

THE MILITANT

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Behind Smear Attacks On Teach-In Movement

By Farrell Dobbs

Historic precedent finds its echo in the present growth of national opposition to U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. As often happens the first signs of mass disagreement with imperialist policy have appeared in intellectual circles, and the pace of intellectual protest is quickening. Already the teach-ins are preparing fulfillment of the philosopher Spinoza's injunction "to understand in order to act." Student action in turn heralds the coming of, and blazes a trail for, extension of opposition to imperialist war into the Freedom Now and trade union movements.

Worried about these prospects, the Johnson regime is lashing out viciously against the teach-in movement. The president and his cohorts can't justify their foreign policies in give-and-take debate, as was proven by the "truth team" fiasco. So they have resorted to the gimmick of sending government spokesmen to muscle in on what reporters have cynically dubbed the "commencement circuit."

Speeches to Students

Top government figures have appeared at various schools where, in keeping with tradition, they were expected to give graduating students a few words of advice on high standards to aim for in building a career. Instead they abused hospitality. Taking advantage of the debate-free sanctuary afforded by academic courtesy toward commencement speakers, they used the occasion to grind Johnson's foreign policy axe.

Their general theme was to deplore "too passionate involvement in the issues of the day," to urge that students "use restraint," and to warn against "abuse" of the right to protest. In sum they told the students to leave foreign affairs to their betters in the Johnson administration. It was said in an arrogant, sneering manner, as a few direct quotations will show.

McGeorge Bundy, a top presidential aide and notorious teach-in dropout, said at Notre Dame that "those who are the least learned make the most noise." In effect he was dismissing academic critics as simple ignoramuses and rude bumpkins to boot. Under-Secretary of State Ball warned at Miami University against "infectious omniscience," which in plain language was a jibe at his opponents as know-it-alls. Attorney General Katzenbach, pontificating at Tufts University, airily termed antiwar protests "a catharsis for dull weekends." Johnson's legal beagle would have people believe that students protest against imperialist war simply for want of a better way to avoid boredom.

FBI Joins In

The top political cop, J. Edgar Hoover, got into the act indirectly with an article in the June issue of the FBI law enforcement bulletin. He red-baited last spring's March on Washington by students protesting against the war in Vietnam, claiming that "Communists" were there from "all over the country." Crudely striving to incite a witch hunt against the student movement, he added that "Communists" are still busy "striving to start demonstrations." The government's smear cam-



J. Edgar Hoover

paign against dissident students makes all the more contemptible the role of the trade union bureaucrats. With the principles of a bar fly who plays yes man in order to cadge free drinks, they are going out of their way to back Johnson against his academic critics. Take the case of George Meany, who assumed the presidency of the AFL-CIO ten years ago with a boast that he "never went on strike . . . never had anything to do with a picket line."

When Johnson compounded imperialist felony by sending troops to occupy Santo Domingo, Meany pledged support to that new violation of national sovereignty and reaffirmed his backing of the assault on Vietnam. Sinking lower still, Meany solidified himself with Hoover's witch hunt by attacking students "who fall for the leadership that is imposed upon them by local cells of the Communist Party." The rest of his ilk in the union bureaucracy have generally followed suit. Those standing up to criticize Johnson, or to call Meany to order for his finking on the students, have been about as numerous as ermine horse blankets.

Although top officials in the Freedom Now movement haven't aped Meany's toadying to Johnson on foreign policy, some have indirectly backed the imperialist assault on the colonial freedom fighters and most have failed to speak out against it. Last February the NAACP's official magazine, *The Crisis*, did truth a disservice. It praised Johnson for his "dedication to freedom and compassion for the underprivileged." Leaving

(Continued on Page 5)

The Military Coup in Algeria: Facts About It Still Unclear

JUNE 23 — As we prepare to go to press, news reports from Algeria remain unclear and inadequate.

The military coup that overthrew the Ben Bella regime is obviously a political move of the deepest significance for the Algerian people and the world socialist movement. Yet on the basis of the scanty information available it is not realistically possible to determine if Gen. Boumediene's seizure of power will mean a general continuation of the policies of the Ben Bella government or a significant shift away from them.

During the months of July and August, The Militant is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated July 12. Weekly publication resumes in September.

Why Can't Johnson Protect Human Life in Mississippi?

American Citizens In Danger There, Not Santo Domingo

By Fred Halstead

JUNE 22 — Hundreds of citizens of the United States have been arrested, manhandled, beaten and expressly threatened with being shot by racists in recent days in Mississippi, but the Johnson administration has done nothing to stop the brutality and illegal suppression of citizens' rights.

This is within the borders of the United States, but Johnson didn't hesitate to send thousands of U.S. troops to save a group of bloody military dictators in Santo Domingo on the lying excuse of protecting U.S. citizens — when not a single U.S. citizen had been harmed.

A call was issued June 17, following the first 700 arrests in Jackson, Miss., by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party for "concerned citizens across the country to come to Jackson to continue demonstrating against the state's denial of the right to vote."

As of June 21, some 900 arrests have been made in Jackson since June 14, when a special session of the state legislature opened with the purpose of changing Mississippi's voting laws. The changes are designed to help the racist state officials more easily circumvent the forthcoming federal voting laws and resist the current MFDP challenge to the seating of the five white racist Mississippi federal congressmen.

The MFDP organized peaceful demonstrations in the capital to "make known their objection to the fact that the state legislators like the five congressmen were not elected by all the people."

Police Brutality

There have been numerous reports in Jackson of brutality against arrested demonstrators in the jails. As people are released on bail they are examined by doctors of the Medical Committee on Human Rights, who report such things as: two miscarriages, a pregnant woman bruised by a kick in the stomach, and head wounds requiring stitches on three volunteer workers.

Lawyers who visit the prisoners say conditions are "abominable" and that "brutality is increasing." The prisoners in compounds must sit or stand all day on concrete floors without furniture and are given only dirty mattresses, and no blankets, at night. MFDP spokesmen say there is a "desperate" need for money to bail out the ill, the aged, minors, those who have children, and those who have been beaten.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Chairman John



DEMAND FEDERAL ACTION AGAINST RACISTS. Commemorating first anniversary of Mississippi murder of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, SNCC, CORE and other civil rights groups picketed FBI office in New York. They demanded federal protection for civil rights workers in Mississippi and immediate release without bail of 900 imprisoned by Jackson authorities.

Lewis and MFDP Chairman Lawrence Guyot were among those arrested. Lewis wired 19 U.S. congressmen after 472 persons were arrested June 14 and many of them taken to Jackson State Fairgrounds: "There men and children were made to run the gauntlet. They were beaten by city policemen and state highway patrolmen with badge numbers covered over with tape. At least five were hospitalized as a result . . ."

The MFDP declared: "Despite federal court orders, despite murders of Negroes and whites working to register voters, despite every force we have been able to muster, Negroes still have no voice in the government of this state . . . We cannot let the nation be taken in by empty promises and gestures. We must have concrete assurances that Negroes will be allowed to vote here and that new elections will be called in this state six to nine months after the new voting bill passes."

An example of the situation that prevails as a result of "empty promises and gestures," was pointed up June 21 when some 100 Negroes and a few whites held a memorial in Neshoba County for the three civil rights workers murdered there a year ago. Di-

recting traffic and observing was Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price, one of the racists involved in the triple murder. Part of the time he sat in a truck smoking a cigar, with a submachine gun in a rack behind his head.

White Racist Threats

Another example was a leaflet handed out by the white racist Committee for Constitutional Rights warning of a peaceful protest march by Negroes in Rankin County and urging "White Citizens" that "if Communist marchers enter your private property . . . shoot them if you have to if they molest or trespass."

But it's not as if Johnson has ignored Mississippi. On the contrary, June 18 he announced the appointment of Mississippi segregationist James Plemmon Coleman to the fifth circuit federal appeals court, which handles the Deep South civil rights cases. Coleman was Mississippi Governor from 1956 to 1960 and established the notorious anti-civil rights State Sovereignty Commission. He is also the lawyer for the five white racist congressmen in the challenge case.

Johnson Finds 1,500 Heads

On May 3 President Johnson declared: "Today there are between 1,000 and 1,500 dead people whose bodies are in the streets of Santo Domingo . . ."

On May 8, reporting from Santo Domingo, New York Herald Tribune correspondent Barnard Collier expressed shock at the use of such a false figure and said: "Reporters, including myself . . . have seen no more than six to ten bodies in the streets."

That didn't stop Johnson from reusing and even adding an imaginative touch to the fake atrocity story. On June 17 he declared: "A fact that has been emphasized all too little, I think, [is that] some 1,500 people were murdered and shot and their heads cut off."

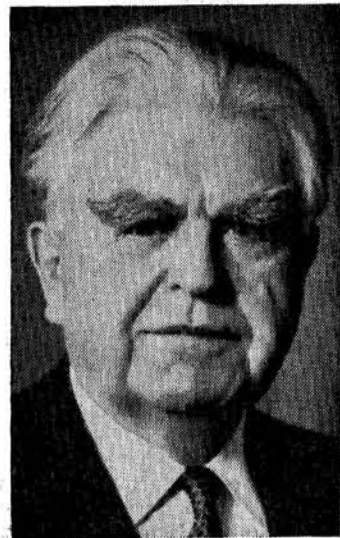


Lyndon Johnson

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

For the first time in 60 years a union, the United Mine Workers, was found guilty by the U.S. Supreme Court of violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The suit against the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) was initiated by the Phillips Brothers Coal Company. The latter was awarded damages of \$270,000 plus \$55,000 in attorneys' fees.

In its appeal, prior to the U.S. Supreme Court decision, the UMW said similar cases pending in lower courts involved damage claims totaling about \$39 million. The suit against UMW and BCOA, which represents the automated mines in the industry, is part of a pattern which began with a sweetheart contract signed by John L. Lewis in 1950.



John L. Lewis

Under this agreement Lewis agreed to automation of the coal mines, under company control, at the expense of workers' jobs. Since then tens of thousands of miners have been forced out of work, the pension and welfare fund has been badly depleted, and now, the small operators are attempting to complete the destruction of the union with the aid of the courts.

Two brief sit-down strikes occurred early this month in the Kenosha, Wisc. plant of the American Motors Corporation. The sit-downs grew out of a dispute over the firing of Mrs. Irene Domenk, an employe with ten years seniority, for not performing her "required" work.

Mrs. Domenk's assembly-line job was putting headlights on car bodies as they moved along the line. Recently a new model car having four, rather than two, headlights was placed on the assembly-line. This doubled Mrs. Domenk's work and she therefore insisted on more help, which the company refused. She was subsequently fired.

This led to the first sit-down in

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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

DETROIT

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEK-END. Two talks on The Labor Movement by Frank Lovell, long time unionist and state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Two talks on The Leninist Concept of Organization in the U.S. by Tom Kerry, editor, International Socialist Review. A talk on Guerrilla Movements in Latin America by Jan Garrett, former editor, Young Socialist. Plus parties and picnic. Fri.-Mon., July 2, 3, 4 and 5. 3737 Woodward. Call TE 1-6135 for information. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

LOS ANGELES

Answer the Birchers! Buy and Wear Your Badge: "CONTROL YOUR LOCAL POLICE." 25c. each, 5 for \$1. Write to: Modern Book Shop, 1702 East Fourth St., Los Angeles 90033.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., July 6, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., July 7, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION, a film, and a talk by a representative of the Tanzanian Embassy. Fri., July 2, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

JULY 9 — PAUL KRASSNER, editor, The Realist, a magazine of free thought and satire, speaks on: "I Was a Teach-In Drop-Out" Fri., July 9, 8:30 p.m.

her department. The company responded by attempting to reassign her to a new department. The question of how many headlights workers would have to attach was left unsettled, and, despite the company offer to reinstate Mrs. Domenk in another department, the workers sat down again. In both cases, the company responded by sending the department home, but reinstated them the following day.

Paul Jennings, recently elected president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, has accused General Electric of moving work from its strike-bound Rome, Ga. plant to plants abroad. The strike, now over two months old, grew out of GE's refusal to resolve workers' grievances or to submit them to arbitration.

To substantiate his charge, Jennings claims, "The company recently announced that it is investing \$43 million to purchase half interest in Compagnie Bull General Electric and Société Industrielle Bull General Electric in France." Jennings also mentioned other GE investments in Italy.

Attempts by the Communication Workers of America to organize 750 employes of Forrest Industries in Forrest, Miss. have been countered by captive audience meetings sponsored by the company. These anti-union meetings, held on company time, utilize pro-boss propaganda, including movies, to intimidate workers. According to the June CWA News Forrest employes "have been forced to meet in secret in a pine thicket to avoid discovery and retribution by management."

One of the effects of increased automation and technology as applied to office work is an increase in the number of clerical jobs. According to a recent pamphlet by the U.S. Department of Labor "Clerical Occupations for Women — Today and Tomorrow," there has been a rapid growth of clerical jobs compared to other occupations employing women workers. Of an estimated 10 million clerks, some 7 million are women. The total number of clerks is expected to reach 14 million by the end of 1975 according to the report.

Most technological improvements in offices have affected stenographers and typists, while intensifying the need for such jobs as coding clerks, console and key-punch operators and tape librarians.

Women planning to enter the clerical field, however, should bear in mind that new electronic data processing machinery will bring substantial cuts in personnel in some offices.

—Tom Leonard

Appears on Los Angeles TV

Organizer of Deacons Explains Purpose

By Della Rossa

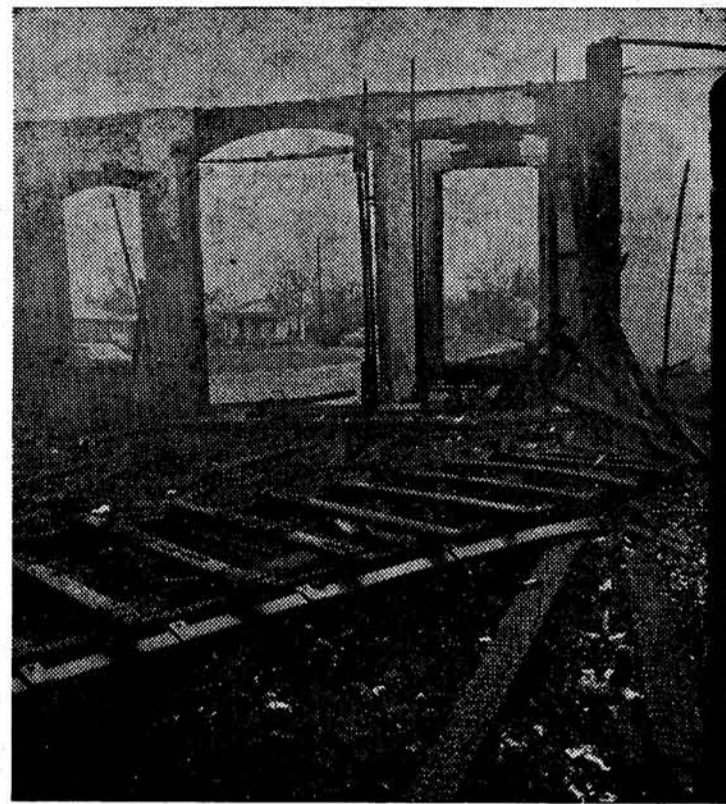
LOS ANGELES — "I never had a chance to fight for freedom before," said World War II veteran Charles Sims, head of the Bogalusa, La., chapter of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, on a TV interview program here on June 13. "Now I want a whole lot of freedom. Through the civil rights movement, with the Deacons' help, we can get it."

The Deacons for Defense and Justice are armed Negro self-defense units. Originating in Jonesboro, La., last summer, the Deacons have spread to other communities in Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi. The purpose of the Deacons is to defend the Negro community and civil rights workers from attacks by racists.

Sims was interviewed on the Louis Lomax TV show. As soon as he was introduced, the Negro and white studio audience gave Sims warm support. Sims speaks quietly and briefly. His appearance and personality project courage and strength.

The Deacon spokesman said that the Deacons' arms are defensive, and are necessary because law enforcement and justice for Negroes in the South are non-existent.

Sims told Lomax that the Deacons would protect civil rights workers in Bogalusa "as long as we live." Isn't he afraid of getting killed? He answered simply, "Why worry about dying when we haven't lived? All we get is the



WHY DEACONS ARE NEEDED. This scene of remainder of SNCC Freedom School in Indianola, Miss., after it was fire-bombed by racists is a grim reminder of the need for organized self-defense by black communities.

backdoor treatment . . . What are they trying to do to us in Louisiana? They are trying to keep us from being free men."

At one point in the program, Rick Nannas, a young white civil rights worker who had just returned from Bogalusa, took the mike and said that if it hadn't been for Sims he couldn't have gotten out of Bogalusa unharmed. Sims drove him to the airport with his gun on the car seat beside him.

"I don't know how we could have made it, if it hadn't been for the Deacons," Nannas said.

Rev. Kilgore, a spokesman for Martin Luther King's movement, also took the mike and made a speech calling on the civil rights movement to confine itself to "conciliation and reconciliation."

Sims answered Rev. Kilgore by saying, "After you've been in Bogalusa, you will look for me. We can't live with the white man if we can't even talk to him. And we can't live with him if he kills us first, either. You can't have a conference if you have dead men represent you."

In an interview with the June 14 Los Angeles Times Sims said,

"I saw all the blood and combat I ever want to see in the second World War. I saw innocent people killed, too. I don't want to see any more combat if I can get around it. But if ever there is a line coming at us, with little or big weapons, I want to be ready." He said it takes him only 15 minutes to mobilize 100 Deacons.

Sims spent four years in the army as a technical sergeant in charge of arms instruction. "I moved around. I saw things I never thought about in Bogalusa. I went to the library and I studied . . . One day in the army I saw a corporal who was a policeman in Bogalusa. He saw me in integrated places and all that. He was a die-hard. He got out of the service first. He saw me back in Bogalusa — me still in uniform.

"First thing he says, 'Remember, you're not in the army now.' I made up my mind then not to be pushed around."

The president of the Deacons for Defense and Justice is Percy Lee Bradford of Jonesboro, La. Ernest Thomas of the same city is vice president and full-time organizer of the defense group.

Negro Writers Attend Parley In New York

By Roland Sheppard

NEW YORK — Over 130 people attended the *Liberator* magazine's Fifth Anniversary writers' conference in Harlem on June 19. The theme of the conference was "black writers at the crossroads," dealt with in four panel discussions around the questions: 1) "Is pro-black necessarily anti-white?" 2) "Is a dialogue desirable between black and white?" 3) "Must the black writer lead?" and 4) "Role of the black woman in white society."

The most interesting debate occurred in the panel on the desirability of a dialogue between black and white. Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, a pacifist magazine, said a white cannot really understand the plight of the Negro and any white is symbolic of the Negro's oppressor. He understood, therefore, why blacks tended to reject whites, such as himself, but he hopes someday whites would prove capable of carrying on a dialogue with blacks.

C. E. Wilson, assistant editor of *Liberator*, said that the white man cannot be trusted. The whites are one large racist and reactionary mass, and the blacks are the only force for social change in this country. On these premises he concluded that there can be no dialogue which can have any meaning to the black man. The audience responded with heavy applause.

The last member of the panel, Robert Vernon, writer for *The Militant*, agreed with Wilson that there is presently no basis for a dialogue between the masses of blacks and whites, but he said that this situation would not remain fixed and permanent. Vernon pointed out that when a large section of whites becomes radical, then there should be a dialogue between them and blacks.

Vernon pointed to a deficiency of black radicals, in that they have built no viable national organization. By building black power today, the black radical would be in a position to deal with whites tomorrow, without having to depend upon whites to protect his interests.

Militant Subscription Drive Secures 3,389 New Readers

By Carolyn Kerry

NEW YORK, June 22 — Our loyal supporters did it again and filled the national quota in the drive to expand the circulation of *The Militant* that has just ended. Chicago heads the list once more and must be congratulated on the outstanding job they did.

The figures show an encouraging trend for the paper to be spread to many of the major cities in the country, especially in the Midwest and on the East coast.

Our supporters in the Twin Cities wrote that a group of them drove to Des Moines, Iowa and sold 73 subscriptions in a few hours. Our correspondent wrote: "In the Des Moines area many people haven't heard about socialism and a socialist paper has never been sold. People were interested in looking at and buying a paper that supports the Negro struggle and exposes the conditions the Negro people live in throughout the South and the North. Negroes in Des Moines were interested in the war in Vietnam and what *The Militant* had to say about Malcolm X, and a number of his speeches were sold. Plans

are being made to cover this area during the next sub drive to widen the audience of *The Militant*, the paper that prints the facts about the world today."

We haven't heard about all the high scorers in the drive, but in Chicago D.W. sold 70 subscriptions, B.W. sold 56 and S.B. sold 53. P.R. led the subscription drive in New York with a total of 70 new *Militant* readers.

City	Quota	Subs
Chicago	500	659
Detroit	500	536
New York	500	529
Boston	275	325
Oakland	250	258
Twin Cities	175	201
Cleveland	200	158
Philadelphia	125	125
Denver	100	103
Seattle	75	90
Newark	200	89
Los Angeles	200	85
San Francisco	100	66
Milwaukee	100	34
San Diego	50	11
St. Louis	15	10
General	—	120
Total	3,365	3,389

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA, by Adolfo Gilly. Part II. Monthly Review, June 1965. 50 cents.

One does not know whether to be more pleased with the second installment of Gilly's article on the Guatemalan guerrillas or with the *Monthly Review* editors' prologue to it. What the editors of *MR* have to say is especially important for the American socialist movement:

"Despite the differences between their situation and ours, the Guatemalan guerrillas have pointed the way to us. They have taken a decisive step toward the internationalization of their struggle. Their appeal is not to Guatemalans as such but to peasants and workers, and they know that the enemy they are fighting against is . . . international imperialism . . . International imperialism can be defeated only by international revolution . . ."

"Socialists in the United States, for example, have got to stop thinking of themselves as a tiny minority . . . Instead, they must think of themselves as members of an immense international movement, capable of embracing the overwhelming majority of mankind, which has the revolutionary task of defeating and overthrowing international imperialism . . ."

The *MR* editors argue that the growing protest movements against the war in Vietnam and against Jim Crow provide a better situation for the development of socialist consciousness than has existed for decades. But, "to grow and eventually succeed, [these movements] must learn to understand the evils they are protesting against, to see that these evils are inevitable manifestations of monopoly capitalism, and to set themselves the goal of overthrowing the evil-breeding system and replacing it by a socialist society of collective ownership and production for use. Who if not socialists are to take on the job of teaching these truths?"

"Tell the truth — that capitalism and imperialism are doomed," they write. "This must be the basis of sound socialist strategy in the United States as well as in Guatemala and all the other countries of the world."

Many more lessons than the international nature of the anti-imperialist struggle are being learned

by the Guatemalan guerrilla fighters. But the fact that they are participants in one of the few advanced movements among the peasantry in this hemisphere gives a vanguard character to these lessons.

Many guerrilla units are overwhelmingly peasant in composition, Gilly reports. The roving rebel units have come to know and trust the judgment of the peasant, who has a knack for an accurate assessment of the local situation, especially when it applies to a question of the peasants' own organizations.

The organs of the agrarian revolution in Guatemala include far more than the mobile guerrilla units. Underground peasant committees, set up by inhabitants of a village with the advice and encouragement of the guerrillas, increasingly take on the functions of government. Peasant militias, armed groups growing out of these committees, provide a recruiting ground for the guerrillas and local self-defense unit for the villagers.

"Singly, each one who challenges the *latifundista* [landowner] or his representative" (the government periodically sends agents to dispossess a peasant from the land he tills) "and, in extreme cases, resorts to violence, is likely to be persecuted and brutally subdued . . . United, they are held in respect and can put the militia into action against anyone who is mistreating a peasant, without implicating the peasant in question."

Socialist Program

The guerrillas consider this a promising development of what they call duality of power, that is, the rise of the rural poor's challenge to the capitalist regime.

The rebels are also learning and applying socialist principles of revolutionary organization. Gilly reports that they feel a fierce sense of equality, which they practice strictly. They express deep identification with the fighting peoples of other colonial areas and an intense desire to unite in practice with other movements in Latin American countries.

The guerrilla movement recruits its members to the programmatic struggle for a workers and farmers government. Within the guerrilla units discussion is free and sometimes long, but, as rebel leader Evaristo Aldana told Gilly, "Given the tasks that we must fulfill and the conditions under which the struggle is developing, we are obliged to base ourselves on what is called 'democratic centralism.'"

The chief lesson of the "Guatemalan breakthrough," as the *MR* editors have labeled Gilly's excellent reportage, can be summed up easily. But let Comandante Antonio Marcos Yon Sosa do it:

"It's not enough to be for socialist revolution, you have to say so. There are *compañeros* who think that although they themselves can understand it, the masses cannot, and therefore one must not speak of it. This shows lack of confidence in the masses. These *compañeros* think that the peasants are concerned only with crops; whereas peasants today are interested in Cuba, China, the Congo, and everything that's happening in the world. You need only to talk to them to find this out. But you must talk to them in simple language, not in abstract formulas; and there's nothing simpler than the idea of a government of workers and peasants."

—Jay Garnett

Double Standard of Justice

Cuban Exiles Freed, Negro Persecuted

By David Herman

NEW YORK — The biased character of our system of justice was shamefully apparent in the contrasting way two recent cases have been handled in the New York courts. One case involves George Whitmore, and the other, three Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

A state Supreme Court justice dismissed the indictments against two anti-Castro Cubans and a Cuban-American who fired a highly explosive bazooka shell at the United Nations building when Cuba's Che Guevara spoke there last December. The three had confessed, but the confessions were ruled inadmissible as evidence.

The confessions were thrown out because the lawyer of the three, who had seen the defendants previously, was refused permission to be with his clients during the five hours they gave their confessions to the police. No charges of police beatings to force the confessions were involved.

Notice of Appeal

District attorney Frank O'Conner said his office would file a notice of appeal, to preserve the right of appeal, but that he had "reservations" about carrying the case further. After all, these boys only wanted to blow up the UN!

This concern shown for the legal rights of the counterrevolutionaries, stands in marked contrast to the blatant disregard shown for the rights of George Whitmore, a 20-year-old Negro.

Whitmore was beaten by cops last year until he "confessed" to three murders and an attempted rape. Since then, one of these confessions, to the double murder of Emily Hoffer and Janice Wylie, has been proven false, and another man indicted for the crime.

All of Whitmore's confessions were made at the same time, during the same beating. They were extracted by the same detec-



tives. Whitmore was not provided with a lawyer before or during the "questioning." Not only have the other two confessions been ruled "valid," Whitmore is still being prosecuted for the other murder and attempted rape!

The latest abuse of Whitmore's legal rights came in a decision of the appellate division of the state court that Whitmore could be tried on the attempted rape charge before the murder charge. This overturned a decision of Supreme Court justice Vincent Damiani granting the defense request to

have the murder trial first.

The prosecuting district attorney made plain why he wants to bring the less serious indictment to trial first:

"There was no evidence in the Edmonds [murder] case other than his confession. It was [my] considered judgment that the outcome of the rape prosecution may well determine the course of the future proceedings to be taken with respect to the pending murder indictment."

In other words, the district attorney hopes to pin the lesser crime on Whitmore, and use this to frame him on the murder charge, for which there is no evidence other than — the "confession."

Now that they have forced three confessions from Whitmore (who has spent more than a year in jail already), and the affair has gotten so much publicity, the "law enforcement" agencies are out to get him for something. Otherwise, their method of securing justice and solving crimes would be exposed.

Justice in New York, like justice in Mississippi, is not impartial. It is class justice, with one standard for the rich and powerful, and those on their side, and with another for the poor, especially those who are black.

New Indictment in Frame-Up Of Wm. Epton in New York

NEW YORK — The city administration is still trying to divert attention from its own guilt in causing last summer's social explosion in Harlem by trying to blame a few "left wing agitators" for the angry reaction of thousands of Harlem residents to the killing of 15-year-old James Powell by an off-duty police lieutenant.

William Epton, vice president of the Progressive Labor Party (formerly the Progressive Labor Movement) was hit June 8 with a "superseding indictment" charging four counts of "conspiracy to commit criminal anarchy" and "conspiracy to riot." The new indictment takes the place of the old one which contained only two counts. It was returned by the notorious New York County Grand Jury which has jailed some 17 persons for refusing to inform before it. If convicted on all counts, Epton faces 17 years in jail and \$12,000 in fines.

Anarchy Law

The charges involve a half-century-old state "criminal anarchy" law which hasn't been invoked for decades. The New York chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has entered the case, asking that the indictment be dropped.

Named as "co-conspirators," but not as co-defendants at the time of Epton's re-indictment, were Bill McAdoo, David Douglas, Vivian Anderson, Otis Chestnut, Harold Young and Michael Crenovich.

Epton, who is running for State Senator from Manhattan's 21st district in the coming election, said the new indictment was an attempt by the city administration "to get off the hook for having done nothing for the black people in this city following the year-old Harlem rebellion."

In another development, Lieut. Thomas R. Gilligan, the cop who killed the 15-year-old Negro student and who was cleared by the police department and a blue-ribbon grand jury, filed a \$5 million libel suit against an amalgam of defendants.

Indications are that the suit is connected with the increased activity within the police department of far-right wing groups, and is part of a campaign by these groups to smear the entire civil rights movement. Roy M. Cohn, who be-

came notorious as counsel for the late senator Joseph McCarthy's witch-hunt committee, is one of Gilligan's lawyers in the suit. Named as defendants in the suit filed May 24 are Martin Luther King Jr., CORE's James Farmer and Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray as well as Epton and the Progressive Labor Movement. On different occasions last summer, all of these publicly deplored Gilligan's action in killing the youth, as did thousands of other Negroes and civil rights fighters in New York and elsewhere.

Court Concession Won By Muslims on Rights

The Black Muslims won a partial victory in their fight to practice their religion in prison in Illinois. U.S. District Court Judge Richard B. Austin ruled on June 7 that prison officials must allow Black Muslims to have the Koran, but can refuse to permit them any other Muslim literature. He said that prison authorities will not be required to assure that Muslim services are held, but added:

"Should a recognized Muslim or Islamic minister make his services available to the prison, however, and space and normal prison routine permit, those who sincerely believe in these faiths should be allowed to attend any service he shall conduct."

The ruling came as the result of a suit by Thomas Cooper, 34, who is serving a 200-year sentence in the Stateville Penitentiary for two murder convictions. Cooper sued the warden and former state director of public safety on the grounds that they were violating the federal Civil Rights Act by denying him the right to follow the Muslim religion.

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THE MILITANT

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Vol. 29 - No. 26



Monday, June 28, 1965

Time Bomb in Santo Domingo

Each day U.S. troops continue to occupy the Dominican Republic, the danger increases of a mass slaughter of the Dominican Constitutionalists who are surrounded by U.S. troops and boxed into the streets of downtown Santo Domingo.

Reporting to the United Nations June 18, José Mayobre, the UN representative in Santo Domingo, stated that the U.S.-supported troops of the reactionary Imbert junta were "known to have massed in large numbers north of the corridor."

"Radio Santo Domingo," he continued, "which is controlled by the Imbert side, broadcast . . . inflammatory speeches stating that these were the last days of the 'rebels' and asking the civilian population of the Caamaño area to cooperate with the Dominican army 'which will enter the city at any moment.'" The previous day, U.S. forces seized without warning an additional 50 square blocks of the downtown area, killing scores and wounding hundreds.

Most ominous, an Associated Press report said that the U.S. was planning to provoke an attack by the Constitutionalists which could serve as an excuse for the U.S. occupying the entire area presently controlled by the Constitutionalists.

The U.S. forces which landed in the Dominican Republic in violation of the national sovereignty of that country have already murdered hundreds of Dominicans in their various maneuvers. But if they move to wipe out the Constitutionalists, they will kill thousands in a horrible re-enactment of the crushing of the Warsaw ghetto by Hitler in 1944.

The Associated Press report was dismissed by the State Department as a "rumor." But as long as U.S. troops remain in Santo Domingo, the danger exists that they will attempt to liquidate the revolutionaries in a house-by-house bloodbath.

U.S. troops must be withdrawn from Santo Domingo before this horrifying possibility can become a reality. The Dominican people must be allowed to determine their own fate without U.S. bayonets dictating their future to them.

MILITANT FUND

We Made It — With a Bit to Spare!

By Barry Sheppard
Militant Fund Director

As you can see from the final scoreboard, we did it again. Almost every area got its money in on time, and a few areas went over the top — most impressively, Boston and Chicago.

The General did very well, too, and we would like to thank those many readers and supporters across the country who sent in what they could, from \$1 to \$200, to support *The Militant*.

A letter from Joe B. said: "Enclosed is a contribution to the Militant Fund. Credit this to Philadelphia. It helps keep one sane in this day of the big lie, when they speak of peace and make war, to see *The Militant* say what has to be said."

Joe B. put his finger on the importance of the drive we have just finished. The funds which you, our supporters, generously gave, will be put to work helping *The Militant* to say what has to be said.

We will continue to publish analysis, news, and discussion about the developing movement

against Johnson's imperialist war in Vietnam. *The Militant* will be playing an increasingly important role within the antiwar movement as it develops and deepens.

Reportage of important developments in Cuba, including reports and texts of major speeches by the revolutionary leaders, will continue to be an important function performed almost singlehandedly by *The Militant*. We will have other important international news, such as the recent first-hand report from Bolivia.

Discussion, news, and analysis of the Freedom Now movement will continue to be an important part of *The Militant's* coverage. We'll have articles on the labor movement, the struggle to protect the Bill of Rights, and other aspects of the social struggles going on in the world and in this country.

And most important, *The Militant* will continue to build a socialist movement which will one day build a new society in the United States.

FROM DOMINICAN PAPER

14th of June Land Program

[We print below an article from the May 30 issue of "El J-14," official organ of the Dominican Republic's June 14 Movement. The paper is published in the Constitutional section of Santo Domingo. The following translation is by *The Militant*.]

The history of Santo Domingo is the story of the struggle of a people to achieve social and economic liberation from the colonial and imperialist powers which have exploited and robbed it.

The independence movement of the 27 of February, 1844, led by Duarte, declared our separation from all foreign power and established us as a nation, determined to be free and sovereign. Formally, we are independent, but we have not really had this independence because we have not had control of our own economy, the base of sovereign development.

The present democratic movement, which has a profoundly revolutionary character because of its intensity and the way the masses have participated, is a projection of the independence movement of 1844 which was frustrated by the large landholders.

Oligarchy Dominated

The large landholders, the main section of the oligarchy, infiltrated that movement and ended up dominating the political leadership of these early democratic struggles against the colonial powers of that epoch.

The middle class, which was in that epoch the most revolutionary, was allied with the large landholders in the political and military leadership of the movement. The farmers remained oppressed.

After the Restoration [Spain re-occupied the country in 1861 and was expelled in 1865 when the republic was restored] the oligarchy conserved intact its economic and social structures, the predominance of the large landholders, etc. This permitted it to oust from power Gregorio Luperon [leader of the fight against Spain], who represented the revolutionary ideals of creating new economic and social relations in Dominican society. The farmers remained oppressed.

Imperialists Take Over

Then, with the passing of the United States to its imperialist phase, the national oligarchy little by little handed the Dominican economy over to the imperialists in Wall St. in order to keep themselves in power. The loans of the house of Harmont passed into the hands of U.S. firms, then the U.S. Marines occupied our land in 1916 — under the same pretext as now of "peace keeping"—but in reality for the following reasons: to conserve and increase U.S. economic interests, and to create the mechanism that could insure them the returns on the enterprises exploiting our resources and riches. That mechanism was the military dictatorship.

It can be said that the early revolution for independence could not complete itself because it did not involve the active participation of the main body of the people, the farmers, and did not create a firm, homogeneous vanguard with a solid economic base. The same is true of the war of Restoration.

If we analyze the defeats of our

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Dominican Revolutionist at N.Y. Forum

NEW YORK — Marcelo Bermudez, a representative of the Dominican Republic's June 14 Movement, spoke to a packed hall at the Militant Labor Forum here on June 18.

Bermudez is one of the survivors of the June 14 Movement's "Constitutional Guerrillas," who resisted with arms the military coup that overthrow the constitutional government in the fall of 1963. Two dozen of the guerrillas were killed at that time, including the beloved leader of the June 14 Movement, Manuel Tavarez Justo, and about 100 were jailed. Some of these, including Bermudez, were later deported.

"We lost that battle," said the young speaker, "but the people learned and the fight they are putting up today proves it." He said the Constitution of 1963, which the present Constitutional revolutionaries restored, "was to stop the privilege of the oligarchy, of the latifundists, to let the workers share in the fruits of industry, to make the land reform."

Bermudez said those who think a peaceful solution is possible in Santo Domingo "are making illusions and just don't know what the orders of the U.S. troops are." The U.S. troops are attacking, he said, and "are there to stop the constitution, to kill Dominican patriots, because the imperialists need the military oligarchy to defend their holdings and their exploitation." He said thousands of Dominicans outside of



Marcelo Bermudez

Santo Domingo have been jailed by the U.S.-backed junta forces and there is every indication many of these prisoners have been murdered in the pattern of the Trujillo regime.

"The only way to get rid of the Yankee invader," said Bermudez, "is through armed struggle. This position is final. We will fight to the end."

A collection was taken from the audience. The money was turned over to the Dominican Solidarity Committee of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) of Puerto Rico, to help spread the truth about the Dominican revolution and send medical supplies to the Dominicans.

revolutionary movements; including the glorious expedition [against Trujillo on June 14] of 1959, the Insurrection of November [1963], not to mention the government of Professor Bosch, we see that the farmers were not incorporated politically into the struggle.

At the present time, it follows, the great problem of the Dominican Revolution is: to incorporate the farmers into the struggle.

The farmers will be incorporated, we know, as the revolution carries out their fight for land, organizes them, and fights together with them, with arms, for the Agrarian Reform.

We consider that in the present

fight for national sovereignty, the shortest, surest way to include the farmers and the countryside is to promulgate a law which orders the immediate handing over of the lands of the large landowners to the farmers, to initiate the Agrarian Reform and the proscribing of the large landholdings as promised by the constitution of '63. This will also serve as just punishment to the large landholders, who support the Yankee aggression against our country.

We must advance the fight for land for the farmers.

We must help them do it themselves. This is the only road to victory.

LAND TO THE FARMERS!

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$ 900	\$ 1,000	111
Chicago	1,800	2,000	111
Cleveland	800	816	102
Oakland/Berkeley	900	915	102
Allentown	200	200	100
Denver	300	300	100
Detroit	1,200	1,200	100
Los Angeles	4,000	4,000	100
Milwaukee	400	400	100
New York	5,800	5,800	100
Philadelphia	300	300	100
San Francisco	250	250	100
San Diego	900	901	100
Twin Cities	1,400	1,400	100
St. Louis	200	143	74
General	250	518	201
Final Total	\$20,300	\$20,843	104

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British Teach-Ins Score U. S. War in Vietnam

The teach-in movement is taking root in England, where in the space of a week two major student-faculty discussions of the Vietnam war have been held. The first, June 11, was at University College, London. Over 1,000 students heard 20 speakers only three of whom defended Johnson's policy.

Isaac Deutscher, the Marxist historian who spoke in the national teach-in in Washington, May 15, led the London attack on the State Department. Characterizing President Johnson as the policeman of world counterrevolution, he attacked British Prime Minister Harold Wilson as Johnson's assistant cop, and demanded to know why the British Labor Party supports the Vietnamese war.

Two United States Embassy officials who had promised to attend followed the Bundy precedent, backing out at the last minute. Their replacement was a half-hour film of a speech by LBJ: the one that promised to raise the living standards of the Vietnamese by creating a TVA type project on the Mekong River — remember?

At the second British teach-in, at Oxford University June 16, which was carried live over BBC television, the State Department tried but failed to regain its prestige. Their man at Oxford was the recent U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge. The only trouble was, Lodge lost his temper and spilled the beans. According to the *New York Times* of June 17, the explanation is Lodge just wasn't experienced in the "tradition of stormy debates" and "heckling" familiar to the Oxford student debaters.

When he was pushed into a corner about the failure of the United States to make serious negotiation offers, Lodge blurted out: "Winston Churchill would not have negotiated at Dunkirk. I don't think any country in the world would negotiate when there

is large aggression in its territory." (Emphasis added)

Precisely when the American ruling class decided to annex South Vietnam to U.S. territory is a question we haven't been able to trace down. Evidence strongly points to the year 1954 — when the U.S. went into South Vietnam and set up Diem as its first puppet dictator.

Three Detroit Socialists Cleared on Charges of 'Interfering' With Cop

DETROIT — Daniel Rosenshine, Edward D'Angelo and Dorothea Breitman, three socialists charged with "interfering with an officer," won a courtroom victory on June 3. After hearing the entire prosecution case, and before any witnesses were presented for the defense, Judge Vincent Brennan granted a motion for dismissal by defense attorney O. Lee Molette and threw the case out of court.

The three defendants, along with two other socialists, Robert Higgins and Richard T. David, were arrested last October 24, after an incident in front of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters involving racial insults by two off-duty policemen. David and Higgins are Negroes. Both David and Higgins were acquitted on "assault" charges on February 9. Higgins had been charged on another occasion with driving a stolen car. This charge was thrown out after a motion for dismissal by attorney Milton R. Henry.

Prosecution witnesses, mostly policemen, gave contradictory testimony about the basis for the arrests. No overt acts of "interference" were claimed by any of the policemen. Patrolman Andrew Meholic, whose racist remarks triggered the incident, admitted on the stand that he is under suspension as a result of the case.

Polls Point Up Teach-Ins

No Johnson 'Consensus' on Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

The deep-going dissatisfaction in America with Johnson's policies in Vietnam is reflected in a recent Gallup poll. While the most conscious and organized protest is on the campus, the poll shows that distrust, confusion and rejection of the administration's view is far from limited to the campus.

The Gallup poll of June 8, reported in the *Washington Post*, asked the question: "In your opinion, what would you like to see the United States do next about Vietnam?" The answers broke down as follows: stop military action, 25 percent; continue present policy, 20 percent; increase military action, 21 percent; no opinion, 28 percent; and other responses, five percent.

These figures show that those Americans who supported the Johnson war program or wanted to escalate the war were in a minority, comprising only 41 percent of those polled. The majority did not support the Johnson war. Many were undecided, but fully 25 percent — more than the number who favored continuing the present policy — were for ending the war.

No Consensus

This 25 percent goes much deeper into the American population than "a few irresponsible professors" — as the Johnson apologists would have one believe. The plain fact of the matter is that there is no "consensus" in America for Johnson's policies — and if he put his war plans to vote, they would probably be rejected.

Particularly interesting in gauging the depth and seriousness of the anti-war movement on campus, is an article in the June 21 *The Nation*, by Arnold S. Kaufman, an associate professor of philosophy at the University of Michigan and one of the founders of the first teach-in.

Kaufman points out that the main cause of the teach-in movement "was clearly the administra-

tion's decision, contrary to all assurances given before the election, to enlarge the war in Vietnam. The opposition of those already opposed to U.S. policy intensified; many others who had been teetering haplessly on the edge of indecision fell into opposition.

"And because they felt duped and manipulated their reactions were correspondingly intense . . . Nothing has aroused more irritation among thoughtful men than the administration's huckster approach to the problem of 'selling' its policies to the American public."

Kaufman indicates that the members of the teach-in movement, although widely separated on points of tactics, agree that revolutionary movements must not be suppressed, and he shows the strong mutual support between the teach-in and civil rights movements, commenting, not without good reason, "the political implications of this relationship are explosive."

Also significant is Kaufman's calling attention to the fact that many of those now in the leadership of the anti-administration movement were among the strongest supporters of Johnson in the 1964 elections:

"For example," he writes, "among the sponsors of the Michigan teach-in were the past chairman of our local Citizen's for Johnson-Humphrey Committee . . . the only Democratic mayor Ann Arbor has had in more than three decades, one of the principal campaign managers for our successful

Democratic candidate for Congress, and countless persons active in the precincts."

These observations confirm the earlier notice of disaffection from the Johnson camp written about by Webster Schott in *The Nation* May 31. Describing a teach-in at Washington University, St. Louis, Schott says "The Washington University teach-in typified the national exodus of intellectuals from the Johnson camp. Among the real movers of the St. Louis teach-in . . . were several who had organized the highly effective Missouri Scientists, Engineers and Physicians for Johnson and Humphrey during the last election."

Wide Opposition

The lying and bullying of the Johnson Administration, the cynical murders in Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic, all in the space of eight months, have provoked a widespread and deep-going opposition to U.S. foreign policy.

The anti-administration movement is still in a searching stage, and this was made clear in Kaufman's article. The first step is to open up the discussion and debate: "Why shouldn't the American people," Kaufman asks, "be exposed to the thinking of Trotskyites as well as the thinking of Birchites?"

"Only remember," he adds, "ideas are not there to be bought and sold like commodities." Clearly, the teachers and students don't want to be duped again, and this is perhaps the keynote of the teach-in movement.

... Attacks on the Teach-Ins

(Continued from Page 1)

aside the president's tokenism and gradualism on civil rights in this country, how can that description be squared with his crimes against the Vietnamese and Dominican peoples? Silence about those crimes is consent to them. It is a breach of faith with freedom fighters abroad, whose aims are akin to those of the freedom struggle here, and who are battling the common oppressor of both movements, U.S. imperialism.

Fortunately for the Freedom Now movement, some within its ranks are setting a better example. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee supported the student March on Washington which demanded an end to the Vietnam war. Bob Parris (Moses) spoke as a representative of SNCC at the march. A similar note of international solidarity among freedom fighters was struck by Ossie Davis, the well-known playwright and actor, at a June 8 protest rally in Madison Square Garden on the Vietnam issue. He put a rhetorical question to the imperialists: "If you ask us to be

nonviolent in Selma, why can't you be nonviolent in Saigon?"

These meaningful acts reflect growing potential within the Freedom Now movement for support to academic critics of Johnson's policies. A similar process is bound to develop in the ranks of the trade unions. Meany and Co. don't speak for the workers they pretend to represent. Like others in this country many working people can't help but feel disgusted with the atrocities of U.S. imperialism. Their problem is that so far they haven't found an organized way to differentiate themselves from the union bureaucrats' lickspittle support of everything Johnson does.

With militant student action the day will be speeded when black freedom fighters along with trade union members, black and white, will join the fight for a peaceful foreign policy. Exactly the militant answer that was needed to Johnson's smear attack has been given by his academic critics. They have made a permanent organization of the teach-in movement, and without doubt the students will also move toward more extensive forms of protest against imperialist war.

Throughout the cold war, that gets hotter all the time, the rest of the world has seen little more of this country than the ugly image of its imperialist minority who want to rule the planet. The time is now drawing nearer when the real U.S.A., the non-imperialist majority who want to live at peace with all others, will assert themselves.

World Events

Enterprise Too Private

A former transport manager in a paper carton factory near Darlington, England, was caught stealing from his boss (all of \$571 worth) and was sentenced to a year in jail. The manager, Derrick Jackson, had secretly sold used packing cases instead of having them burned. His illegal efforts, however, gave the company a good idea — and now it is selling the cases.

Greek Royalty Grant Boon

The world-wide war against poverty was recently joined by two royal recruits. King Constantine and Queen Anne-Marie of Greece have announced they will guarantee a proper education to all poor Greek babies born on the same day their own baby is born. The queen is expecting her first child this month. Children born on other days will still have to get on the best they can.

Fight for Liberties in India

A nationwide campaign for civil liberties is being organized in India to oppose the "national emergency" decree and the "Defense of India" laws, under which hundreds of leftist leaders have been arbitrarily jailed by Premier Shastri's Congress Party government. A major civil liberties convention was held in Bombay June 12-13, presided over by N.C. Chatterjee, head of the All-India Civil Liberties Union. The organizing committee included prominent lawyers, journalists, trade unionists, and leaders of all the parties on the left, including the Trotskyist group. Other regional conferences to demand release of pol-

itical prisoners have been held, and an all-India civil liberties conference is planned.

Stalin Museum to Reopen

Soviet officialdom is planning to reopen the Stalin museum in Gori, Georgia, where Stalin was born. The ornate marble shrine was closed after the de-Stalinization campaign began in 1956. Meanwhile, criticism of Stalin, especially his failure to prepare adequately against attack by Nazi Germany, continues in the Soviet press.

Changes in China's Army

The recent announcement of the abolition of ranks in the Chinese army has attracted considerable attention. The May 25 *Liberation Army Daily* shed some light on what lay behind this move: "Our army had no system of military ranks during the protracted revolutionary wars of the past. This system came into effect from 1955 onwards, after victory throughout the country. Then years of practice have proved that it is not in conformity with our army's glorious tradition, with close relations between the officers and men, between the higher and lower levels, and between the army and the people."

The *Liberation Army Daily* did not explain, however, why the system of ranks was introduced years after the victory of the Chinese Revolution. No explanation was offered of the defects of the system, what was discovered in "ten years of practice," or why the change was made only now. Most likely, the change marks a concession to sentiment in the ranks

against a growth of privileges for the officer caste. The concession is welcome. It should increase China's fighting capacity in the face of the rising threat from U.S. imperialism.

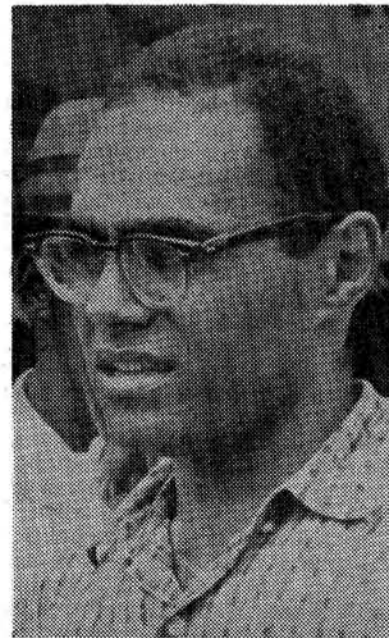
A Fan the Boss Can't Stand

Britain's youngest union leader is reported to be 19-year-old Valerie Cresswell. She was elected president of the 2,500-member Birmingham branch of the Electric Trades Union. "The only reason I went to that meeting was to pay my subs [dues]," said the young Beatle fan, "I didn't even know they were having an election, but an Irishman stood up and nominated me." What was behind it? "Valerie is a good union member and she's not afraid to stand up to the management," explained one unionist, adding, "We're sure she'll give a strong lead to our women members."

Light on Lumumba's Killers

The Tunis weekly *Jeune Afrique* (June 13) reproduced photostatic copies of documents providing fresh evidence on the murder of Patrice Lumumba. The most important document is an order signed by Tshombe to carry out the execution of Lumumba, and his associates Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito, "without delay." The reason given was "in the interests of the state." The order was delivered to Captain Julien Gat, a Belgian mercenary in charge of the military guard holding the three prisoners. This man, *Jeune Afrique* reports, lives today in Antwerp and was recently decorated by the Belgian government.

—George Saunders



Robert Parris

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FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Tom Paine — Rights and Reason

By Jean Simon

Today's freedom fighters have more in common with Tom Paine than with most of the other figures in the First American Revolution.

Unlike many of the other leaders of 1776, Paine was not a slaveowner nor a big landholder. He was not a wealthy trader, nor a part of the young colonial power structure growing restless under British control.

When he came to America in 1774 at the age of 37, he was practically penniless. The son of an English corset maker, he left school at 13 to learn his father's trade. After years he ran away to sea for a period, then worked from time to time as an exciseman (tax inspector), corset maker and teacher.

In 1772 Paine was a leader in the struggle of the excisemen to win a wage increase, and wrote an appeal on their behalf to Parliament. The excisemen contributed to publish Paine's report and to keep him in London for a while to lobby for them. But the net result was the victimization of Paine as a "trouble maker." He was fired from his government job for being "absent without leave."

It was with this background that Paine came to America at the end of 1774. Within a few weeks he wrote an essay condemning "African Slavery in America." It was published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* and the *Weekly Advertiser*, March 8, 1775. On April 14 the first anti-slavery society in America was organized in Philadelphia and Paine was a member.

Tom Paine was a consistent freedom fighter. He related the struggles against slavery and British colonial rule. He opposed unjust taxation, anti-labor laws "regulating and limiting workmen's wages," militarism, the unequal status of women and restrictions of freedom of speech and press. He fought monarchy, institutionalized religion and other anti-democratic forces of his time.

Opposed Slavery

In October 1775, when the colonial struggle was still against the excesses of British rule rather than for independence, Paine published another article condemning Britain's "most horrid of all traffics, that of human flesh."

"When I reflect on these," he wrote, "I hesitate not for a moment to believe that the Almighty will finally separate America from Britain. Call it independence or what you will, if it is the cause of God and humanity it will go on."

The first clear-cut call to the masses of America to break with England and monarchy, to give up the "patchwork" of reform and embark on the revolutionary course of independence, was issued in Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, published in January, 1776. With this pamphlet he took his unquestioned place as chief propagandist of the American Revolution.

His simple, direct language and clear arguments were so popular that *Common Sense* immediately

became a best seller. About 100,000 copies were sold within six months and an estimated three hundred thousand copies were finally distributed — at a time when the population of the colonies was less than three million. The groundwork had been laid for the Declaration of Independence which followed in six months, on July 4.

As the consequences of the "independence now" demand unfolded in the Revolutionary War, Paine continued to do whatever was needed to mobilize mass support. From time to time he issued the *Crisis* papers. Aimed at maintaining the morale of the soldiers and the colonial forces, they reported on the events in the war, argued against the British and their American Tory supporters, and appealed to the British people. Despite temporary defeats, he confidently expressed the spirit known today as "we shall overcome."

Dedicated Revolutionist

"The great American cause owed as much to the pen of Paine as to the sword of Washington," was the tribute of Joel Barlow, American poet of the time.

But Tom Paine was a dedicated revolutionist who did more than write. He served as secretary to the commander of the Flying Camp, an outfit that moved quickly to trouble spots when needed. Later he was volunteer aide-de-camp to the army of General Nathaniel Greene.

He served on various official committees of the Continental Congress and on the unofficial Committee of Inspection, formed at a public mass meeting in Philadelphia on May 27, 1779 to deal with merchants engaging in war-profiteering at the expense of the public.

In November, 1779, when he was clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, he contributed \$500 of his annual salary to head a subscription drive for relief of the army. A year later he resigned his post to go to France seeking aid for the colonies. He returned with 2,500,000 livres but was personally so broke he had to borrow ferry passage across the Delaware on his way home.

Tom Paine was an internationalist. After American independence was established, he went to France and England to support

the struggles against the old order there. In 1791 he was active in the Republican Society in France, which aimed at the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. In November of the same year, in London, he was guest of honor at the annual dinner of the Revolution Society commemorating the English Revolution of 1688. He made a speech toasting "The Revolution of the World" — the first man to raise that slogan, according to some historians.

Like freedom fighters in every age, Tom Paine was hated by the conservatives and right wingers of his day and ignored or misrepresented afterwards. His books were burned and he was charged with sedition in England. In America *The New England Palladium* called him a "lying, drunken, brutal infidel, who rejoiced in the opportunity of basking and wallowing in the confusion, bloodshed, rapine and murder in which his soul delights."

When he went to vote in New Rochelle, N.Y. on election day, 1806, the witch hunters of his time got in their final blow: they charged the man who had devoted his life to the American Revolution and the spreading of its principles to Europe was an alien, and denied him the ballot.

Tom Paine died almost friendless in New York City on June 8, 1809, after prolonged illness. The only attendants at his funeral in New Rochelle were a Quaker watchmaker, three friends from France and two Negro pallbearers. Generations later, Theodore Roosevelt referred to Paine as a "filthy little atheist," and as late as 1942 the Fairmount Park Commission of Philadelphia refused to permit the erection of a statue of Paine because of his "reputed religious views."

But Tom Paine left a much greater memorial and the best refutation of all the slanders against him — the ideas of a revolutionary age in clear, forceful language written for the masses of common people. And his philosophy, summed up in a sentence from *The Age of Reason*:

"I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy."

Socialism and the Bill of Rights

It would be a great mistake to think the socialist revolution in Europe or America will be accomplished after the pattern of backward Russia. The fundamental tendencies will, of course, be similar. But the forms, methods, the "temperature" of the struggle, all this has, in each case, a national character. By anticipation it is possible to establish the following law: The more countries in which the capitalist system is broken, the weaker will be the resistance put up by the ruling classes in other countries, the less sharp a character the revolution will assume, the less violent forms the proletarian dictatorship will have, the shorter it will be, the sooner the society will be reborn on the basis of a new, more full, more perfect and humane democracy. In any case, no revolution will infringe on the Bill of Rights as much as imperialist war and the fascism it will engender.

Socialism would have no value if it should not bring with it, not only the juridical inviolability but also the full safeguarding of all the interests of the human personality. Mankind would not tolerate a totalitarian abomination of the Kremlin pattern. The political regime of the USSR is not a new society, but the worst caricature of the old. With the might of the techniques and organizational methods of the United States; with

the high well-being which planned economy could assure there to all citizens, the socialist regime in your country would signify from the beginning the rise of independence, initiative and creative power of the human personality.

[Interview with Leon Trotsky, February 14, 1940; reprinted in *The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology*.]



Leon Trotsky

Questions and Answers About Socialism

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

Since all the various socialist groups share a common goal, wouldn't it be a good thing if they all united into a single organization, particularly since the socialist forces are so small and isolated in this country?

Socialist unity is a highly desirable goal, and everything that can be done to advance it should be done. But political realism demands an awareness that there are profound political differences between the various socialist organizations and that these differences lead to basically divergent courses of action, and thereby limit the amount of socialist unity that can be attained.

Of the four principal socialist parties — Socialist, Socialist Workers, Socialist Labor, and Communist — only one, the Socialist Workers, has a proven record of favoring united socialist action where it can be achieved. The SWP has consistently supported the civil liberties of all radicals regardless of political differences, and has pressed for united action on specific issues where there is agreement on such issues. In some cases, united activities in antiwar demonstrations, etc., have been achieved by such efforts.

United Front

Each of the other groupings has its own particular reason for rejecting the idea of such united socialist action. The Socialist Party takes the stand that it will not participate in a united front that includes the Communist Party or Socialist Workers Party because it declares the CP and the SWP to be "totalitarian." This is an expression of the degree to which the leadership of the Socialist Party goes along with cold-war propaganda.

The Communist Party, for its part, enthusiastically favors united actions with the Socialist Party but resists united actions if they include the SWP. This sectarian stand is a carry-over from the days when the Communist Party promoted the Stalinist frame-up thesis that Trotskyists are "fascists."

The Socialist Labor Party, living in a comfortable little world of its own, insists that it is the only one with the right to call itself socialist and regally refuses to have anything to do with other socialist groups.

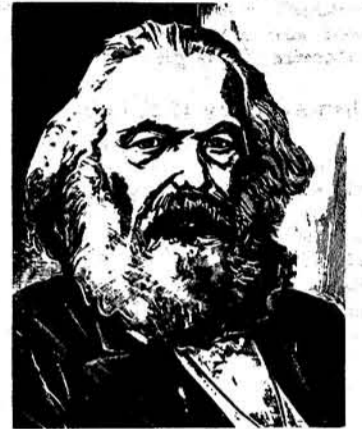
There was one recent brief period of fluidity and discussion within the radical movement. This occurred after Khrushchev's famous 1956 speech about the crimes of Stalin. His revelations had a profound effect on the members of the Communist Party here, as well as internationally. Many members and supporters of the CP who had previously accepted the word from Moscow as gospel, began to think for themselves, and to question and reconsider long-held views.

The Socialist Workers Party pressed at that time to supplement this healthy discussion with united action to advance the socialist cause.

In 1958, the SWP joined its efforts with those of independent socialists in New York and elsewhere to run united independent socialist tickets in the elections then taking place.

Persistent efforts were made to win the participation of the SP and CP in this very healthy and effective socialist activity. Unfortunately, the leaders of both parties stubbornly refused to join in.

The opposition of the SP and CP to united socialist political action is a good clue to the reason for the divisions between the vari-



Karl Marx

ous parties. The fact is that neither the SP nor CP really favors independent political action. Both of them have been committed to the "lesser evil" course for a good 30 years now. This led them both to support Johnson for president in the last election, as it had previously led them to support Kennedy.

Johnson's aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic has apparently done nothing to convince either of these parties that they may have been wrong, since neither has offered any evidence of reconsidering its position.

Clearly the CP and SP position of supporting Democrats makes difficult any united political action between them and the SWP, which rejects support of capitalist parties as a betrayal of the interests of all those oppressed by capitalism.

These crucial differences on independent political action vs. support of the Democrats are a reflection of profound political differences. The truth is that while the CP and SP talk in the name of socialism, they have given up the struggle for it and limit themselves to the hopeless task of trying to reform the capitalist system.

The CP, for its part, remains an unthinking ideological apologist for whoever happens to be in power in the Kremlin and confines itself to promoting the Kremlin policy of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. This leads it to support of what it claims is the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, which, in its view, is represented politically by the Northern Democrats.

Cold-War Myth

The Socialist Party, on the other hand, accepts the cold war propaganda myth that the Soviet Union is responsible for the cold war. Sections of its leadership went so far as to support the invasion of Cuba and now support U.S. aggression in Vietnam in the name of combating Communist "totalitarianism." Clearly, revolutionary socialists, who, although opposed to bureaucratic Stalinist practices, see U.S. imperialism as the main danger to the world, have little practical basis for united activity with those holding such a view.

However, it should be re-emphasized — no matter how profound the differences between the various groups, where there is the basis for united action, all concerned should lend their efforts to promoting and insisting on such action. And there should also be a serious objective exchange of views about differing political ideas. This would not only make for a healthier atmosphere but would be of value to the many young people now considering socialist solutions and seeking clarification on the complex issues in dispute within the radical movement.

— Harry Ring

BACK IN PRINT!

A major work of Marxist theory

The Permanent Revolution

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Letters From Our Readers

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

Dismayed by U.S. Policy

Minneapolis, Minn.
Though I have not been a subscriber to *The Militant*, I am an ardent supporter of what are, to me, progressive causes. I agree wholeheartedly on why the United States should not be in Vietnam and cannot resist crying out in utter dismay at what the present

administration is doing and not doing. Something is wrong with the way in which this administration is operating. There has been no war on poverty and our country is fighting in Vietnam. Why?

I have been told by certain people that we have certain commitments. What are they? Really, in the last analysis, do we not have troops in other countries because of sheer capitalistic imperialism? It is we who haughtily assert that it is our country which is for freedom. What kind of arrogance or sanctimonious self-righteousness is this?

It has finally become evident to me that it is big business, not the people, whom the United States government really represents; it is they who, in the last analysis, decide. This being the case, the altruism or big-brotherism which is so piously exemplified in our international policy is really a facade for capitalistic expediency or the underlying unscrupulousness of businessmen whose only objective is wealth and power — in other words, their own self-aggrandizement.

We now have the knowledge and power to bring about a fusion of hydrogen nuclei, by means of which all life could be extinguished and the planet possibly vaporized. Having this power, we had better examine ourselves. Is the hydrogen bomb in the hands of nations analogous to dynamite in the hands of irresponsible children? I really hope not!

G.G.

Likes Articles on Socialism

Detroit, Mich.
Was glad to see the articles in *The Militant* dealing with labor history and questions and answers about socialism.

This is a feature that has long been needed in the pages of *The Militant*. General socialist education is a prerequisite for following and interpreting daily events.

I hope *The Militant* will continue to serve this function. I am looking forward to future issues even more eagerly than usual.

Marilyn Levin

Meaning of 'Viet Cong'

New York, N.Y.
Until recently I took for granted that the term "Viet Cong" was the name of the South Vietnam guerrilla organization. It appeared to make sense. The *New York Times* refers to the National Liberation Front as the political arm of the "Viet Cong." And if Viet Minh is the name of the party in North Vietnam, why "Viet Cong" in the South?

But only when I happened to note that "The Militant" had quotation marks around the term in a particular article did I question the meaning of "Viet Cong." To my surprise, it turned out not to be the name of the South Vietnam guerrilla organization, but an epithet meaning Viet "reds."

Although *The Militant* has been careful to use quotation marks around the term, it does not register with most of us. It would be worthwhile, therefore, for *The Militant* to carry an explanation of the term "Viet Cong" from time to time, and in a box. Then we would be fully aware of how subtly the propaganda machine of the capitalist rulers works in its favor.

Anne Chester

Gets Paper Late

Lake Carmel, N.Y.
I am tardy, as usual, in sending in my renewal, but here is a \$6 check for a two-year lease on my favorite newspaper.

Thought for the Week

"To refuse to include the National Liberation Front of the rebel forces in negotiations would be similar to King George III insisting 185 years ago that he would negotiate with our French ally but not with Gen. George Washington and his rebel American forces." — Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.)

One constant frustration, not your doing, is the time lapse before I receive each copy. Sometimes it is as much as three weeks! Am I your only subscriber who has this trouble?

I hope some day I can scrape enough pennies together to get down to meet you people and tell you personally how grateful I am that a paper like *The Militant* exists.

M.C.

[We have received other complaints of delays in delivery of *The Militant*. We have not succeeded, thus far, in persuading the Post Office to do something effective about it.—EDITOR]

Democratic Decision

Huntington Station, N.Y.
Please remove my son's name from your subscription list. I do not wish for him to receive any further issues of your paper.

Mrs. J.K.

The Do-Nothings

Duluth, Minn.
After reading this week's *Militant*, a haunting thought has oc-

curred to me. Considering the following observation, the continuing decadence of U.S. morality is quite logical. Recent demonstrations of opinion and support (concerning Vietnam policy, for example) drew 20,000 (at least) in opposition, a few hundred (at most) in support, while more than 179,000,000 did nothing.

G.C.

Wants More Information

Renton, Wash.
I read your advertisement in the May-June issue of *Young Socialist* magazine. Enclosed please find 50 cents for a four-month trial subscription to your newspaper.

Also, I would appreciate any information you could send on the Vietnam-Dominican Republic situation. I'm in the process of forming an organization to protest these atrocities, and would like material on which to base our campaign. A list of pamphlets and other material available for purchase from you would be appreciated. If no list is available, I would like to obtain sample copies, plus bulk prices on them.

Keep up the good work, and

thank you for your time and cooperation.

T.W.

[Pioneer Publisher, 5 East Third Street, New York, N.Y. 10003, publishes the material you wish. They would be pleased to send you a free catalog on request.—EDITOR]

Circulation Booster

Yellow Springs, O.
Would you please file a subscription for a friend. Her name and address plus money order to cover are enclosed.

I would also like to mention that I am very happy I started subscribing to *The Militant*. I rarely disagree with your editorial opinions; but when I do, I consider the knowledge of the other view valuable.

G.C.

Clear Road for Fascists?

Pittsburgh, Pa.
It certainly was sound thinking that, if Kennedy was disposed of, the fascists would have a clearer road ahead of them. They would not even have to bother with the tired liberals.

S.W.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"OPERATION ALERT" SEEN AS HOAX ON U.S. PUBLIC — The American people were submitted June 15, to a simulated H-bomb attack on 61 cities. Millions were assumed killed, millions wounded and millions homeless. Casualties were underestimated, not exaggerated . . .

Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, the atomic scientist, said on June 19 that Operation Alert was "obsolete before it began." Simulated thermonuclear bombing was not treated "seriously." An H-bomb could put a "radioactive ash over 100,000 square miles" which would remain deadly to anyone exposed to it more than a day or two, for weeks after the blast.

Eisenhower and his civil defense administrator, Val Peterson, repeated their "dig and pray" routine of a few months ago.

Peterson, after the "test" was over, advised: The best thing for people who live 11 or 12 miles from a presumed target to do "this very minute, is to get busy and build in their backyard a shelter that will permit them to get three feet of dirt over their heads." In this way Mr. Peterson thinks, people will get "more peace of mind than by moving to Tahiti, or Laos or Tibet."

Eisenhower said: "The most devout daily prayers that any of us has, should be uttered in the supplication that this kind of disaster never come to the United States." — June 27, 1955.

20 Years Ago

WALL STREET INTERETS PUSH SENATE BILL TO SMASH UNIONS — Big business on June 20 introduced into the United States Senate a legislative "master plan" to paralyze and destroy the American labor movement in the post-war period.

This is the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill Federal Relations Bill designed to abrogate the progressive features of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act and other federal statutes for the protection of union collective bargaining rights.

Termed by its sponsors an "Industrial Peace" bill, the measure is actually a virtual declaration of war against the most cherished and hard-won rights of labor-free, unregimented unions, union security through the closed shop and, above all, the right to strike . . .

The Federal Labor Relations Board proposed in the new bill would be permitted to seek court injunctions to halt any activities of a union. It would permit employers virtually unrestricted right to harass unions with court action for "restitution, reparation . . . or other relief." — June 30, 1945.

It Was Reported in the Press

Difference on Tactics — At a Senate Subcommittee hearing, Attorney General Katzenbach testified that he favored equipping cops with new weapons that could knock out a resisting suspect for several hours. Senator Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.) disagreed. "I think it is questionable that police should use a device to merely knock him out," he said. "I think the best thing to do is to put a bullet in his brain."

G.G.

The Housing Problem — Apparently it's not only poor people who fall victim to landlords. Seventy-five tenants in a luxury apartment in New York have stopped paying rent and gone into court to get some action about the house they live in. They describe the apartment building as a "house of horrors." In court, they charged that air conditioners, washers and dryers, incinerators, mail chutes and elevators did not function and that the hall carpeting was filthy. Rents range from \$250 to \$500 a month.

Report from Selma — Russell Kirk of the *Indianapolis Star*, who visited Selma, Ala., recently, apparently takes a dim view of the civil rights movement there. He reported to the folks back home: "To the disgust of Selma's residents, the city remains the Alabama headquarters for all 'civil rights' organizations . . . The desk in the misnamed Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's headquarters is manned . . . by a white student from Dartmouth College. His associates, dressed in dungarees to associate themselves with the working classes, distribute copies of *The Militant* — a publication demanding that the United States flee from Vietnam. Hanging about the office are such characters as a bearded muscular Negro who claims to be a psychology student from John Hopkins."

That's Real White of Him — A Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* confides that President Johnson now takes the same benevolent view of Negro rights as the Supreme Court. And, the report did not add, he obviously believes in acting to enforce their rights at the same "de-

liberate speed" as the high court whose school desegregation order has enjoyed a "compliance" rate of less than three percent in 11 years.

Lively Alabama Host — We followed with interest the reports of the grand tour of Alabama organized by Gov. Wallace for the 50 out of 1,700 newspaper editors who accepted his invitation to see the state. We were particularly intrigued by the report that in Selma the visiting editors were shown the town by Mayor Joe T. Smitherman. He's the champion of white purity who achieved fleeting fame when he was allegedly flim-flammed by a Negro confidence man in Washington who claims he separated the good mayor from his money on the basis of an offer to provide Negro girls for him and his companion.

Shopping Tip — If you should happen to find yourself in Southampton, the swank Long Island seaside resort, be sure to drop in at the local Woolworth's. They're featuring solid gold needles at \$15 each. Society matrons out there are on a needlepoint kick and are reportedly flocking in for the gold needles in great numbers. The store manager concedes that gold needles don't facilitate sewing, but says "it's certainly a lot of fun." While you're there, you can also pick up a "doggie plate" of genuine Limoges porcelain. Only \$8.50.

Would That We Could — A civic-minded distributor of Scotch whiskey will launch an advertising drive to help New York and other communities in a similar plight relieve their water short-

ages by more widespread use of his product.

British Car — An expatriate friend in Paris, apparently affected by the reports of rising American affluence, sent us a clipping from a London paper containing a used car dealer's ad for Rolls Royces and Bentleys. (The Bentley is, of course, the same as a Rolls except for the radiator grill. It's for the person who may feel diffident about driving a Rolls.) Two offers struck our eye. One was for a two door Rolls Saloon (sic) model finished in regal red with off-white hide. Equipped with electric windows, it's a one-owner car with but 5,400 miles on it. Only \$22,000. For the diffident, there's a one-owner Bentley with 38,000 miles on it featuring electric windows, an electric aerial and a glass roof. Only \$12,000.

Progress Report — In response to a protest by the American Civil Liberties Union, Philadelphia Police Commissioner Leary says his cops will no longer "routinely" take pictures of peaceful demonstrators but will limit such photographing to situations where some offense or disorder has occurred or seems "imminent." The ACLU had objected on grounds that the practice intimidated persons exercising the First Amendment right of assembly.

For Your Shopping Convenience — A Millburn, N.J., Rolls Royce dealer has placed a full-page ad in a local magazine with a coupon entitled: "How to buy a Rolls Royce by mail order."

—Harry Ring

SPECIAL 50¢ 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 50¢. (\$1.50 outside of the U.S.)

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Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.



STATUE OF LIBERTY 'PLOT'

Police Provocation Bared

By Paul Boutelle

NEW YORK — An all-white jury found three Negroes and a white woman guilty on June 14 in the case of the "plot" to deface the Statue of Liberty and other national monuments. Judge Herlands gave the Negroes the maximum sentence of five years on each of two counts of the indictment, or ten years total. Michelle Duclos, the French-Canadian woman who pleaded guilty on one count, and who testified for the state, was given five years. The judge provided for a review of the sentences in 90 days.

On Feb. 16, Raymond Wood, Robert Collier, Khaleel Sayyed, Walter Bowe and Michelle Duclos were arrested and charged with "plotting" to dynamite the Statue of Liberty, the Washington Monument and the Liberty Bell. Wood was released shortly after his arrest, when it was announced with great fanfare at a press conference that he was the police "undercover agent" who "cracked" the case.

Cop's Idea

It soon became clear that Wood, the cop, hatched the "plot," organized it, and paid for it with police money, in order to entrap the defendants. The police hoped to smear black militants and the civil rights movement with the case, and turn attention away from their own record of brutality against the Negro and Puerto Rican communities.

Defendants Sayyed and Bowe testified that Wood proposed to dynamite waterfront docks as a method of drawing attention to the plight of Negroes in this country. Bowe said he was "dumb-founded" at this suggestion, and asked Wood, "At what point do you stop? Why not blow up Grand Central Station or the Empire State Building?" Someone then mentioned the Statue of Liberty jokingly, and Wood said, "That's a good idea." Thus the "plot" was born.

Under cross examination, Wood admitted that he paid most of the expenses for the "plot," including \$112 of police money used to rent a car to take him and Collier to Canada to arrange to secure dynamite. Wood also admitted that he brought, unasked, an army manual on demolition and ex-



Mark Lane

plosives to a meeting with Collier.

Police say that a case of dynamite was brought to New York from Canada by Michelle Duclos. When she arrived in New York, she contacted Wood, who was the key man in the operation, to arrange for delivery. Wood then telephoned Collier, and drove him to the spot where the dynamite was supposed to be, and the police arrested Collier there.

Wood worked hard at being an agent provocateur, which is a police agent who is sent into an organization to advocate or carry out some criminal act for which the organization can then be blamed. Last year, while a member of CORE, Wood participated in an all-night vigil protesting the government's inaction concerning the three civil rights workers killed in Mississippi.

I was told by a Negro minister, Rev. Robert M. Kinlock, that Wood suggested to him at the vigil that bombing Times Square would be a good idea. Wood made the same suggestion that night to a young member of CORE, Jerry Tehan. Defense attorney Mark Lane tried to have Tehan tell his story on the stand, but the judge sustained prosecution objections, and Tehan was not allowed to explain this incident.

The trial made it clear that the police department makes it a practice to infiltrate Negro organ-

izations. Wood was sent into CORE as his first assignment. As a CORE member, he accompanied former Bronx CORE chairman Herb Callendar in an attempted citizens' arrest of Mayor Wagner — for which Callendar was arrested and convicted of a misdemeanor.

His next assignment was to join the Metropolitan Committee of the Freedom Now Party, of which I was chairman. Through the FNP he met Robert Collier. He infiltrated a small and inactive organization called the Black Liberation Front, which Collier and the other defendants were supposed to belong to.

The role of Wood as a police agent deliberately roping frustrated young civil rights fighters into "plots" of his own making, was ignored by the judge, who was neutral on the side of the prosecution (something like the neutrality of the U.S. on the side of the junta in Santo Domingo).

Contradictory Testimony

Wood's testimony was contradictory and confused. Under cross examination by Mark Lane, who was one of four defense attorneys, a typewritten report supposedly turned in by Wood was proven to be vastly different from the handwritten report it was supposed to be a copy of. The typewritten copy told of plots to sabotage police stations, airfields, docks, etc., and spoke of guerrilla warfare from coast to coast by troops able to march all night on a cup of rice. The handwritten report contained none of this malarky, which was obviously fashioned in the police headquarters.

On the typewritten report, which Wood claimed was written by him, the initials "TT" and "FM" appeared. Wood said he didn't know the name of his superior officer, which turns out to be Teddy Theologis. He also said he didn't know a police stenographer named Francis Molina. Then he said maybe he didn't type that report.

Wood's testimony was also somewhat confused about certain wire recordings of conversations between him and the defendants, which he denied existed, but which later turned up in court.

Mark Lane said that the defense intends to appeal the verdict and demand a new trial.

DeBerry Assails Cops, Calls for Review Board

NEW YORK — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, sharply assailed current police efforts to block establishment of a civilian review board for the Police Department. He charged that those behind the anti-review-board petition being circulated by cops are "helping to promote Birchism in New York."

He warned that police brutality against Negroes and Puerto Ricans would increase if the efforts to thwart formation of a review board are successful.

DeBerry said the petition campaign is a particular cause for concern because it coincides with a mounting drive by right-wingers across the country to make the police even more free of civilian control than they already are.

Rightwing Influence

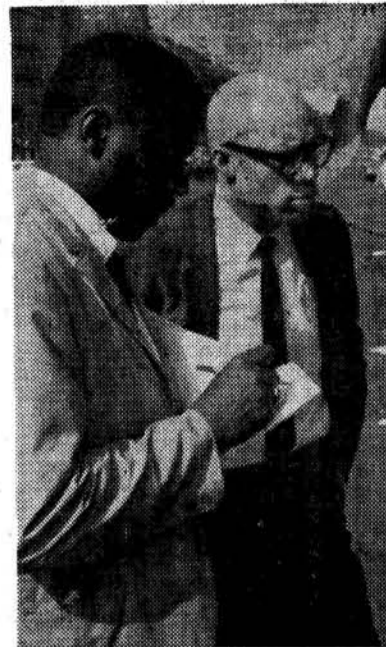
In the Los Angeles area, he said, the John Birch Society is sparking a "support your local police" campaign in answer to the growing demands for civilian review boards. In at least one Los Angeles suburb the Birchers have virtually won control of the police department.

In Newark, he added, Mayor Hugh Addonizio was moved to make public note of the fact that right-wing "crackpots" are rallying behind the cops there who are picketing City Hall in protest against the suspension of a white patrolman who killed a Negro prisoner.

DeBerry also pointed out that New York cops are going over to Newark to join the picketline. Meanwhile, others have been picketing in New York as a demonstration of solidarity with Lt. Gilligan whose slaying of a 15-year-old Negro youth touched off last summer's explosion in Harlem.

Dangerous Development

"This is an ominous development," DeBerry said. "And I don't mean just for Negroes and Puerto Ricans who catch the most hell from the cops. Racism and reaction go hand in hand, and every big-city police department has more than its share of both. If



CLIFTON DeBERRY, interviewed by Harlem newsman.

the trend is permitted to continue nobody will be safe on the streets.

"I hope the civil rights forces in New York will see the urgency of the situation," DeBerry said. "I hope they will answer this right-wing drive with a really vigorous campaign for a civilian review board with authority to act against any cop that gets out of line."

"For my part," he added, "I intend to do everything I can in this campaign to rally public support for such a board. The people have to control the cops."

DeBerry's Stand

So far, DeBerry is the only candidate in the mayoralty race to back the demand of the civil rights and civil liberties forces for the establishment of a civilian review board.

Republican John Lindsay has already come out against the proposal by way of offering an empty "compromise" formula of adding a few civilians to the existing Police Department review board of three police officials. This board is notorious for its consistent white-washing of cops charged with beating or killing prisoners.

Anniversary of a Witch-Hunt Execution

By Hal Verb

NEW YORK — Some 200 persons paid tribute here to the memory of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the "atom spies" who were executed in the electric chair at Sing Sing twelve years ago, on June 19, 1953. The memorial meeting, sponsored by the Sobell Committee, was held at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel on June 17.

The Sobell Committee is organized to secure justice for Morton Sobell, who was convicted with the Rosenbergs and sentenced to 30 years in prison. He has served 15 of those 30 years already.

The Rosenberg-Sobell case began when headlines blared the arrest of Julius Rosenberg as the "atom spy" who gave Russia the "secret" of the atom bomb. A short time later, his wife, Ethel, was arrested, as was Sobell. Although he was not connected with any atomic project, Sobell was later convicted of "conspiracy to commit" espionage.

The Rosenberg-Sobell case was political persecution, staged by the government to fan the flames of the witch-hunt hysteria. Because of the political nature of the prosecution, a powerful wave of protest and indignation swept the

world. Not since the days of the Sacco-Vanzetti frame-up had there been such a public outcry against an injustice. Thousands of organizations and noted intellectuals, jurists, legislators, educators and clergymen took a stand for the doomed couple and demanded that the U.S. government stay the executions and release Sobell.

But the government ignored this world-wide outcry, and executed the Rosenbergs. The Rosenbergs became the most outstanding victims and martyrs of the witch hunt.

Since the development of Soviet H-bombs, rockets and spacecraft equal or superior to those of the U.S., the idea that the Rosenbergs were responsible for the Soviet A-bomb appears especially ridiculous. Even back in the early Fifties, a number of scientists had ridiculed the notion that there was, in fact, an "atom bomb secret."

Time magazine reported on Jan. 2, 1950: "There has been no 'atom bomb secret' which the Russian spies needed to steal. This fact has been asserted again and again by the Atomic Energy Commission . . . Last week the AEC's files yielded documentary proof: The Russian scientific papers on the

project, published in 1940, before the United States started its atom bomb project . . . The basic 'secrets' were already in their files."

The Rosenbergs declared their innocence to the end. Julius Rosenberg declared in prison shortly before his death: "If we are executed it will be the murder of innocent people and the shame will be on the government of the



Morton Sobell

United States. History will record, whether we live or die, that we were the victims of one of the most monstrous frame-ups in our country's history."

Sobell spent years in Alcatraz, before that notorious prison was closed down. Rev. Peter McCormack, who was the Protestant minister and chaplain at Alcatraz, while Sobell was there, said: "The cry for justice has sounded many times through the centuries from the time of Amos the Prophet down to the present. To me no cry has had such merit to it as the cry for justice for Morton Sobell. I feel satisfied in my own mind that Morton Sobell is innocent, a victim of perjury, politics and prejudice." McCormack lost his job for this stand.

Despite statements to the contrary, the Supreme Court of the U.S. has never reviewed the case. Justice Douglas granted a stay of execution order just before the legal murder, but was over-ruled by a 6 to 3 vote of the Court.

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Hugo Black stated: "This Court has never reviewed the record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial below. Without an affirmation of the fairness of the trial by the highest court of the

land there may always be questions as to whether these executions were legally and rightfully carried out."

On Feb. 6, 1963, the U.S. Court of Appeals acknowledged that the trial of the Rosenbergs and Sobell would be considered unfair today.

Speaking at the memorial meeting, Mrs. Helen Sobell, the wife of Morton, said that the fight on behalf of her husband and for the vindication of the Rosenbergs was a "hard fight — it has been fought with blood and goes deep, deep into the roots of our history."

The lesson we must learn from this case, she felt, was that all the fear and hysteria of the McCarthy era may come into being again unless we do everything we can to erase the "enormity of injustice" of this entire affair. It would be a "bitter illusion," she said, if her husband were freed while the war in Vietnam was continued.

She also announced the publication of a book on the case titled *Invitation to Inquest*, by Walter and Miriam Schneir.

Contributions to the Sobell Committee to help it carry on its fight can be sent to: Sobell Committee, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10011.