's voice, *The Worker*, is equally joyful that Lyndon Johnson—whose hands are stained with the blood of the Vietnamese and Congolese people—racked up the biggest percentage of the vote ever won by any candidate for the presidency.

A news article in the Dec. 20 *Worker* emphasized: "Not only was Johnson's total vote as well as his plurality the largest on record but also the percentage of the total vote received was the largest ever received... The minor party vote was one of the smallest in history."

The minority vote is analyzed by staff writer Mike Davidow in an article in the same issue which is headlined: "Drop in Trotskyite Vote Rebukes Passive Policy on Goldwater Peril."

The article tries to prove that the decline in the Socialist Workers Party vote proves the correctness of the Communist Party line of supporting Johnson. (Actually, the SWP lost votes in New York but gained a bit in other states. See report on this in our last issue.)

### SWP Viewpoint

Davidow claims that the SWP saw "no difference" between the two major parties in the past campaign. This is deliberately crooked. Davidow knows this was not the SWP viewpoint since he put that very question to George Lavan, managing editor of *The Militant* at the *National Guardian's* New York election symposium. Lavan carefully explained to him just what the SWP view was — namely that there obviously were differences between the two parties in this campaign, but that the SWP considered it correct and necessary to provide a meaningful socialist alternative to both the "liberal" Johnson and the ultra-conservative Goldwater.

Throughout the campaign, the SWP emphasized the serious threat of the drift to the right expressed by the emergence of Goldwaterism. But it also explained that this process could not be fought effectively by supporting the "lesser-evil" Democrats whose zealous promotion of the cold war and witch-hunt was responsible for the drift to the right.

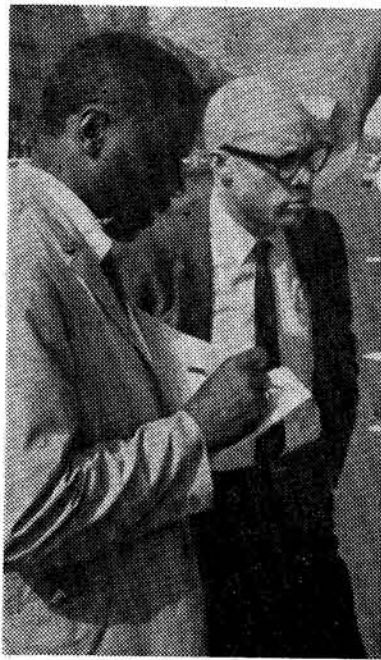
### Revolutionary Socialists

The SWP was well aware that its view was not accepted by the great majority of the working people, white and black, and it also realized that many socialist-minded people had accepted the lesser-evil theory in this election and intended to support Johnson against Goldwater.

But for revolutionary socialists, the fact that a particular stand may not be popular cannot be decisive. The great majority of the American people, for example, do not see the vital need for socialism to end the terrible evils produced by the capitalist system. But this does not lessen the urgency for those who do understand this fact to do everything they can to convince people of the correctness of their view.

For a political movement to do otherwise is an abandonment of principles — a course that leads to the betrayal of the needs and interests of the workers and exploited minorities. This, in fact, is precisely the treacherous course that the Communist Party has been guilty of for too many years now.

In the previously cited *Worker* news article, this boast is made: "The sharp decline in the Trotskyist vote is another measure of the fact that the electoral policy of the Communist Party was in this election also followed by the overwhelming majority of all others of the left."



CLIFFTON DeBERRY, interviewed by Harlem newsman.

This assertion reminded us of the scene in *City Lights* where Charlie Chaplin picks up a red flag that has fallen off the truck and, waving the flag runs after the truck to return it. At that moment a contingent of unemployed demonstrators come marching around the corner and Charlie finds himself leading the parade.

However, the analogy is not exact. The CP "vote-for-Johnson" line happened to coincide in this election with the lesser-evil view of many people. But the CP's flag was far from red.

It was in fact the same banner of political class-collaboration that the CP has been waving in virtually every election since 1936 when it abandoned the long-established socialist principle of independent political action to support Roosevelt.

### CP Record

The CP sat out the 1940 election because the Stalin-Hitler pact left it in a peculiar position. But it campaigned for Roosevelt in 1944. In 1948, at the outset of the cold war, it departed briefly from this line to support Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket, but in 1952, while giving formal support to the Progressive Party nominee, Vincent Hallinan, it in fact knifed his campaign to give back-handed support to that sanctimoniously fraudulent liberal, Adlai Stevenson.

Immediately after that election, the CP set about, successfully, to scuttle the American Labor Party in New York and the Progressive Party nationally in order to get its people back into the "mainstream," i.e., the Democratic Party.

In 1960 it supported Kennedy (In all of these cases without official endorsement, but through the device of campaigning against the "main-danger" Republicans.)

In 1964 it simply found itself in a position where it could present a more widely-accepted argument for its pro-Democratic position.

But even then the CP line did not coincide with that of many rights fighters, unionists and radicals who mistakenly accepted the view that it was necessary to support Johnson to stop Goldwaterism. These people, by and large, voted against Goldwater, not for Johnson. It was left to the labor bureaucracy, the top Negro officialdom and the Communist Party to paint up Johnson and the Democrats as genuine partisans of social progress.

When the Negro officials made their disgraceful proposal for a moratorium on demonstrations to avoid embarrassing Johnson, the proposal was greeted with dismay by virtually all in the movement who had a spark of militancy in them, including many who intended to vote for Johnson. It was left to *The Worker* to try to cover up the civil-rights officialdom by re-

porting their proposals not as one for a moratorium on demonstrations but simply as a proposal to concentrate on electoral activity.

The efforts of the CP to cover up Johnson's reactionary role were carried to their most ludicrous extreme after Johnson had ordered the bombing of North Vietnam and it was then disclosed that he was considering a second bomb attack. *The Worker* offered the editorial view that this suggested the possibility that a Goldwaterite "Fifth Column" had infiltrated the administration!

The meaning of whitewashing Johnson is indicated by an editorial in the same issue of *The Worker* which is so jubilant about the great vindication of its electoral policy. The editorial is a pitiful bleat that the Johnson administration's current decision to re-prosecute the Communist Party under the reactionary McCarran Act is a blow against the "mandate" Johnson was supposedly given in the election, and threatens that "all the other promises of the election mandate will be in jeopardy." As if Johnson ever promised anything else, in reality, than to continue the witch-hunt and cold-war!

No, the Communist Party may try to kid its remaining supporters that it won a victory in this campaign. But as the reactionary record of the Johnson administration unfolds the CP will be even more discredited than it already is. In fact the small but crucial minority of revolutionary-minded fighters against capitalist oppression who were not taken in by the lesser-evil theory recognize this already.

The attitude of such people was expressed by Malcolm X when he addressed a recent Paris meeting of an African organization. The militant black nationalist leader angrily declared that "people who call themselves Marxist... people who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected — because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And at that moment he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam!"

## Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO

By Art Preis

The dramatic story of the birth and establishment of mass industrial unionism comes to life in this comprehensive, swiftly-paced historical work by an outstanding labor and socialist journalist.

538 pp.  
\$7.50

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y. 10003

NEW YORK

# Malcolm X

Just Back from Africa

speaks on

## "1965: Prospects For Freedom"

Thursday  
8:30 p.m.  
Jan. 7

Palm Gardens  
310 W. 52nd St.  
(West of 8th Ave.)

Ausp.  
Militant Labor Forum

Contrib. \$1

# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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

Vol. 28 - No. 47 345 Monday, December 28, 1964

## Solution for the South

Anger and indignation among Negroes, civil-rights activists and among those who simply believe murder should be punished is mounting over the situation in Mississippi. The FBI's highly-publicized arrests of 21 people involved in the murders of the three civil-rights workers last summer in Philadelphia, Miss., apparently is not even going to result in indictments — let alone convictions.

This follows the failure to bring Medgar Evers' assassin to justice, the release of the McComb bombers, and countless other unpunished racist crimes.

Various proposals and demands are being made to deal with Mississippi's open flaunting of the law against murder. Elsewhere on this page we reprint a noteworthy example, which appeared as an editorial in the *Charleston [W.Va.] Gazette*, calling for federal troops to crush Mississippi's fascist-like power structure.

But there is little indication that the Johnson administration will take any decisive steps against the officially-encouraged killing of civil-rights workers in Mississippi. Johnson's political course apparently will be one of bringing the defecting Dixiecrats back into the fold, thus reuniting the Democratic Party.

If there were a government in Washington, truly representative of this country's workers, farmers and Negro people, things would be set right in Mississippi. Well-integrated troops would be sent to occupy the state, to arrest and bring to trial all those accused by Negroes of racist crimes. Negroes would be guaranteed the right to vote, sit on juries, hold office — including law-enforcement posts — and to form armed self-defense groups. Negro farm and factory workers would be protected in their right to form unions. In short, a workers' and farmers' government would set about introducing democracy in that blood-stained racist concentration camp.

## Cause for Alarm

New York's "liberal" Wagner administration is currently engaged in a dirty, dangerous witch-hunting game that should be cause for alarm for all those concerned with civil liberties, civil rights, peace and social progress.

Last summer, in response to Harlem's anti-police brutality outbreaks, the Wagner administration tried to conceal the real causes of that ghetto explosion behind a smokescreen about the "red menace." William Epton, a leader of one of New York's left-wing groups, the Progressive Labor Movement, was indicted under a relic on the statute books, the state "criminal-anarchy" law. The indictment was brought under the trumped-up claim that Epton's political activity in Harlem was, somehow, responsible for the outbreak.

Subsequently, five others who refused to act as informers for the grand jury were indicted on frame-up charges of perjury and criminal contempt.

Then, in a particularly scurrilous move last week, city officials served grand-jury subpoenas on three members of a peace group called the May 2nd Movement while they were participating in the Washington Square demonstration against the Vietnam war as is reported on page one of this issue.

Clearly, the purpose in choosing that time and place for serving the subpoenas was to smear the anti-war rally. Thus even such well known and generally respected peace spokesmen as Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph and others on the platform were shown not to be immune to the guilt-by-association tactics of the Wagner administration. Speakers at the rally properly declared that while they disagreed with the policies of the May 2nd Movement they were opposed to such attacks on it. It will be well for all concerned if many more people speak up on this issue — loud and clear.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
San Francisco	\$ 700	\$ 726	104
Boston	850	860	101
Denver	200	202	101
General	350	353	101
Allentown	150	150	100
Chicago	1,500	1,500	100
Cleveland	550	550	100
Connecticut	200	200	100
Detroit	900	900	100
Los Angeles	3,700	3,700	100
Milwaukee	300	300	100
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	1,200	100
Newark	150	150	100
New York	4,300	4,300	100
Oakland-Berkeley	700	700	100
Philadelphia	200	200	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
San Diego	400	400	100
Seattle	550	550	100
	\$17,000	\$17,041	100%

## AN UNUSUAL EDITORIAL

# Paper Demands Occupation of Mississippi

[The following, noteworthy editorial bears the title, "It's Time U.S. Soldiers Crush Mississippi Revolt." It appeared Dec. 5 in the liberal, border-state daily, the *Charleston Gazette*, which has been published in Charleston, West Virginia, since 1887. The boldface emphasis of certain sections appeared in the original. For our comment, see editorial on this page.]

Yesterday's mass arrests in Mississippi for what — let's face it, though the indictments don't say it — was the murder last summer of three civil-rights workers shocks, sickens and saddens.

**It shocks, because so many were apprehended for the brutal beatings and killings.**

**It sickens, because local law enforcement officials, elected and appointed to uphold the law, were very likely the ring leaders.**

**It saddens, because, even if these despicable examples of Southern manhood are guilty as accused (and let's face another fact, too: the odds are prohibitive they're guilty), they will never be convicted by a Mississippi jury, will never be punished for an atrocity that is no less outrageous than the barbarities committed by Hitler's black-booted sadists during the early days of the Third Reich.**

### Campaign of Terror

White Mississippi's callous, calculated, systematic campaigns of terror and of torture against Negroes have reached the point where extreme measures by the federal government are obviously called for.

The refusal of Mississippi authorities either to protect citizens who are black-skinned or to bring to justice those responsible for vile crimes against these citizens cannot continue to be tolerated by the rest of the nation.

Fundamental concepts of justice, of decency, and of humanity are at stake. The whole of American society is on trial, involved in these vicious acts of rabid racial prejudice. And it defies logic to suppose that Mississippi's experiment in totalitarianism can forever repudiate the laws of the sovereign nation.

Despite how vehemently and how frequently her leaders shout the contrary, Mississippi is not sovereign. She is beholden to the nation for her existence and for her right to exist. As such, she has obligations to the nation she cannot evade or contend do not exist.

**For the last five years, since Gov. Barnett, an incomparable**

**boob, was elected, and since his equally stupid successor has been in office, Mississippi's government has been in open rebellion against the national government. It has disregarded federal court orders. It has remained mute while rights of American citizens were torn to shreds. It has been the silent witness to murder and to ruthless oppression. Incredible as it may seem, the government has with public money and through legislative enactment actually assisted those organizations whose mem-**

bers have been the murderers and the agents of violence.

The rebellion in Mississippi must be put down.

Therefore, it is time the Congress and the President considered laws authorizing the federal government to occupy Mississippi, to throw out the incompetents and racial ruffians who have seized control, and to set about the business of curing a sick, sick society — so sick, indeed, that it is doubtful whether it has the strength and the resolve to cure itself.

## A FACTUAL SUMMARY

# Detroit Police Frame-Up

The following account of the incident around which Detroit's racist cops are attempting to frame up Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members and supporters (see story page 8) appeared in the Nov. 14 issue of Detroit's Negro newspaper, the *Michigan Chronicle*.

\* \* \*

Charges of improper police procedures, the physical abuse of a candidate for public office and unprovoked verbal abuse of a woman have been lodged with the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, the Detroit Commission on Community Relations and Police Commissioner Girardin's office.

Filed in behalf of Richard T. David, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives from the 13th District, and five of his campaign workers, the charges are being investigated by detectives from the Detroit police department Bureau of Community Relations, and Rep. Charles C. Diggs.

### ACLU Support

The American Civil Liberties Union has also sent communiques in behalf of David.

According to David, on Saturday, Oct. 24, he and supporter Dorothea Breitman, were sitting in a car in front of the Socialist Workers party headquarters at 3737 Woodward, waiting for Robert Higgins, another worker, to come out of the building.

At that time, says David, "two white men passed the car, calling Mrs. Breitman a 'nigger lover.'" David jumped out of the car, and a scuffle ensued. David maintains he had no idea that the men were police officers.

Mrs. Breitman tried to stop the fight and was knocked to the ground, at which time Higgins

came out of the building, saw the two men fighting with the candidate and went to intercede. As Higgins pulled one of the men off David, the man flashed his police badge — the first time, according to the defendants, that any identification was shown.

By this time uniformed officers arrived. They subdued David, and he says that as they put handcuffs on him, they struck him in the face with a flashlight and choked him so badly he required hospitalization and was unable to swallow for several days.

Higgins, David and Mrs. Breitman were placed under arrest.

### Approached Police

Two other young socialists, Daniel Rosenshine and Edward D'Angelo, approached the police officers and, according to Rosenshine, he "merely inquired of the officers whether Higgins, David and Mrs. Breitman were under arrest.

"One of the officers answered with very strong language indicating I should mind my business and had no right to ask such a question," says Rosenshine. "I then, in a moderate tone asked for the officer's badge number so I would be able to follow up properly at the police station.

"I was immediately placed under arrest. So was Edward D'Angelo, who was standing by my side and had not said a word."

The men are charged with interfering with an officer in the performance of his duty.

### Spotted by Police

A sixth Socialist, James Griffin, was also arrested on charges of interfering with an officer. He maintains he was standing on the sidewalk watching the incident when he was spotted by a policeman who had once picked him up for passing out campaign literature — charges that have since been dropped.

According to the defendants, they were subjected to continued insults on the way to the police station.

David was charged with "malicious destruction of property" — accused of breaking the window of a policeman's private car with his fist. In his statement of denial he points out that his hands had no cuts or bruises.

David sent his Congressional opponent, Charles C. Diggs, a telegram requesting Diggs' intervention in the case, and Diggs said he would investigate.

## SOCIALIST FUND

# We Did It Again!

By Marvel Scholl  
National Fund Director

It is indeed a pleasure to write this final story in the Socialist Campaign Fund Drive! As you can see from the scoreboard we went over the top by \$41 with a promise of more to come from our San Francisco Fund Director Carlson who wrote:

"Enclosed is the final pre-deadline installment on our pledge — \$31. There are some pledges unfulfilled at this date. I'll send in whatever I collect as soon as it comes in."

As you can see San Francisco beat all the rest!

### Big Boost

"The General" also got a big boost this past week with two large contributions, one from Dr. R. of Flushing, N. Y., another from an old friend, H. C. of Mason, Ohio. This brought the total up to \$348 — not quite enough to call it 100%. But H.M. of New York, a most faithful friend, came through with a second contribution to it, so that category went

over the top by 1%. We thank all these wonderful friends.

We want to thank all those areas which assumed large quotas and fulfilled them, overcoming any and all difficulties. In several instances these had taken the form of expensive legal battles to get on the ballot. Seattle and Milwaukee are two examples of this. In Minneapolis, the people quietly assumed a very large quota and made it just as quietly, in spite of the fact that at the same time they were involved in helping to raise money to keep the Immigration Service from making a stateless person out of a native-born American, Joe Johnson.

In some places unemployment plagued our friends and made pledges difficult to fulfill.

But despite all odds, the Socialist Workers Party and its friends came through again. So we can conclude this fund with sincere thanks for a good job well done.

## Yours for the Asking

For books and pamphlets on Cuba, the Freedom Now struggle, the labor movement, socialist theory, send for a free copy of our catalogue.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

## A CONTROVERSIAL CHINESE EDITORIAL

## New Deepening of the Moscow-Peking Rift?

[On Dec. 12 *Pravda* announced that a commission would meet in Moscow on March 1 to plan a world conference of Communist parties. It was Khrushchev's plan to hold such a preparatory meeting on Dec. 15, which the editorial in the Chinese Communist Party's official organ *Red Flag*, discussed below, branded as one of the deposed Soviet leader's crimes.]

By Joseph Hansen

On Nov. 20 Peking radio told the world to stand by for an important statement. This proved to be an editorial in *Red Flag*, the official journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The editorial, entitled "Why Khrushchev Fell," was a harsh attack against the former Soviet premier.

The tone of the attack and the arguments advanced have been met with glee in Western circles, particularly Washington. It has generally been interpreted as a warning to Khrushchev's heirs that they must accept unconditional surrender. The Nov. 21 *New York Times*, for instance, voiced the editorial opinion that the Kremlin can hardly avoid answering the attack and yet will find it highly embarrassing to do so. The *Times* therefore concluded, "This is nothing less than the beginning of Chinese political warfare against the new Soviet leadership. In large measure what Peking now assails as the Khrushchev line is precisely what has been unveiled this month as the Brezhnev-Kosygin line."

The gloating in imperialist circles arises from the conclusion that Chou En-lai's trip to Moscow ended in failure, that the attempt to patch up the Sino-Soviet differences proved futile, and that the rift will now become deeper. The sigh of relief in these quarters is quite audible, for they had earlier taken an opposite view. With Khrushchev gone, it appeared to them, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union might well find a way to compose their differences, at least on the state level, and succeed in presenting a common front against the Western powers.

It is true that the editorial is aimed at the Brezhnev-Kosygin team although the stick is ostensibly wielded on a dead horse. The editorial even obliquely attacks those who hope for the continuation of "Khrushchevism without Khrushchev"; and this gives substance to the elation of the Western experts. Nevertheless their conclusions appear rather simplistic, if not hasty, and are evidently affected by wishful thinking. Peking knows its Moscow and the editorial may have double aims. It does serve warning on Brezhnev-Kosygin; but it is premature to conclude that Mao has already written off Khrushchev's heirs and has decided to try to sweep them into the same waste-basket in which their patron ended up.

#### The Main Charges

Twelve main charges are levelled against Khrushchev. These are as follows:

1) Under pretext of combatting the cult of the personality Khrushchev attacked Stalin, using the foulest language. By doing this, he opposed Marxism-Leninism.

2) He sought general co-operation with American imperialism. He sent rockets to Cuba and then docilely withdrew them on the orders of the American pirates. He tried to sell Cuba's sovereignty by agreeing to the United Nations inspection of the island.

3) He bowed to American nuclear blackmail and sought to prevent China from building its own nuclear force. He injured the defense of the Soviet Union and signed a partial test-ban treaty.

4) He sought in all ways to obstruct revolutionary movements in

the capitalist countries, advising them to take the legal parliamentary road to socialism.

5) He sought to oppose the national liberation movement and sabotaged it. When the U.S. cooked up the Tonkin Gulf incident, Khrushchev tried to cover it up under the banner of peaceful co-existence.

6) He supported Tito, attempting to reverse the 1960 condemnation of the "clique of the renegade Tito."

7) He did everything he could to inure and undermine Albania.

8) He spread innumerable rumors and slanders about the Chi-



Brezhnev

nese Communist Party and Mao Tse-tung.

9) He took as his models the Common Market and the capitalist bloc, reducing the industries of the "brother Communist countries" to "mere subsidiaries."

10) He used the congresses of his and other parties to launch sweeping attacks against parties that remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism.

11) He played the role of a patriarch, deciding to convoke an illegal meeting of the international Communist parties to split the movement.

12) He followed a series of revisionist policies leading toward capitalism; his blind direction of Soviet agriculture and industry provoking chaos in the national economy and causing great difficulties for the Soviet people.

#### Not Pro-Maoists

There is no doubt that the Western experts are correct in concluding that the publication of these charges runs directly counter to the explanations offered by Brezhnev-Kosygin for the ouster of Khrushchev. They are also correct in concluding that Mao regards Brezhnev-Kosygin as Khrushchevists and not Maoists. One point at least would thus seem to be settled — the superficial speculation that Khrushchev was ousted by a pro-Peking grouping has proved to be dead wrong.

Noteworthy in this respect is the fact that the editorial lists "de-Stalinization" as No. 1 in the crimes of Khrushchev. In the peculiar language of the Sino-Soviet conflict, "de-Stalinization" and "Khrushchevism" are synonymous, and praise of Stalin — from Peking's viewpoint — is only next to praise of Mao himself.

Careful examination of the charges in the editorial indicates that the authors have other people in mind besides Brezhnev-Kosygin. The editorial is designed to reassure those who have rallied to Peking's banners. The firmness of tone tells them that Chou En-lai's negotiations do not mean a "sell-out" is contemplated, whatever agreement or partial agree-

ment Peking may eventually gain. The inclusion of the point about Albania is significant in this respect. The references to Cuba and to the "brother Communist countries" are to be taken in the same light. All those inclined to back Peking, or to assert independent views, are assured that Peking will not make any deal at their expense. This heartening news, of course, helps maintain the pressure, a prime requisite if hard bargaining is contemplated.

If this is what is aimed at, then the warning itself seems more proportionate. Instead of the "beginning of Chinese political warfare against the new Soviet leadership," it can be read as a firm notice to Khrushchev's heirs that unlike Khrushchev they must recognize the growing weight and standing of the People's Republic of China. If Brezhnev and Kosygin imagined that Peking can be fobbed off with little more than a scapegoat, even one as plump as Khrushchev, they can disabuse themselves. Mao is not unmindful of the Kremlin awarding him a prize, such as Khrushchev's scalp, but he also wants something more substantial.

Peking requires, and feels entitled to, big economic aid from the USSR and on much more favorable terms than were granted in the past. Otherwise — —

#### The Kremlin's Dilemma

What the Chinese leaders have done is to present Brezhnev-Kosygin with the same dilemma faced by Khrushchev. They have added a request for an early reply. Khrushchev's heirs have thus found the breathing space they sought through the ouster of their patron and collaborator rather short, at least insofar as the Sino-Soviet conflict is concerned. Mao has nothing to gain by waiting. He is forcing the new team in the Kremlin to face up immediately to the dilemma which they won by taking over.

The problem is how to appease both Peking and Washington with the relatively limited resources at the disposal of the Soviet bureaucracy. To provide China with aid on the scale demanded (and required) would — in the absence of cutting down the overhead cost of bureaucratic parasitism — mean immense sacrifices by the Soviet people, sacrifices on the scale of the Stalin era. This is what Mao appears to be insisting on with his emphasis on the "glories" of Stalin's time and the "contributions" of the late paranoiac dictator.

But if Brezhnev-Kosygin decide they cannot meet Mao's price, then they are threatened with continuation of the attack in the area where they, like Khrushchev, are most vulnerable — ideology, where they have clearly revised Marxism. To outflank Peking in this field requires carrying "de-Stalinization" to its final conclusion, the revival of genuine Leninism. This would signify the rehabilitation of Trotsky, the establishment of proletarian democracy and the resumption of the world-wide revolutionary program that guided Soviet foreign policy in the time of Lenin. The bureaucratic caste cannot do this without destroying itself, something few of its members are willing to contemplate.

Moreover, it would mean a worsening of relations with imperialist America. But immense pressure from this quarter bears down on the Soviet Union. Due to their social base and social ties, the characteristic response of the Soviet bureaucrats to imperialist pressure — and they were trained in this personally by Stalin — is not to mount a counter-offensive but to bend and to concede, if bending and conceding is at all possible.

Thus the Peking editorial, even if it is not a signal of renewed political war but simply a signal that Brezhnev-Kosygin are in for

hard bargaining, can cause perturbation in the Kremlin. If it is followed up before they have succeeded in consolidating their victory over Khrushchev, a new crisis in the top circles of the Soviet bureaucracy and further convulsions in the international Communist movement can be expected.

#### Where White House Comes In

However, there is still another element that should not be lost sight of. American imperialism is very much involved in this situation. Not so strangely, expressions of regret over the downfall of Khrushchev were to be found in the American press. Was the shoe-wielding premier the worst figure, after all, to have as ruler of the USSR; that is, from Wall



Mao Tse-tung

Street's viewpoint? If he was not the worst, could it be said that everything possible was done to give him a hand in his difficulties?

What we are referring to here is a commonplace in international politics. Khrushchev showed his awareness of it by discreetly indicating that as between Johnson and Goldwater he preferred the former in the White House. With Stalin, this was standard procedure, constituting in his politics a substitute for revolutionary program. America's rulers have not displayed comparable dexterity on their side since the days of Roosevelt, who even went so far as to help whitewash Stalin in the infamous Moscow frame-up trials. (He inspired the notorious Hollywood film *Mission to Moscow*.)

Now that Johnson has been settled in the White House with the biggest majority vote in modern times, he faces the problem of whether to continue in the brinkmanship style of Truman and Dulles or whether, in the tradition of Roosevelt, to attempt a policy of greater sophistication.

By embarrassing Khrushchev's followers, the editorial in *Red Flag* gives the State Department and the White House a vigorous shake. What shall the policy of the "Great Society" be in relation to Moscow and Peking? Mere gloating over the discomfiture of Brezhnev and Kosygin? Or shall active measures be undertaken to shore them up as a "lesser evil?"

To operate really effectively in this situation, however, a seemingly very contradictory move is required; namely, U.S. recognition of the People's Republic of China. Only through contact with both sides can Washington hope to mount a policy of playing them against each other; i.e., favoring now one, now the other, with the aim of weakening both in the process. In the immediate situation, Johnson could relieve the pressure on Brezhnev-Kosygin by himself granting concessions to Peking and dangling the bait of bigger possibilities.

But is Johnson fundamentally strong enough to get away with an abrupt change of this type in

U.S. foreign policy despite its being demanded for some time by significant sectors of leading bourgeois circles? Can he follow in the path blazed by de Gaulle? And in the long run will such a policy actually succeed?

True, from the viewpoint of American imperialism, certain aspects of Mao's propaganda are intriguing. Particularly noticeable are his expressions of admiration for Stalin, his praise of Stalin's policy of building "socialism in one country," his repeated assurances of the correctness of Stalin's war on Trotskyism, the program and movement pre-eminently identified with active development of world revolution. Imperialism can appreciate a genuine Stalinist. American, British, French and German imperialism all found it possible to do profitable business with the original himself. And what other language can Mao resort to in talking across the walls of "fortress America" to the political translators in the State Department?

But America's knowledgeable figures in this field must ask themselves whether it is really Mao's game to seek a base in the revolutionary struggles of today for bargaining purposes as Stalin did. If not a "mere agrarian reformer," as he was once pictured to be, is Mao after all a mere Stalinist? And if so, can Mao really be depended upon to deliver the way Stalin did? Is it possible in the world of today for Mao, with the most honorable of intentions, to get away with betraying revolutions the way Stalin did? Hasn't the element of independent leadership, as exemplified by the Cubans, become so strong that recognition of China would simply strengthen that tendency, not only in the long run but in the immediate future?

Khrushchev's heirs consequently are not alone in facing a dilemma over China. Kennedy's heir has also been handed a hot potato. What will he do with it?

## A Soviet Paper Carries Article Praising Trotsky

(*World Outlook*) — The French-language Soviet weekly *Les Nouvelles de Moscou* carries an article in the Nov. 14 issue in which Trotsky is praised. The title of the article is "The Second Day," and the author is the famous American writer, John Reed.

The article was originally written for the American socialist press on the first anniversary of the October Revolution. It appears to be a preliminary sketch for Reed's classic eyewitness account of the Bolshevik Revolution, *Ten Days that Shook the World*. Two young Soviet historians, I. Krasnow and S. Rakhlina, dug up the article and prepared it for publication in a Russian translation in *Izvestia* from which *Les Nouvelles de Moscou* took it.

In the article, Reed mentions Leon Trotsky in the most favorable way, once as a member of the Presidium of the Second Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets, and again as a member of the Council of People's Commissars.

From Reed's report, it can be gathered that Trotsky was second in popularity only to Lenin. Reed tells how the crowd greeted the announcement of the names of the Council of People's Commissars in accordance with their revolutionary merits. He mentions that the applause received by Trotsky was loud and inordinate, by Lenin "interminable."

This is the first time in more than 35 years that the Kremlin has permitted the Soviet press to mention Trotsky in a positive way. This never happened while either Stalin or Khrushchev ran things.

## BRITISH AND FRENCH PRESS CHANGING TUNE

## New Revelations About the Congo

(World Outlook) — While the American backers of the "humanitarian" operation in the Congo are still insisting that it was completely justified and that there was no alternative, if any of the white "hostages" were to be saved, the Belgian and British participants in the grisly adventure have shifted their line somewhat.

In face of the mounting evidence of the savagery and bestiality of the forces under their command, they are beginning to admit that everything was not as noble as their imperialist propaganda at first claimed. For instance, the Nov. 25 *London Times*, while claiming that the operation was both necessary and successful as a whole, felt forced to admit:

"At the same time there is no doubt that the landings precipitated the shooting of an as yet uncertain number of hostages, men and women alike; the tragedy is not lessened because some such shooting had been foreseen as the possible price for the safety of the others."

The admission clearly implies that the sponsors of the "humanitarian" operation deliberately decided to sacrifice at least part of the hostages. This bolsters what the rebels say. No hostages would have been killed if the negotiations had been continued instead of being arbitrarily broken off by the American and Belgian imperialists.

Similar evidence is available from another authoritative source. In an interview granted to the Paris daily *Le Monde* (Dec. 1), Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Paul-Henri Spaak said: "The risk was either to arrive too late, or — and this is what happened to a certain degree — to provoke the very drama we sought to prevent." In clearer language, Spaak admits that the "humanitarian" operation precipitated a number of deaths.

The imperialists are doing their utmost to cover up their guilt by pointing to the way in which the primitive Africans took the lives of some of the hostages. They remain silent about the behavior of the "humanitarian" paratroopers, the white mercenaries whose pay

they guarantee, and the columns of Tshombe's killers, all of whom co-ordinated their moves in accordance with the master plan worked out in Brussels and Washington, the real aim of which was to deal an overpowering military blow to the rebel government at Stanleyville.

A newspaper as conservative as the London *Sunday Times* (a weekly not to be confused with the daily *Times*) had this to offer from Derek Wilson, its Leopoldville correspondent (Nov. 29):

"The savagery of the Congolese has been nearly matched by the cold-blooded indiscriminate murder by Tshombe's South African and Rhodesian mercenaries during their week-long push north from Kindu to Stanleyville.

## Massacred Everyone

"With machine guns and hand grenades they massacred the population remaining in nearly every village they passed through, sparing neither women nor children. A French correspondent who advanced with the mercenary column told me 'with those mercenaries it's racialism gone mad.'"

"This week's Belgo-American operation has done precious little to help put down the rebellion — incidentally revealed to be much more extensive than generally thought — and Tshombe's chances of ending it reasonably and quickly are as hopeless as ever."

In an editorial (Nov. 28) *Le Monde*, while joining in condemning the actions of the rebels, did not neglect to point icily to what the other side was doing:

"The Stanleyville revolutionists do not have at their disposal the channels of publicity available to Mr. Tshombe, and Western public opinion being, it must be acknowledged, much more sensitive to the murder of one European than to 20 blacks, more is said about the atrocities committed by some bands of 'savages hopped up with drugs' than the cold-blooded repression which has been carried out for three days by the Katanga mercenaries and gendarmes. If it is true that a gov-

ernment, no matter what kind, would feel forced to react to the odious 'blackmail with hostages,' as did the Brussels government, it is necessary to observe nevertheless that the 'humanitarian operation' announced by Mr. Spaak degenerated into a bloody affair in which black and white civilians have been selected as the victims in this struggle that is both tribal, racial and political."

Even in Belgium, where Spaak did everything possible to cover up the blood under showers of roses for the 'humanitarian' paratroopers as they paraded in Brussels, bits of the truth have appeared in the press.

The Dec. 5 issue of *La Gauche* quotes Jacques Cordy, special correspondent of the conservative Brussels daily *Soir*, writing from Stanleyville:

"Nearby on de Gaulle avenue, the headquarters of the Youth of the MNC-Lumumba had been turned into a slaughterhouse. Twenty-five bodies, trickling blood, were piled on the lawn, inside the building, against the cubboards, the dressers, on the desks, on the lighted kitchen stove, everywhere. A fearful scene.

"They have just been killed," the officer explained. "They had shut themselves in, hiding in all the corners. But they made the error of making a noise. One of our men came in. They moved. He began shooting. Other soldiers came to the rescue. It was a real massacre. They are all members of these 'Youth' who were always raiding the town..."

"Deafening shots again crashed inside the headquarters. They were completing the horrible business. The bursts of shots spurted flesh, blew open skulls. Coolly, some cameramen, who came from I don't know where, took pictures. All this was absolutely insupportable. In the evening a new fusillade — a last rebel, hidden in the ceiling, had come down. He was killed at once.

"The odious unleashing of violence that in turn calls for violence started long ago in the Congo. It is impossible to see when and how it will be stopped."

## Minnesota Deportation Case Backed by Norman Thomas

MINNEAPOLIS — Norman Thomas, the well-known American socialist and civil libertarian, has agreed to become a sponsor of the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson. In a letter to a member of the committee, Elizabeth Young, Thomas said:

"On the basis of the article by my friend, Sam Romer, and on the support of Johnson by Mulford Sibley, plus the brochure on facts and issues, I am willing to be one of the sponsors for your committee for the Johnson defense. I do not find a card to sign but this letter will do. I am glad you are interested in the case."

Commenting on the case, the *Minnesota Daily*, campus newspaper at the University of Minnesota recently editorialized:

"The attempt by the government to deport Joseph Johnson is one of the more flagrant violations of civil liberties we have seen lately. A column on this page a few days ago and a program sponsored by the Young Democrats and the Young Socialist Alliance brought this problem to light.

"The facts of the case have been set before us. A man is indicted for in effect abrogating his citizenship without his consent — a constitutional impossibility — and then made subject to deportation for not reporting for selective service — which only a citizen can do.

"The government seems to protest too much. It has too much of a case for any of it to stand rational analysis. The legal term is double jeopardy — tried as a citizen for draft evasion, and then deported as a 'stateless' citizen.



Norman Thomas

"The whole thing strikes us as a transparent attempt to punish a man for his political views — Johnson is a Trotskyist — and to us it is indefensible. Most of us will disagree with Johnson's politics, but on his civil liberties there should be no contest. A citizen has certain rights, or citizenship is meaningless."

Growing interest in the case was indicated by the fact that WCCO-TV presented an editorial on it. While denouncing Johnson's socialist views, it said the issue was: "Can a native-born American lose his citizenship involuntarily?" It then questioned whether a free society could "cast out anyone it considers undesirable and remain a nation of freedom or of conscience."

## Mississippi Negroes Are Victimized For Acting in Gov't Farm Program

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss. — Intimidation and harassment have increased in two Mississippi counties following several Negro victories in county Agricultural Stabilization Committee (ASC) elections, the Student Nonviolent Committee announced here.

The ASC is part of the federal government's acreage control program which determines how much cash subsidy farmers, tenants and sharecroppers will receive on controlled crops such as cotton. At the county level, committeemen elected each year in federal Agricultural Department elections determine the exact acreage allotment — and therefore the subsidy income — for every farm in the county.

The committee also appoints the surveyors who measure the fields. Farmers who exceed their acreage allotment are made to plow under the extra rows. This is serious business in cotton-growing areas, and the committees have been a white-controlled affair in Mississippi. Legally, however, everyone with an interest in the subsidy program is eligible to vote, including sharecroppers and tenant farmers.

This year, the Conference of Federated Organizations helped Negro candidates to run in the community ASC elections early in December in 12 rural counties, and in two counties, Negroes won seats.

An Ashland, Miss., newspaper, the *Southern Advocate*, refused to print an advertisement from three Negro farmers who won important ASC community seats. The ad — for which the three were prepared to pay in cash — said they "do not intend to serve our race exclusively. We regard this as an opportunity to serve all citizens of Community B without regard to race, as good, honest and true committeemen."

The proposed ad was signed by L. B. Paige, Clabon Jackson and

Sarah Robinson, who took the three top positions in the ASC election in Benton County's Community B.

In Holmes County, tenant farmer Lamar Smith, elected chairman of his community committee, reported his farm rent was doubled and the landlord demanded full payment at once instead of installments as in the past. Smith said he had overheard the Holmes County Sheriff and other white men discuss jailing him on Dec. 7 when the ASC election result was announced.

In Valley View, near Canton, a cotton gin owned by a white man was burned to the ground Dec. 13. The gin owner had refused to comply with requests from other whites that he not process cotton belonging to Otha Williams, local Negro active in Madison County's ASC elections.

## 2 Vote-Drive Workers Shot At in Mississippi

SELMA, Miss. — Two workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) here were shot at Dec. 15. The two Negroes, George Bess, 20, of Tallahassee, Fla., and Eugene Rouse, 21, a student at Howard University in Washington, D. C., have been trying to register Negroes to vote in Natchez, the seat of Adams County, and in surrounding towns. They reported two shots were fired at them from a house off Route 61 in Selma.

## World Events

## Dr. Strangelove at Work?

The West German government is trying to smooth over an alarmed public reaction to recently revealed plans for laying nuclear explosives underground along West Germany's eastern borders. The country's Defense Ministry declared that there had never been an intention to sow "a minefield of atom bombs" along the border with East Germany. There was only "consideration" of a plan, it said, to strengthen "defenses" by planting nuclear explosives at key points on "enemy invasion routes."

## U.S. Navy in Tonkin Gulf

The U.S. Navy has been sending destroyers periodically into the Gulf of Tonkin, although it refuses to comment on them, reports a Dec. 16 AP dispatch from Washington. Communist China charged intrusions into its territorial waters in the area by four U.S. warships in several incidents Dec. 13-16.

## Protest Chile Wage Limits

A rash of strikes has challenged attempts by Chile's new "reform" president, Eduardo Frei, to impose ceilings on wages, supposedly to "fight inflation." Nearly 50,000 sanitation workers and teachers left their jobs Dec. 16, demanding more pay than Frei's Christian Democratic government wants to give. Several thousand municipal employees also walked out

to demand bigger pay increases. Chile's left-wing press has pointed to a three-week strike by 3,000 brewery workers in Santiago, the capital, as proof that Frei's campaign promises to defend workers' interests were phony.

## Shift by Japanese SP

The left-wing in the Japanese Socialist Party won 11 out of 19 seats on the executive committee at the party's annual conference. The leftists advocated more militant opposition to Japan's conservative government and its military alliance with the U.S. A key point of difference from the previous moderate leadership was over the Chinese nuclear test. The moderates had criticized China's test as giving imperialism an excuse to continue the arms race. The left-wing position is that imperialism forced China to develop a nuclear weapon in self-defense.

## Ben Bella on China A-Test

The Chinese government announced Dec. 3 that Ahmed Ben Bella, head of the Algerian government, had sent a message to Premier Chou En-lai Nov. 17 congratulating China on testing its first nuclear weapon. Ben Bella reportedly greeted the test with "joy and satisfaction" and said it constituted a brilliant victory for the Chinese people. He also supported the Chinese proposal for a world "summit" conference to discuss banning all nuclear weapons and noted that Algeria was al-

ready on record for a world disarmament conference.

## Buses for Cuba from Spain

Cuba has purchased 100 buses from Spain, the Cuban Transportation Ministry disclosed Dec. 16. This is a needed addition to the 950 buses bought from the Leland Motor Co. in Britain last January, and will go a long way in easing the transportation squeeze in Cuba. The U.S. trade embargo stopped the flow of spare parts, let alone new vehicles, from what had previously been the principal supplying country.

## 'Excessive' Pay in Peru

The president of Peru's National Agrarian Society — voice of the country's big landowners — complained recently about the "excessive salaries" cottonfield workers had won by organizing into unions. They were now earning \$1.25 a day, he protested, whereas in 1956 their daily wages were less than a dollar. Such labor costs, he asserted, had "plunged Peru's agriculture into a crisis."

## Rumania on China's Bomb

The Rumanian government, in another display of independence from the Moscow line, published Dec. 17 a message from Rumanian Premier Gheorghe Maurer to Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, expressing Rumania's understanding of China's reasons for exploding a nuclear bomb.

## How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

# 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.]

## Labor's Fate

Philadelphia, Pa.

In the June number of *Harper's* magazine, a certain Mr. Herbert Harris bemoans the fate of organized labor which has lost the

support of the intellectual in the fight for a better life.

Mr. Harris claims that unions lack vision and ideas with which to combat automation, computers and push-button controls and in the same breath complains that unions do not offer intellectuals the same remuneration as industry, government and learned institutions do. As an afterthought, he adds that labor is not political-minded.

Surprisingly, he admits that all of this is not labor's own fault. Some leadership is bad; right-wing groups and thinking is even worse; federal and state right-to-work laws inhibit unions and big money from oil, steel and chemicals, pour a vicious propaganda against organized labor via radio, television and the press.

Mr. Harris learned this much, but he has not yet learned that it was the intellectuals who have miseducated the unions. For when they had come to the unions to help, they addressed themselves not to the rank and file but to the echelon at the top and taught the leaders not how to lead but how to rule. It was more convenient this way and the job was done more quickly.

This great nation was forged by revolution, but today revolution is a dirty word. A general strike is termed a revolt and an industry-wide strike an insurrection. The pronouncements of Eugene Debs and Daniel DeLeon are now shunned as un-American by the cult of labor-managers. Labor today, these say, is no longer in chains. He is free. Yes today, labor is enwrapped in a silken cocoon of anti-labor laws of big words in small print. Not chains.

Who betrayed the San Francisco strike of 1934? The 1946 coal miners' strike? Who represents labor in the legislative, judicial, and administrative branches of federal and state government? Who makes deals with employers, with politicians before elections? Who urges labor to support "friends of labor" and if labor winds up at the tail of a donkey he can not even wiggle, who is at fault? If the ship of labor is leaking and sinking, as Mr. Harris thinks, it is only because the intellectuals failed it and labor managers betrayed it. Some day labor will wake up and settle the score with both.

In my book, an intellectual is even less stable than the uranium atom. In time of stress he attaches himself to any group that meets his fancy but at the first sign of a storm he runs for cover under the status quo and beats his breast at the altar of the golden calf.

Intellectuals, please stay home.

Abraham Golden

P.S. *Harper's* refused to publish this.

## From W. Germany

Hagen, W. Germany

Please renew my subscription to *The Militant* — the outspoken voice which gives so much facts to work with. Enclosed is \$5.

F.W.J.

## Winkin', Blinkin' and Dud

Philadelphia, Pa.

I saw an ad in the *New York Times* for a "Something Box," which is described as containing "a battery that blinks eight tiny bulbs. That's all it does. It fascinates, keeps you awake, puts

you to sleep, makes one curious." If anyone has the price — \$25 (approximately three copies of *Labor's Giant Step*) he/she/it can be amused watching the lights while clipping coupons.

I just wonder what the night watchman at the factory must think as he looks at the latest achievement of the Free Enterprise System blinking at him all night.

If you buy one in June you can spray the air with DDT and get rid of the obsolete fire flies, which are so socialistically free that they should be legislated against.

R.M.

## Kennedy's Role

Newark, N.J.

A year after President Kennedy's death, the capitalist-controlled news media make him appear as a hero to the American people. However, when one analyzes his accomplishments, one comes up with four crimes against humanity.

First crime — When certain unions were about to fight for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay, Kennedy was against it, saying it would be inflationary. And so the union misleaders dropped it. This would have reduced unemployment greatly as well as taking a lot of the struggle out of workers' lives. They would have

time to enjoy the money they earn and the continuing inflation would not take away this leisure as inflation does take away their increased pay. Kennedy talked physical fitness, but his actions were against it. The six-hour day would give the extra time needed for exercise and proper eating.

The second crime was against the Negro people of the U.S., refusing to take the drastic action necessary to guarantee them their full freedom and equality under the Constitution. It was Kennedy's duty to enforce the Constitution by sending troops into the South to protect the Negroes' full equality and put any white racist in prison who denies them this equality.

This action would also have prevented killing of Negroes and their sympathizers by the racists and therefore the blood of those murdered are on Kennedy's hands. It is not necessary to have a civil-rights law. It is a matter of enforcing the Constitution without wasting any time about it.

Kennedy evidently thought more of trying to retain the votes of the Dixiecrats while giving the impression he was doing something for the colored people so he could get their votes too.

Third crime was the gamble Kennedy made with the lives of all humanity when he ordered the blockade of the Cuban coast by

U.S. warships. This was done without consulting the allies of the U.S. first and could have triggered them as well as the U.S. into a world nuclear war.

Fourth crime — Kennedy helped sponsor the invasion of Cuba and South Vietnam, a crime against the Cuban people and the South Vietnamese people who are now fighting for full economic freedom.

I am against assassination, but I will not whitewash a man just because he is dead.

D.A.

## End of Era in FM?

New York, N.Y.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, increased use of commercials is due for FM radio. In the past this infrequency of commercial interruptions contributed much to FM's appeal. Now, however, FM's audience has been steadily increasing, due largely to the availability of cheaper FM sets. As a result of the wider audience the spiels of AM radio barkers will soon blare over FM as well.

Not only will there be constant extolling of the dubious virtues of products A and B, but the screeching of stereophonic rock n' roll is also slated to fill the FM airwaves.

W.A.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

"Another glimpse has been afforded the public of the brutality which is the standard operating procedure in police stations in the U.S. This time the revelations are about the New Orleans police. A Special Citizens Investigating Committee completed its probe and wrote a gruesome report. It was issued to the three daily newspapers in New Orleans which printed excerpts. However, city authorities have refused copies of the 1,900-page report to the Negro press. Thus we have to be content with the following excerpts from New Orleans papers reprinted by the Dec. 18 *Pittsburgh Courier*:

"It was alleged that members of the detective bureau consider brutality a standard procedure, especially, but not exclusively, in the handling of Negroes.

"Customary forms of brutality practiced by many members of the New Orleans police department allegedly included the use of fists on traffic violators who argue with them; forcing Negroes to put wads of paper in the toilet and then in their mouths; threatening to murder prisoners in an effort to force confessions; the raping of women prisoners. One of the excerpts printed by the New Orleans papers was that a white woman prisoner had been raped by 15 police officers." — Dec. 27, 1954.

## 20 Years Ago

"The lie that youth in Germany are fanatic supporters of Hitler's regime has been refuted by the American Broadcasting Station in Europe. According to ABSIE an anti-Nazi youth movement has appeared in Germany. Known as The Edelweiss, the members captured by Allied troops 'appeared to have no political faith beyond their radical convictions and a violent hatred of Nazis. They particularly hated the Hitler Youth. The boys are ordinary members of this organization and the girls of the Bund Deutscher Maedel. They had formed militant groups which at night waylaid young Nazis and Hitler Youth leaders and beat them up.'

"ABSIE reports that German prisoners have revealed 'the young people in the Rhineland have been particularly affected by the Edelweiss movement. In Krefeld, at least 30 percent of the Hitler Youth were secret Edelweiss members. In Cologne, a few months ago, Edelweiss members attempted a raid on a military depot to obtain weapons. . . . In Eschweiler, Edelweiss youth salvaged a machine gun from a crashed American bomber.'

"Hitler is aware of the unrest among the youth. ABSIE declares: 'The Gestapo and the SS gave special attention to these rebellious groups and a number of them have been executed and beaten up.'" — Dec. 30, 1944.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Swear or Else** — The Santa Barbara, Calif., Board of Education denied a request for exemption from repeating the daily pledge of allegiance to the flag. Charles Ames, 18, had requested the exemption, arguing that having said the pledge once, "it is not necessary to repeat it because it is a binding agreement." And, he added, he is "forced to lie to myself every time I take the pledge because I do not believe there is liberty and justice for all in this country."

**Why They Pay to Advertise** — A study of advertising effectiveness conducted for the American Association of Advertising Agencies proved rather alarming — for Madison Avenue, that is. Out of an average 1,600 ads per day, the study disclosed, the "typical consumer" notices only 80; only 12 of these 80 cause any reaction; and three out of 12 provoke a negative reaction. "In other words," the ad men were told, "about six-tenths of one per cent of our ads are doing an effective job."

**Ambulance Service, East and West** — Moscow has 176 ambulances to handle an average of 525 emergency calls a day. New York, the richest city in the richest country in the world, has 122 ambulances to handle an average of 1,174 emergency calls a day.

**You Figure This One Out** — Bernard S. Carleton of Glastonbury, Conn., died at 91 last spring and left an estate of more than \$1 million. He had retired 20 years ago after 50 years of service as a clerk for the Aetna Insurance Co. He was earning \$35 a week when he retired. A company spokesman estimated that he probably started out for between \$5 and \$8 a week. His wife says he accumulated the fortune by being thrifty and investing his savings in company stock. For us, the most under-

standable part of the story is that the company was paying him \$35 a week after 50 years of service.

**Sweet Charity** — The *Washington Report* of the Chamber of Commerce notes that corporations are giving more to charity than they used to and adds: "The orthodox economist might view these philanthropic activities with suspicion. He would say that the basic aim of a corporation, after all, is to make profit. . . . This attitude is extreme. It is now realized that a firm's public image influences sales and profits [besides] if the money had not gone to charity, much of it would have gone to the U.S. Treasury."

**Big-Deal Dep't** — An extensive advertising campaign has been launched to persuade New Yorkers they should do business with the Trade Bank and Trust Company because they can call that bank's president by his first name. As they say in Brooklyn that and 15 cents will get you a subway ride.

**Mississippi Man of God** — A Biloxi, Miss., radio evangelist is under federal indictment for mail fraud. The indictment charged Rev. J. Charles Jessup had used donations to buy property, big cars, boats and seaplanes and to

dabble in illegal cock fighting. The indictment also said he had been married four times, had obtained two divorces by false statements and had courted and married a 15-year-old girl while still married to his third wife. Without knowing anything about it, we'd be willing to risk a small wager that the good reverend was also an enthusiastic defender of the "purity" of the white race.

**Safety-Conscious Cop** — New York Police Commissioner Murphy awarded \$15 and an "Employee Suggestion Certificate" to a cop who proposed nailing down the rubber mats on the floors of patrol wagons. The cop explained to newsmen that when the weather is cold and wet, the mats curl up and prisoners trip on them. He previously won a similar award with a suggestion for a sliding bar in the front door-way of the wagons. He said that in warm weather the door was often left open and cops sometimes fell out when the wagon stopped suddenly.

**Statistics Dep't** — The suicide rate among members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is almost double that of Canada's armed forces. The Minister of Justice has promised to explain this to Parliament.

## SPECIAL \$1 INTRODUCTORY OFFER

To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the Freedom Now Movement we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for \$1. (\$1.50 outside of the U.S.)

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

City ..... State .....

Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



## Thought for the Week

"FORT BRAGG, N.C. (UPI) — Widows and little boys in soldier suits gathered in an army chapel Friday to pay Christmas tribute to their men, dead or missing in Vietnam. The wives of missing soldiers, their children and their mothers, sat amid green uniformed Special Forces men in the chapel at the John F. Kennedy center for special warfare."

## British Professor Argues Kennedy Killing Unsolved

Hugh Trevor-Roper, professor of history at Oxford University in England, after analyzing the report of the Warren Commission, has come to the conclusion that the murder of President Kennedy remains unsolved.

In an article in the Dec. 13 *London Sunday Times*, the noted historian said: "My own belief is that the problem remains a mystery. Nothing in the Warren Report can be taken on trust. There is no evidence that Oswald took the gun into the book depository, nor that he fired it. He may have done so, but it is still to be proved. The evidence laboriously presented by the FBI and the Dallas police against Oswald is no stronger than the evidence incidentally admitted against themselves by their suppression and destruction of vital testimony. The best that can be said of the Warren Commission is that it has given publicity to the prosecutor's case. The case for the defense has not been heard — and until it is heard, no valid judgment can be given."

Among the points Trevor-Roper raises are the destruction of evidence such as the original notes of the doctor in charge of the autopsy,



Mark Lane

and of the bag the gun was allegedly carried in (the police manufactured a "replica" of the bag for "validation by witnesses"). The professor questions the complete lack of any sort of record of the 12-hour interrogation of Oswald. The report "has not established the facts; behind a smokescreen of often irrelevant material it has accepted impermissible axioms, constructed invalid arguments, and failed to ask elementary and essential questions."

Another development in the case occurred in Los Angeles at a debate between Mark Lane, chairman of the Citizens' Committee of Inquiry into the case, and Joseph Ball, counsel for the Warren Commission. At one point in the debate, Ball described the Commission's sole identifying witness to the shooting of police officer J.D. Tippit as "an utter screwball."

### Commission Witness

The witness referred to is a Mrs. Markham. Lane pointed out that based upon Ball's interrogation of Mrs. Markham, the Commission concluded that her testimony was "reliable." Oswald was arrested in connection with Tippit's murder, and subsequently charged with the murder of President Kennedy.

Mark Lane, now in Denmark, disclosed that he plans to publish a book on the Warren Commission Report. The book, "Rush to Judgment," will appear in March, 1965, published by Grove Press.

## Calif. Regents Detroit Trial Pending Say 'No' on Free Speech For Negro Socialists

On Dec. 18 the Board of Regents of the University of California, presided over by Gov. Edmund Brown, considered and rejected demands by students and faculty at the university's Berkeley campus that there be complete freedom of speech and advocacy on campus.

The regents reaffirmed the existing rules which the students have protested in giant mass demonstrations including a sit-in in which over 800 were arrested and a student strike estimated as 80 per cent effective among the 27,000 students at Berkeley. These rules provide for university discipline of students "conspiring" on campus to commit "illegal acts" off the campus — such as civil-rights demonstrations which may result in arrests and convictions.

After the students staged the strike demanding complete freedom of speech for campus groups, the faculty in an unprecedented meeting voted overwhelmingly in favor of no university restrictions whatever on speech. The regents decided to defy both the faculty and the students, stating that they themselves have sole authority over student discipline and that this "is a matter not subject to negotiation."

Mario Savio, leader of the Free Speech Movement which is leading the student protest, termed the regents' ruling "horrendous" and said the Christmas vacation would be used by students to organize further resistance.

Campus political groups, which the university administration calls "off-campus" clubs, plan to continue raising funds and soliciting for "off-campus" political activities as if the faculty recommendations for complete freedom, and not the regents' rules, are in effect.

## Protests Urged In HUAC Case

The New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee is urging people to wire President Johnson asking him to instruct Acting Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach not to proceed with contempt citations recently brought against three witnesses hauled before HUAC.

Donna Allen, Dagmar Wilson and Russel Nixon were subpoenaed to appear before an executive session of HUAC on Dec. 7. Donna Allen is the chairman of the legislative committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Dagmar Wilson is the initiator of the Women Strike for Peace. Last year both had accompanied Russ Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*, to the State Department to press for an entry visa for Prof. Kaoru Yasui, a Japanese peace leader.

Yasui was granted a visa, and it was his visit here that HUAC was attempting to use as a new witch-hunt issue. Allen, Wilson and Nixon refused to testify before the executive session and demanded that it be opened to press and public. With unprecedented speed, the full HUAC approved the contempt citations, and Speaker of the House McCormack forwarded the citations to the Justice Department. It is up to the Justice Department whether or not these citations will be placed before a grand jury with a request for criminal citations for contempt of Congress.

DETROIT, Dec. 18 — The case of two Negro socialists, one of them a candidate for public office in the recent election, who are charged with assault and battery, is scheduled to come to trial Jan. 20, 1965.

Richard T. David, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Congress in the 13th District, and Robert Higgins, a 17-year-old Cass Technical High School student, who is active in the Young Socialist Alliance and one of the founding members of the Freedom Now Party, face 90-day sentences if convicted. David faces an additional 90-day sentence on a charge of malicious destruction of property.

The charges stem from an incident that took place at 2:30 Saturday morning, October 24, in front of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters at 3737 Woodward. According to David, two unidentified police officers in plainclothes sparked a scuffle by using racist epithets against Mrs. Dorothea Breitman, who is white, and himself. In addition to David and Higgins, Mrs. Breitman and three Young Socialists were arrested and charged with interfering with an officer, although the Prosecutor's office has since dropped charges against one of them. (see reprint of *Michigan Chronicle* article on page 4).

### Second Charge

The case was further complicated when Robert Higgins was picked up by 10th Precinct police on the afternoon of Friday, Nov. 27, on charges of "unlawfully driving away an automobile." Higgins had just emerged from the home of George and Dorothea Breitman, 1654 Virginia Park, prior to which time, he said, he had been helping George Breitman with his shopping.

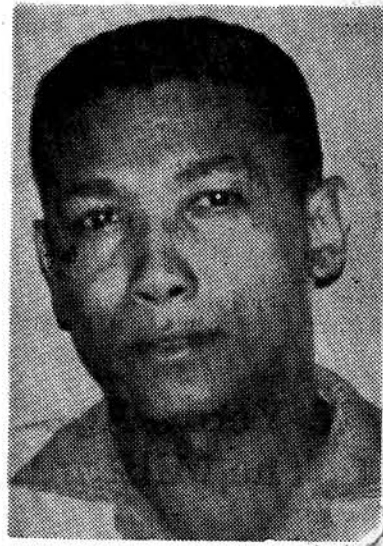
Higgins was questioned about his political beliefs until he told police he would not talk until he consulted with his lawyer.

"I face up to five years in prison on the charge of 'unlawfully driving away an automobile,'" said Higgins. "I have never driven a stolen car and I am not guilty of this charge."

Two Young Socialists, Daniel Rosenshine and Edward D'Angelo, and Mrs. Breitman were bound over for trial Nov. 5 on charges of interfering with an officer on October 24. No date has been set for their trial.

### Supporters of Case

Higgins and David were originally scheduled to come to trial on the assault-and-battery charges Nov. 10. At this time defense attorney O. Lee Mollette moved to consolidate the trials of all the defendants in the Oct. 24 incident and asked for postponement. (The



Richard T. David

motion to consolidate has since been rejected.)

Mollette, general counsel and second vice-president of the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), a militant civil-rights group, is collaborating with attorney Milton R. Henry in the defense.

Formal complaints and request for an investigation into the conduct of the police in this case have been filed by the defendants with the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, and Police Commissioner Girardin's office. On Oct. 28 David sent Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., his election-campaign opponent, a telegram requesting intervention in the case. Rep. Diggs replied in a telegram dated Oct. 29: "Please notify me where and with whom you have filed complaint and I will investigate."

Ernest Mazey, executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union, has sent letters on behalf of that organization to each of the above-mentioned agencies, indicating an interest in the case.

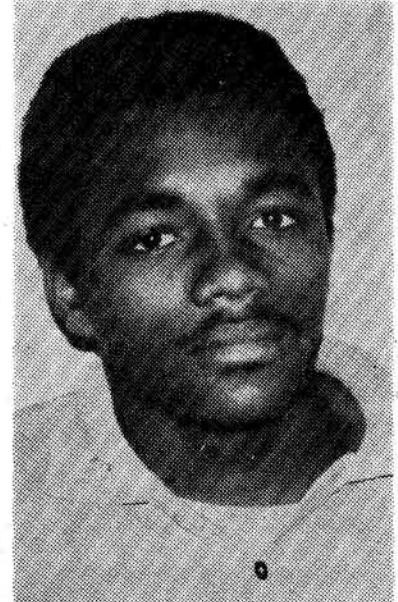
## Drive Is Pressed To Boycott Script

Handbills, saying "Don't buy Scripto products," are being distributed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in support of a nation-wide boycott of Scripto pens, pencils and lighters. The boycott has been called by members of Local 754 of the AFL-CIO International Chemical Workers Union who have been on strike since Nov. 27 at Scripto's Atlanta, Ga., plant.

The plant was organized 18 months ago, but the company has refused to sign the first union contract. The strikers are demanding an eight-cent hourly wage increase, a seniority provision and they have refused a wage offer which discriminates against the Negro workers. Before the strike, some 700 of the 900 workers were Negroes classified as "unskilled" and paid about \$1.25 per hour. Only six of the 200 "skilled" jobs were held by Negroes.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose headquarters is in Atlanta, has called upon its supporters throughout the country to spur boycott campaigns against Scripto products. The plant is located two blocks from Rev. King's Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Early in the strike, King declared: "Now is the time to identify our movement very closely with labor." He said Scripto was only the beginning of supporting actions by the Southern civil-rights movement to labor organizing and strikes. "There will be many more to follow," he said.



Robert Higgins

## Writer for The Militant Will Give News Series On WBAI in New York

NEW YORK — Harry Ring, a member of the editorial board of *The Militant*, will give a series of six 15-minute news commentary programs over FM radio station WBAI. The series, to be given bi-weekly, will offer a socialist view of major national and international developments.

The programs will be broadcast every other Thursday evening at 7:15 p.m., beginning Thursday evening, Dec. 31. Each program will be re-broadcast the following Friday morning at 9:45. WBAI is at 99.5 on the FM dial and is received throughout the New York City area.

WBAI is owned by the Pacifica Foundation and is a non-commercial, non-profit station which is supported by listeners' subscriptions. The Pacifica stations have distinguished themselves by presenting controversial and dissident views rarely heard on the commercial stations.



REPEAT PERFORMANCE. Malcolm X at Militant Labor Forum meeting in New York last spring. He will speak for the Militant Labor Forum again on Thursday evening Jan. 7 on "1965: The Prospects for Freedom." The meeting will be held at Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52nd St., 8:30 p.m.