

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 26

Monday, June 27, 1966

Price 10c

## Johnson Maps A Bigger War

By Dick Roberts

JUNE 21 — The Johnson administration is going to press the war in Vietnam at an accelerated pace even if this means going it alone. President Johnson stated these intentions in so many words at a Washington press conference June 18, coinciding with the announcement from Premier Ky that the final Buddhist resistance had been crushed in Hue.

"In the light of the full information available to the President of the United States," Johnson stated, "we sincerely feel that the national interest required that we persist in our present policy."

"That policy," he continued, "is to bring to bear the ground, naval and air strength required to achieve our objectives. I must observe that this does not mean that we shall not increase our forces or our operations."

The coincidence of Johnson's statement with Ky's military victory in Hue cannot be considered an accident. In the first place, it spelled out an answer to the question that has been number one on the mind of every person who believes in justice and right in the world: Will the U.S. cease its intervention in Vietnam, now that it has become crystal clear that the so-called Saigon government is not even supported by the people in the cities?

Johnson's answer was an unequivocal no. Passing over the political crisis in Vietnam with the hypocritical statement that he was "encouraged that the Vietnamese are carrying forward the first steps in building a constitutional process," Johnson proceeded to rule out the possibility of negotiations at the present.

### Intensified Bombing

On the contrary, he promised escalated bombing of north Vietnam: "Our attacks on military targets in north Vietnam," Johnson asserted, "have imposed a growing burden on those who support the insurgency in the south. We must continue to raise the cost of aggression at its source . . ." (Emphasis added.)

Secondly, Johnson's press statement reflected the real military situation imposed on Washington by the Vietnamese crisis. Ky has been forced to take more and more south Vietnamese soldiers out of the battlefield with the National Liberation Front, and throw them into the cities to suppress popular opposition to his regime.

The need for occupation troops did not cease in Hue or Danang with the physical conquering of the rebelling Buddhist students, soldiers and workers in the streets. "The junta," *New York Times* reporter Neil Sheehan wrote from Saigon June 19, "now faces the difficult task of attaining a political hold on the city."

This single sentence about Hue summarizes the very real problem confronting the Saigon dictatorship, not only in Hue, but in all the other cities where resistance has been manifested — including Saigon itself. The seat of the Ky regime has become the scene of daily confrontations between opponents of the military junta and Ky's club-swinging and tear-gas-bomb-throwing cops.

### Press Attacked

The Buddhist headquarters in Saigon is cordoned off by barbed-wire barricades, the streets are patrolled by police and loyal troops — and a good deal of what is going on is sealed off from the world public by heavy press censorship. June 16, the *Associated Press* reported that a British reporter for UPI had been clubbed by the Saigon cops while covering "the arrests of demonstrating medical students."

"At the time," the AP dispatch reported, "two staff members of the National Broadcasting Company were also manhandled and a camera was broken."

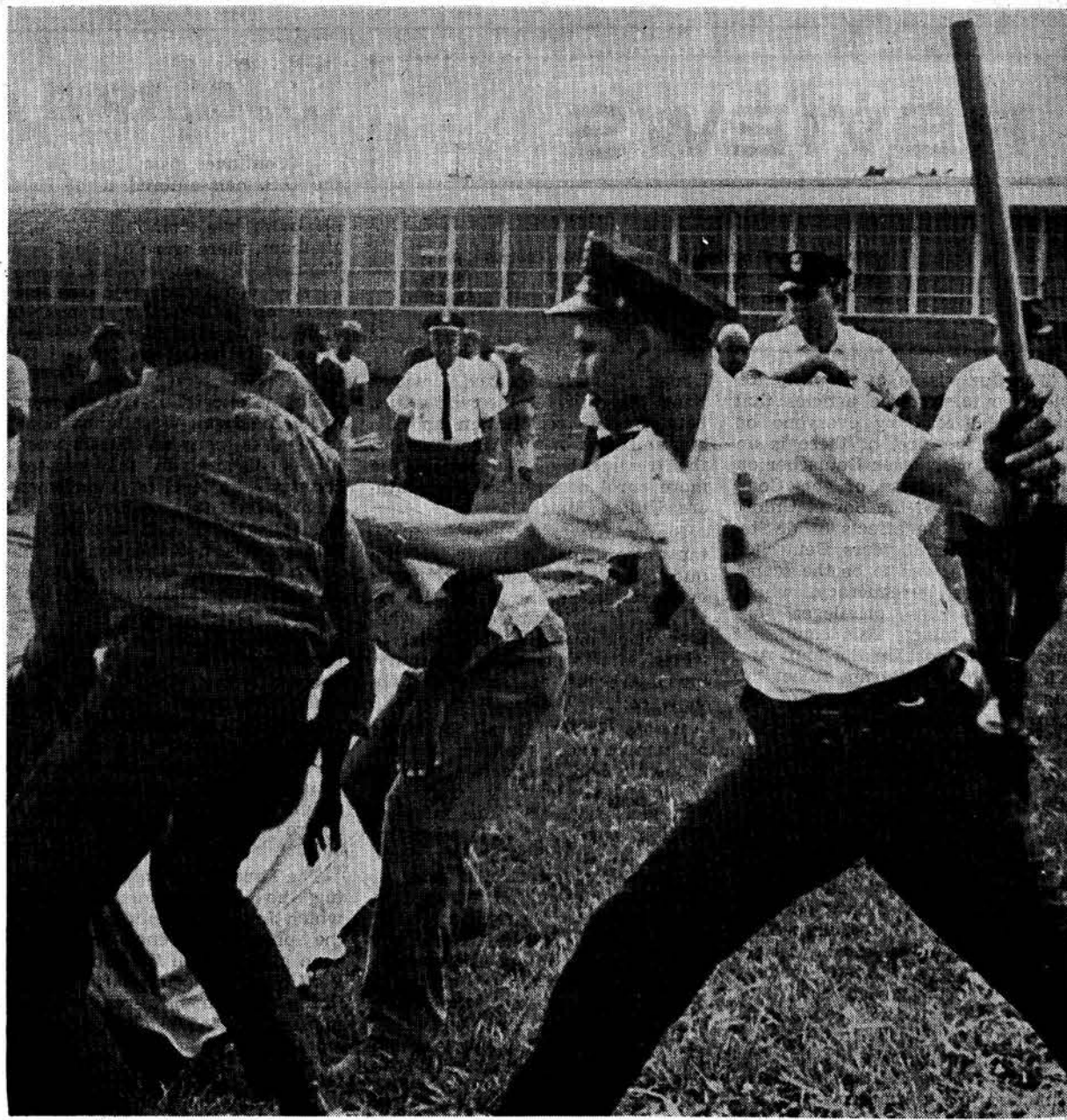
The administration blueprint for Vietnam was described by *New York Times* military specialist Hanson W. Baldwin in the "News of the Week in Review" section of that newspaper June 19. "The slow build-up of U.S. power in Vietnam," Baldwin stated, "is now perhaps at its halfway point."

Baldwin continued: "It is programmed to continue to 350,000 and possibly 400,000 by the end of this year, and to more than 500,000 next year — if the war continues and unless the administrations alters present tentative plans." (Emphasis added.)

The precision with which the Pentagon has already carried out the first phases of its war program in Vietnam was illustrated by an accompanying graph in Baldwin's article: In January, 1965, only 15 months ago, there were 23,000 American troops in Vietnam, and in an "advisory" capacity.

In June, 1965, four months after

(Continued on Page 2)



SNCC photo by Robert Fletcher

SOUTHERN WAY. Greenwood, Miss., cop lunges at SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael after Carmichael ignored order not to put up tent for Mississippi marchers. Carmichael was handcuffed and jailed for six hours. Two other SNCC workers were jailed with him. For story on march see page 3.

## Sanity Board Rules Out Trial For Killer of Detroit Socialist

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — A sanity commission hearing was held June 8 on Edward Waniolek, who killed Leo Bernard and seriously wounded two other young socialists, Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

The hearing found Waniolek insane at the time of the shooting, believing himself to be a victim of a "Communist conspiracy," although lucid and rational concerning everything else. The hearing judge had him committed.

On May 16, after entering Debs Hall, the Detroit headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, Waniolek shouted that the young men were "a bunch of Communists," and repeatedly fired a revolver and rifle at them. Leo Bernard was killed with one shot through the heart. Jan Garrett, after an operation and intensive hospital care, is now immobilized in a cast. Walter Graham has undergone three operations and remains in the hospital.

Arrested three hours after the shooting, Waniolek was charged with first degree murder. His court-appointed attorney, Richard

J. Kelly, requested a sanity commission hearing to determine whether Waniolek could legally be tried for murder.

The three members of the sanity commission unanimously agreed that Waniolek was mentally deranged at the time of the shooting and that he had been insane for at least five years previous to his attack on the three young socialists. The majority report was signed by Dr. Aloysius Church and Dr. Arthur Pierce who stated that Waniolek could not assist in his defense. The psychiatrists based their conclusions on individual and group examinations of Waniolek by themselves, plus a self-administered psychological test, police reports and a physical examination.

They all agreed that Waniolek suffered from paranoid schizophrenia and that he felt he was "pursued, plagued and controlled by the Communist Party."

Dr. Church said that Waniolek was very coherent in discussing everything but his belief that he was being persecuted by the Communist Party. Waniolek refused to discuss this matter "because he would then be of assistance and help to the Communist Party." He freely told the psychiatrist about his movements during the last five years when he traveled to various foreign embassies making statements about his fears of a monolithic Communist conspiracy. For example, he had presented a six-page statement to the Union of South Africa consul in New York explaining why he wanted to emigrate to that country. He claimed that the United States was overrun with Communists and that he was armed and pre-

pared to return to Detroit to "start shooting Communists."

Dr. Arthur Pierce testified that Waniolek told him he had left the Catholic Church because of "Communist contact and fear of the Communist Party." Again, Waniolek refused to discuss the Communist persecution complex for fear of helping the Communist Party. In speaking of other matters, Waniolek was "fairly lucid," the psychiatrist reported. The doctor stated that in his opinion, Waniolek could not stand trial at this time, could not understand the nature of the charges against him and could not help in his own defense.

When asked by Judge Brennan why Waniolek was insane, Dr. Pierce answered that it was because of a lifelong history involving a disruptive childhood. The psychiatrist added that the actual psychosis had "nothing to do with the Communist Party."

Dr. Emanuel Tanay agreed with the other two sanity commission members on the matter of Waniolek's insanity and gave additional facts to round out the picture. "Waniolek was well-oriented and

(Continued on Page 6)

## Speech by Leader Of Ala. Freedom Party

— See page 4 —

### Our Schedule For the Summer

During the months of July and August, THE MILITANT is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated July 11. Regular weekly publication will resume with the issue of Sept. 4.

# REVIEWS and REPORTS

The June issue of *Monthly Review* contains three articles that should be read by everyone on the left. The first of these is an interview with Isaac Deutscher on the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Assessing the effects of de-Stalinization after 10 years, Deutscher says, "Stalin was to be the scapegoat of his bureaucracy, whose honor and whose privileges were to be left intact. This could not and cannot work in the long run. Khrushchevism did not reject the big Stalinist lie in favor of the truth; it sought to replace it by a set of half-truths only."

"This led inevitably to much cynicism, hate and dangerous disillusionment, without offering the young intelligentsia and workers any positive idea or any positive political method capable of filling the vacuum left by the destruction of the idols and taboos."

"The effects of de-Stalinization which could and should have been wholly progressive have indeed become partly reactionary, because the party and the people have not so far been offered a real alternative to Stalinism. The great traditions of Russian Marxism and of Leninism have not really been brought back to life."

The second article is called "The Tricontinental: Concrete Internationalism and Revolution." The author, Jose Vazilles, is an Argentine revolutionary. This very significant article is both a reply to Adolfo Gilly's evaluation of the January Tricontinental Conference in Havana (*Monthly Review*, April) and a brief report on the Conference itself.

The importance of the article lies in the view that it provides from the inside of the Conference. Providing a detailed picture of the composition of the delegations, Vazilles decisively refutes Gilly's charge that the Latin American representation at the Tricontinental was controlled by the pro-Moscow Communist parties.

Vazilles' report is supposed to be preliminary to a more complete report on the Conference. It will be interesting to see how he assesses the disputed issues at the conference and Fidel Castro's closing speech to the gathering.

Finally, the last of the three valuable articles is a review of Franz Fanon's book *The Wretched of the Earth*. The author of this review is Slater King, the leader of the Albany Movement in Georgia.

King relates the importance of what Fanon says about the colonial Algerians to the United

States. "I was amazed," writes King, "to discover the similarities between the exploitation and dehumanization of the Algerians and the treatment of Negroes in the more rural counties of the southern United States."

Slater King has some important comments to make on the question of nonviolence: "Fanon's greatest scorn, however, is reserved for the bourgeoisie — whether black or white colonialist — which, after a period of inactivity, introduces the new idea of non-violence:

"In its simplest form, the tactic of nonviolence signifies to the economic and intellectual elite of a colonized country that the bourgeoisie has the same interests as they have, and it is therefore urgent and indispensable to come to terms for the public good."

"Nonviolence is an attempt to settle the colonial problem around a green baize table, before any blood is shed. But if the masses, without waiting for the chairs to be arranged around the baize table, listen to their own voices and begin to commit outrages and to set fire to buildings, the elite and the nationalist bourgeois parties rush to their colonial masters to exclaim, 'This is very serious! We do not know how it will end; we must find a solution — some sort of compromise.'

"Does this not raise echoes of events in Harlem in the summer of 1964 and in Watts a year later? Does anyone think that the masses of Negroes actually believe in non-violence? It is worthy of note that many Negroes and progressive whites have come to agree that Negroes must protect themselves."

### WATTS — WAITING FOR D-DAY by Andrew Kopkind, in *The New Republic*, June 11, 1966.

The mood in Watts is becoming increasingly militant and black nationalist, according to this informative report.

Kopkind writes, "Ten months after the riots or the revolt (depending on where or who you are), Watts is still in a state of siege. The police keep order by their numbers, the extent of their weaponry and the sophistication of their tactics. They cruise the avenues all night long, breaking up gatherings, arresting as many as possible, searching everyone who looks suspicious."

The result is "a strong surge of the black nationalist tide." Kopkind then details some of the ways that this tide of militancy is finding organizational expression.

### AIR POLLUTION AS A CAUSE OF MENTAL ILLNESS by Jack Soltanoff, *The Realist*, May, 1966.

The tetraethyl lead in automobile gasoline is one of the leading and most dangerous contributors to air pollution. It has been put into auto gas since the 1920's in spite of the fact that it has always been known to be a cumulative poison that causes insanity and death when the concentration reaches high enough proportions in the body.

In the May issue of *The Realist*, which was delayed in coming to the stands and is still available, Jack Soltanoff points out that the rapidly rising number of automobiles in America is causing the atmospheric lead pollution levels to reach dangerous proportions.

The author details how the oil and auto companies, with government compliance, have studiously ignored repeated warnings about this danger for over forty years for the sake of greater profits.

—Arthur Maglin

# ...Johnson Maps Vietnam Escalation

(Continued from Page 1)  
the U.S. had entered what Baldwin calls "Phase I" of the buildup, with the bombing of north Vietnam, there were 51,000 GIs in Vietnam. By January, 1966, "Phase I" was completed with the presence of 181,000 U.S. troops. In June of this year, five months into "Phase II," there are 267,000 GIs in Vietnam.

By the end of the year, according to Baldwin, Washington hopes to have as many as 400,000 troops at its disposal in the war-torn country — a level of commitment greater than that of Korea at the highest point of U.S. involvement. But that is not the end of the story: In Korea there was no organized guerrilla force to deal with.

There is a "Phase III" of the escalation, Baldwin continues, "hopefully the 'Victory phase'" in which "tentative plans contemplate a still further increase. The ultimate figures," he adds, "must remain in doubt," but "military estimates of the numbers of men required . . . have agreed upon a figure of somewhere between 600,000 and 750,000."

The Pentagon's plans for escalating the war in north Vietnam, which Johnson threatened to do in the press conference, have not been given out in the same detail. *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Phillip Geyelin, however, had this to say in a Washington article June 20:

### Bombing Oil Depots

"The Johnson administration is moving almost inexorably toward another significant escalation of the Vietnam war — the bombing of oil storage depots and perhaps other power sources in north Vietnam."

Geyelin explained: "The step to bomb oil depots and other targets in or near large population centers, ruled out until now, is logical, too . . . It would greatly impede north Vietnam's capacity to move men and supplies to the south." (Emphasis added.)

### New York Parley On August Protest

A special expanded meeting of the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee June 18 called for a mass demonstration against the Vietnamese war to be held in midtown Manhattan, Saturday, Aug. 6. The demonstration will be part of the national and international protests planned for Aug. 6-9. The New York protest will consist of feeder marches to a central location, designed with the assistance of Peter Schumann of the Bread and Puppet Theater. Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, promised CORE's support for the antiwar protests.

How does Washington expect to "put it over"? The war is already the most unpopular war in U.S. history, and yet the Pentagon is "programming" a plan which will mean untold thousands more casualties, at best — and possibly hundreds of thousands. With the war at the "halfway point," *U.S. News and World Report* states:

"Although the war on the ground is indecisive, U.S. casualties now are nearing a thousand a week. In the week ending June 11, 142 Americans were killed and 741 wounded. At this rate, U.S. casualties for the coming year could approach 50,000 dead and wounded."

But by the end of this coming year, there will be twice as many GIs in the field.

The inside dopesters of the administration's strategy are already coming up with the "answer." According to the same (June 27) issue of *U.S. News and World Report*, "President Johnson is expected, by Democrats and Repub-

licans alike, in Congress to make some dramatic move to get a truce in Vietnam before the November elections."

James Reston, the *New York Times* associate editor, doped it out in greater detail, June 17: "The formula," Reston asserted, "is to press the war this summer and look at the prospect of negotiations for a cease fire this fall, probably with an appeal by President Johnson personally before the United Nations General Assembly."

In other words, according to Reston's cynical prediction, Washington is already cooking up another phony "peace offensive" to steer it through the November elections. The only trouble with that is — the last elections. In 1964, opponents of the Vietnam war got a good lesson straight from the White House in how not to oppose the war.

That was when many were persuaded to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson as the "peace candidate" who was going to "prevent" an escalation of the Vietnam war.

There is another gap in the reasoning of the Restons and lesser master-minds of Washington strategy.

### Reaction of GIs

This is in omitting the effect that the war is going to have on the fighting men, particularly as the escalation is accompanied by a greater and greater degree of political dissension among the Vietnamese themselves. The dopesters could do worse than consider the following few sentences reported by *Chicago Daily News* correspondent Raymond Coffey, from Loc Ninh, Vietnam, June 17:

"Disenchantment was particularly evident here this week," Coffey writes, "among the troops of the U.S. 1st Infantry Division's Third Brigade, whom Vietnamese forces twice refused to help during a battle that cost three American platoons severe casualties . . ."

"A CIDG [Civil Irregular Defense platoon] company was asked to close the gap between U.S. units to prevent the Viet Cong from slipping away. The CIDG declined."

"These people (the Vietnamese) have all quit fighting," one disgusted U.S. lieutenant said. "We keep talking about the big U.S. troop buildup over here, another American said, 'but somebody should start figuring out the net gain. It seems like every time we send another 100 men over here, another 250 of them (Vietnamese) quit fighting.'"

## 'Subversive' Discharge Is Fought by GI

A U.S. Army private is challenging a possible "Undesirable Discharge" based on his political activity. He is Private Leon Day, and his case is being supported by the American Civil Liberties Union with Richard Marshall and J. B. Ochoa, Jr., as cooperating attorneys.

In a "Notice of Action to Determine Suitability for Retention in the Army Establishment," Day was told that "information had been received by the Department of the Army which furnishes reason to believe that retention in the Army in any capacity would not be clearly consistent with the interest of National Security."

In spite of the honorable record Day has maintained since he entered the Army in 1963, the Notice stated that "Undesirable Discharge" was among the alternatives open to him. The essence of the Army's charge against Day consisted in the claim that he was an "active member of the Socialist Workers' Party" and "an active member and functionary of the Young Socialist Alliance."

### Socialist Education Fund

## WE MADE IT!

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Director

It is always a pleasant task to write the final fund story and turn in the final scoreboard — especially when the campaign has been successful.

Congratulations are in order to all those who made it in full, and special commendations to those who went over the top — Minneapolis, St. Paul, San Diego, Boston, Cleveland and Milwaukee.

We want to extend special thanks also to the many readers of *The Militant* who were so responsive to the fund appeals. The General, as we affectionately call that category, came in at 107 percent, despite the fact that its quota was the highest yet!

In closing, I would like to remind everyone that it is not only during fund campaigns that we need money. For the more than 28 years we have been in existence as an independent, socialist political organization, we have always been able to depend on our friends and members for the necessary money to keep going. We know we can continue to depend on this support. Our members and friends are working people, for the most part. We have no angels. We only have friends who believe as we do that there is a better life for all of us, if we fight hard enough for it.

### Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Minneapolis-St. Paul	\$ 1,000	\$ 1,200	120
San Diego	200	210	105
Milwaukee	400	410	103
Boston	1,200	1,212	101
Cleveland	1,000	1,010	101
Allentown	175	175	100
Chicago	1,800	1,800	100
Denver	125	125	100
Detroit	1,400	1,400	100
Los Angeles	4,400	4,400	100
New York	5,800	5,800	100
Philadelphia	300	300	100
Oakland	900	900	100
St. Louis	150	150	100
San Francisco	900	900	100
Newark	150	114	76
Seattle	500	250	50
The General	600	644	107
Totals	\$21,000	\$21,000	100

### Weekly Calendar

#### NEW YORK

**THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN CHINA.**  
Speaker: George Novack, author of *Moscow vs. Peking*. Fri., July 1, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Films — **AN OCCURENCE AT OWL CREEK BRIDGE**, Academy Award film on Civil War; John and Faith Hubley's animation masterpiece, **THE HAT**; a documentary on **FREDERICK DOUGLASS**; and **HARVEST OF SHAME**, migratory work expose. Fri., July 8, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

#### SEATTLE

**THE NEW POLICY OF SNCC.** Has SNCC embraced black nationalism? What is the significance of the Black Panther party? Is Malcolm X dead? Speaker: Nat Weinstein. Fri., July 8, 8:30 p.m. East Madison YMCA, 1700 23rd Ave. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Forum.

**Hit Nicaragua Offer to U.S.**

# Cuba Protests to UN

[The following statement from Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa was sent to UN Secretary General U Thant on June 11.]

On the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I venture earnestly to draw your attention to the statements which Mr. René Schick, President of Nicaragua, made at United Nations headquarters on June 8, 1966, in reply to questions from correspondents accredited to the United Nations, after having an interview with you in your capacity as Secretary General of the United Nations. These statements were made in clear mockery of the principles supported by the organization and in manifest scorn of its prestige.

According to the United Nations correspondent of UPI, a United States news agency, Mr. Schick stated the following, word for word, in reply to a question from another correspondent as to whether Nicaragua would be prepared to make its territory available once again for an armed invasion of Cuba: "Against Cuba, no; against the government of Fidel Castro, any time, under any circumstances, for I consider it a grave menace to the Western Hemisphere."

It is a matter of public knowledge and notoriety that, in 1961, the puppet government of Nicaragua made Puerto Cabezas available to the mercenary brigade, organized, financed and controlled by the United States government, which was routed by the Cuban people at Playa Girón in less than 72 hours. It would be superfluous to add—for it is obvious to all—that, then as now, the government of Prime Minister Fidel Castro was and is the government of Cuba, the genuine and inflexible representation of its people, in marked contrast to the state of affairs in Nicaragua, the luckless prisoner of the rapacious, bloody and hereditary oligarchy which deforces its destinies for the benefit of the United States monopolies.

**Real Aggressor**

This shameless offer by the President of Nicaragua confirms once again that the sole and true executor of the policy of subversion, aggression and intervention in this part of the world and, at the same time, the center of the international conspiracy against Cuba is the imperialist government of the United States, and that the agents of that policy are its puppet governments in Latin America.

It is a matter of public knowledge and notoriety that the Yankee government has lately been trying to condition United States public opinion psychologically for armed aggression against Cuba. This is the sole purpose of the gross and, at the same time, repugnant hoax concocted by the Pentagon and the State Department as a sham justification for the chain of acts of provocation culminating in the vile assassination of Luis Ramírez López, a



**Raúl Roa**

Cuban soldier, by Yankee Marines from the Guantanamo naval base. This purpose was promptly unmasked by the government of Cuba and was thwarted by putting the Revolutionary Armed Forces on the alert and by making all necessary preparations to assume immediate combat readiness if circumstances should so require.

Who can fail to realize, at this stage, that Mr. Schick's statements may form part of a developing plan of aggression and should, therefore, be evaluated in that context?

The government of Cuba considers it appropriate that you should take note of the meaning of these statements as forerunners of the events which may occur in the future: that is to say, of the acts of aggression which may be launched against our country. The fact that the President of the Republic of Nicaragua has the audacity to announce, at United Nations headquarters, his decision to make his country's territory available for armed aggression against our country, constitutes the clearest possible evidence of contempt for the principles which justify the existence of the United Nations.

Cuba, with its war-seasoned and revolutionary people, is not cowed by such absurd threats. We know that these statements are made on instructions from imperialist circles in the United States, and our people have more than enough courage and combat readiness in their Armed Forces, and patriotic and revolutionary steadfastness to meet any armed aggression that may be launched by the United States government.

**Honorable Peace**

The Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba have many times reiterated their desire to live in peace; they need peace in order to build the socialist and communist society to which they are irrevocably committed. But they have also reiterated, whenever the situation has so required, their firm decision to defend their self-determination, independence and sovereignty to the last man and the last bullet. We have not attacked and we shall not attack anyone; but neither are we prepared to stand by with folded arms and let ourselves be attacked. We want peace, but we do not accept and shall never accept a peace equivalent to indignity. As Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado, the President of the Republic, has said, "We shall go on our knees only in order to till the soil or to fire on the enemy. Kneel in subservience — never."

Mr. Schick, who is a wretched menial of the Somozas, and the Somozas themselves, who in their turn inherited from their criminal and shameless father the role of myrmidons and stewards of Yankee imperialism in Nicaragua, must all abide by the consequences of any acts of war which they organize against Cuba. For these reasons, the Revolu-

tionary Government of Cuba will insist on its rights, which no one may question, to possess the technical means of responding in the proper manner to such acts of aggression if they occur.

It is desirable that the United Nations and its officials should have a more definite attitude towards these acts of provocation, for it is better to be sure than sorry.

Do not forget the October crisis. If you and the United Nations, in particular, take a passive and reticent attitude when such brazen statements, warlike and aggressive in tone, are uttered at the headquarters of the organization, the United Nations and its officials are doomed to lose what little prestige and respect are left to them by the repeated crimes and villainies of Yankee imperialism.

Cuba is well able to defend itself and will destroy any invading force, whether covertly or openly Yankee-supported, as it did at Playa Girón; and consequently such threats and declared aggressive intentions will make no dent in the Revolution. But please realize that on the part of frenzied fanatics like Schick and the Somozas — the lackeys of the United States who combine stupidity with cynicism, cowardice with insolence, in making statements which serve very well to reveal their plans, to unmask masters and servants before the world, and to tie the hands of the international organizations called upon to safeguard peace — if, in the face of such unusual actions, the United Nations and its officials preserve a conniving and humiliating silence, they are bound to be affected.

Please have this note circulated among the representatives of the Member States as an official United Nations document.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

**Raúl Roa**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

**Puerto Rican Group Answers Attack**

# MPI Letter on Progressive Labor

[The following open letter from the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence was sent to the Progressive Labor Party on May 27].

Mr. Milton Rosen  
Chairman, Progressive Labor Party  
Sir:

For several occasions in the past, we had notified you and your organization of the serious consequences that could come about due to the irresponsible and provocative policies of your organization, the Progressive Labor Party, towards ours, the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) as these have been expressed for many months in your official newspaper, "Challenge-Desafío." Deliberate lies, infamous assertions, insultant accusations against both the general struggle of our people against U.S. imperialism and for national liberation and the particular struggle of our Movement, have appeared in edition after edition of your newspaper; yet, until this week, we had chosen not to involve ourselves in answering them, considering that to do so would be a meaningless waste of energy.

But after reading the last edition of "Challenge-Desafío," we cannot any more remain passive. Besides absurd lies about our relations with the Dominican revolutionaries in New York and about certain recent events in Puerto Rico, the newspaper makes the following statements, and we translate literally and quote: "The Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, an accomplice in the

# Militant Miss. Marchers Win a Good Response

JUNE 21 — The civil rights march through Mississippi is now in its fifteenth day, and it has grown larger as each day passes. Gene Roberts, the *New York Times* correspondent who has reported the march on a daily basis, yesterday wrote from Midnight, Miss., that the march had already persuaded between 2,500 and 3,500 Negroes to register to vote.

The main pattern of the march, as Roberts describes it, is to fan out during the day to help registration, and then to assemble in the evenings to hear talks and plan the next day's activities. On June 19, Roberts reported that the march had swelled to over 1,200.

"Every day," Roberts wrote from Greenwood, Miss., June 18, "the marchers attempt to demonstrate to Mississippi Negroes that they are not afraid of the white man. Twice, they have encountered white men with pistols. Twice they have remained impassive while law enforcement officers shoved them . . ."

**Political Discussion**

One of the most interesting things about the march — which took off where James Meredith was shot by a racist sniper, June 6 — is how the interchange between the marchers and the people in the communities they go through has thrown up a number of political questions for discussion.

"For the most part," Roberts wrote in the Greenwood article, June 18, "the marchers simply talk about what is becoming manifest during the march as 'the new direction of the movement.' It is the growing feeling that Negroes must make all of the major policy decisions in civil rights activity and do the organizing of Negroes into a powerful political power base in Mississippi, other parts of the South and in Northern slums."

Roberts described a rally which took place in Greenwood after

Stokely Carmichael, the new chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was released from arrest. (See photo page one.) "This is the 27th time I have been arrested," Carmichael told the rally, and "I ain't going to jail no more, I ain't going to jail no more."

"Five times," Roberts writes, "Mr. Carmichael shouted, 'We want black power!' And each time the younger members of the audience shouted back, 'Black power!'"

Another question that has been in the forefront of discussion on the march is nonviolence versus self-defense. James Meredith put it on the line in an interview that was reported from Pleasantville, New York, where Meredith is recuperating from the wounds.

"It is not a testing ground for the various organizations to test the popularity and strength of their leaders," Meredith stated. "It is not a nonviolence demonstration." Meredith served in the Air Force from 1951 to 1960.

A contingent of the Deacons for Defense and Justice has been accompanying the marchers and providing protection for the campsites where the marchers sleep and also providing armed escorts for individuals traveling to and from the scene of the march.

*Times* correspondent Roberts talked with a SNCC field worker and a Deacon in Belzoni, Miss., June 19. "If Negroes are not represented in the Capitol Building," Willie Ricks, the SNCC worker stated, "in the State House Building, we are going to tear them down."

The other person, Ernest Thomas, chief organizer for the Deacons, was urging plantation workers to join his organization. "It's time for black men to start taking care of their black women and children," Thomas stated. "We don't have enough Deacons," Ricks added.

murderous and dirty wars which the U.S. wages abroad . . ." (Spanish section, page 2); "The Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, puppet of the Communist Party U.S.A. . . ." (Spanish section, page 6). We understand that we do not have to comment on these statements; to anyone concerned, they speak by themselves.

We must make perfectly clear that we consider responsible the whole of your so-called "Leninist Party" on the weight and consequence of these statements and all others that have preceded them. We will not permit your party to shield itself any more with the argument that only "certain individuals" bear responsibility for these statements. "Challenge-Desafío" is the official newspaper of your party, and is publicly recognized as so; you, Mr. Rosen, PLP's chairman, are a member of the newspaper's Editorial Board, jointly with many other well-known members of that party.

The outrageous insults of your organization against our people and our movement, its outright intervention in the internal affairs of our struggle, both things which remind us of the treatment that we have suffered from Yankee colonialists for 68 years, can only have a single and very succinct answer. This communication is to inform you that the *Directive Body of the Vito Marcantonio Mission of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, by unanimous vote, formally breaks all relations or connections, political or*

*otherwise, with your organization, the Progressive Labor Party, and with its newspaper, "Challenge-Desafío."* This decision of ours we are making public and we are sending corresponding copies of this letter to all New York organizations that are friendly to us.

We make clear that we shall not permit ourselves to engage in any further dispute; with this communication, we consider this disgraceful matter settled and closed.

**Directive Body**  
**Vito Marcantonio Mission**  
**Movement for Puerto**  
**Rican Independence**

*The Revolution*  
*Must Be a School*  
*of*  
*Unfettered Thought*

A speech by

**FIDEL CASTRO**

16 pages

15 cents

**MERIT PUBLISHERS**  
**5 East Third Street**  
**New York, N. Y. 10003**

## Who Will Change the World

By George Novack

A Marxian analysis of the New Left and the views of C. Wright Mills

50 cents

Order from

**MERIT PUBLISHERS**  
**5 East Third St.**  
**New York, N. Y. 10003**

# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly. by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 30 - No. 26



Monday, June 27, 1966

## The Vote for Robert Scheer

The growing opposition to the war in Vietnam among the general population was reflected in the large vote for Robert Scheer, who ran as a "peace" candidate for Congress in California's Democratic primary. Scheer received 45 percent of the vote.

This developing mass disaffection with the war indicated by Scheer's large vote is an encouraging sign for the antiwar movement. But Scheer's campaign itself was a disservice to the movement, leading in the wrong direction.

By running in the Democratic Party primary, Scheer helped to foster the illusion that the Democratic Party can be "used" by the antiwar movement as an instrument to achieve its goals. This is the same argument which has been used for the last 30 years by the labor bureaucrats, most Negro leaders and the Communist and Socialist parties, as a justification for supporting the Democratic Party or some wing of it. This policy of coalition politics has resulted in the political emasculation of the labor and Negro movements, and of those sections of the left which have engaged in it. Its net result has been to aid the steady drift to the right in American politics. Whatever gains have been made, for example, by the Negro and antiwar movements, have come about through independent struggles involving large numbers of people — not through coalitionism with the Democrats.

Scheer's campaign followed this same rut, supporting the Democratic Party — continuing the worst legacy of that section of the "old left" which originated the policy, the Communist and Socialist parties.

Scheer's campaign has served to confuse many antiwar activists about the true nature of the Democratic Party. It helped obscure the facts that this party is a party of the warmaking capitalist class, which is carrying out at this very moment the cruel war in Vietnam.

The campaign, in fact, aided the rulers in Washington, because it helped turn discontent with the war back into the Democratic Party, where it can be prevented from hampering their ability to prosecute the war. The ruling class has had a great deal of experience in taming movements through absorbing them into the Democratic Party.

The Scheer campaign had a negative effect upon the antiwar movement in another way. It tended to split the organized movement, drawing energy into Democratic Party politics, and thereby weaken the antiwar forces. The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, for example, virtually disintegrated for a time, and played no role in the March 25-26 International Days of Protest.

Now that the Scheer campaign is over, we may expect the coalitionists to shift their sights to the California gubernatorial race. Right-winger Ronald Reagan won the Republican nomination, and the coalitionists will soon be demanding that he "must be stopped" through support to the "lesser evil" Democratic Governor Brown. The same arguments these forces advanced for supporting "peace candidate" Johnson in 1964 will be dusted off for use in the California election.

Antiwar militants should reject this course, and should work to build the antiwar movement by making the Aug. 6-9 International Days of Protest the largest demonstrations against the war yet held. The Scheer vote shows that sentiment against the war is deepening. The job now is to organize that sentiment into effective opposition to the war, demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

## Internal Security Miscalculation?

The Senate Internal Security Sub-committee attempt to smear the movement against the war in Vietnam as "communist-organized" is just about par for the course. Since the days when the late unlamented Joseph McCarthy headed up that witchhunting body, its function has been to try to smear and stifle dissident voices with the big-lie technique.

And, during the McCarthy era, the committee did indeed do much to stifle dissent in this country and to make progressive-minded people think twice before speaking out. But things have changed a great deal since then.

The present McCarthyite attack is not likely to cause a ripple in the ranks of the antiwar movement. The movement has clearly demonstrated that it won't be taken in by the old "red-menace" routine and will have no part of it.

The great strength of the present antiwar movement is its non-exclusive character — a principle that the young activists of the movement have successfully insisted upon.

Yes, there are Communist Party members active in the antiwar movement. There are also Socialist Workers Party members and a variety of other radicals, affiliated and unaffiliated. For the first time in years, all political tendencies have been free to participate in a movement whose aim they share. And there is little likelihood that the present Senate Committee attack will result in any demands for membership purges as happened in SANE a few years back when it was the target of a similar smear attack.

And that is precisely what the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee doesn't like.

# Speech by F

By John Hulett

[The following are major excerpts from a speech by John Hulett, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, known as the Black Panther party. These excerpts have been taken, unedited, directly from a tape recording of the speech. The speech was given at Baces Hall in Los Angeles on May 22].

I'm happy to have the opportunity to come and share this evening with you . . . I'd like to give you a general idea of what's happening in the state of Alabama and in Lowndes County. This county, as far as I'm concerned, is one of the worst counties in the state of Alabama, and not only that, it is one of the poorest counties in the nation.

Lowndes County consists of a population of about 15,000 people. Of these 15,000 people, 80 percent are Negroes, 20 percent white. The entire county is controlled entirely by whites. It has always been this way . . .

Last year in March, some 30 people assembled at the courthouse in Hayneville to make an attempt to get registered. They were talked about and many people were sitting by their radios that day and watching television, wanting to see what would happen in Lowndes County. We made the attempt and two weeks later, two people became registered voters. Today, we have at least 2,500 registered Negro voters.

### The White Vote

According to the 1960 statistics, there are only 1,900 possible white registered voters in the county. Today, all of these people are registered. Two years ago, 118 percent of these white people voted. In the general elections in this year for governor, I learned that there will be even more white people voting.

Last year, we started a group in Lowndes County known as the Lowndes County Christian Movement for human rights. This was a civil rights group. We struggled. We fought for integration in this county, we fought that Negroes might have a right to get registered to vote, we protested at the school so that all the people could have education — and for this we got nothing . . .

We sat down together and discussed our problems. We thought about what we were going to do with these 2,500 registered voters in the county, whether or not we were going to become a part of Lyndon Baines Johnson's party. Then we thought about the other people in the state of Alabama who were working in this party. We thought of the city commissioner of Birmingham, Eugene Bull Connor; George Wallace who is now the governor of the state of Alabama; Al Lingo, who gave orders to those who beat the people when they got ready to



John Hulett

make the march from Selma to Montgomery; the sheriff of Dallas County, known as Jim Clark — these people control the Democratic Party in the state of Alabama.

So the Negroes in Lowndes County decided that it's useless to stay in the Democratic Party or the Republican Party in the state of Alabama. Through the years, these are the people who kept Negroes from voting in the South and in the state of Alabama. Why join the Democratic Party?

Some time ago, we organized a political group of our own known as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, whose emblem is the black panther.

We were criticized, we were called communists, we were called everything else, black nationalists and what not, because we did this. Any group which starts at a time like this to speak out for what is right — they are going to be ridiculed. The people of Lowndes County realized this. Today we are moving further . . .

### Organization Needed

Too long Negroes have been begging, especially in the South, for things they should be working for. So the people in Lowndes County decided to organize themselves — to go out and work for the things we wanted in life — not only for the people in Lowndes County, but for every county in the state of Alabama, in the Southern states, and even in California.

You cannot become free in California while there are slaves in Lowndes County. And no person can be free while other people are still slaves, nobody.

In Lowndes County, there is a committee in the Democratic Party. This committee not only controls the courthouse, it controls the entire county. When they found out that the Negroes were going to run candidates in the

primary of the Democratic Party on May 3, they assembled themselves together and began to talk about what they were going to do. Knowing this is one of the poorest counties in the nation, what they decided to do was change the registration fees in the county.

Two years ago, if a person wanted to run for sheriff, tax collector, tax assessor, all he had to do was pay \$50 and then he qualified to be the candidate. This year, the entrance fee is about \$500. If a person wants to run, he has to pay \$500 to run for office. In the primary, when they get through cheating and stealing, then the candidate is eliminated. So we decided that we wouldn't get into such a primary because we were tired of being tricked by the Southern whites. After forming our own political group today, we feel real strong that we are doing the right thing in Lowndes County.

We have listened to everybody who wanted to talk, we listened to them speak, but one thing we had to learn for ourselves. As a group of people, we must think for ourselves and act on our own accord. And this we have done.

### Full Slate

Through the years, Negroes in the South have been going for the bones while whites have been going for the meat. The Negroes of Lowndes County today are tired of the bones — we are going to have some of the meat, too.

At the present time, we have our own candidates which have been nominated by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. And we fear that this might not be enough to avoid the tricks that are going to be used in Lowndes County against us . . .

In Lowndes County, the sheriff is the custodian of the courthouse. This is a liberal sheriff, too, who is "integrated," who walks around and pats you on the shoulder, who does not carry a gun. But at the same time, in the county where there are only 800 white men, there are 550 of them who walk around with a gun on them. They are deputies.

This is true; it might sound like a fairy tale to most people, but this is true. After talking to the sheriff about having the use of the courthouse lawn for our mass nominating meeting, not the courthouse but just the lawn, he refused to give the Negroes permission. We reminded him that last year in August, one of the biggest Klan rallies that have ever been held in the state of Alabama was held on this lawn of this courthouse. And he gave them permission. A few weeks ago, an individual who was campaigning for governor — he got permission to use it. He used all types of loud-speakers and anything that he wanted.

### Held Meeting

But he would not permit Negroes to have the use of the courthouse. For one thing, he realized that we would build a party — and if he could keep us from forming our own political group, we would always stand at the feet of the Southern whites and of the Democratic Party. So what we did, we told him that we were going to have this meeting, we were going to have it here, on the courthouse lawn. And we wouldn't let anybody scare us off. We won't expect you to protect us, and if you don't, Negroes would protect themselves.

Then we asked him a second time, to be sure he understood what we were saying. We repeated it to him the second time. And then we said to him, sheriff, if you come out against the people, then we are going to ar-



# Freedom Party Leader

rest you. And he said, "I will not give you permission to have this meeting here. I can't protect you from the community."

Then we reminded him that according to the law of the state of Alabama, that this mass meeting which was set up to nominate our candidates must be held in or around a voters' polling place. And if we decide to hold it a half a mile away from the courthouse, some individual would come up and protest our mass meeting. And our election would be thrown out.

So we wrote the Justice Department and told them what was going to happen in Lowndes County.

All of a sudden, the Justice Department started coming in fast into the county. He [the Justice Department Representative] said to me, "John what is going to happen next Tuesday at the courthouse?"

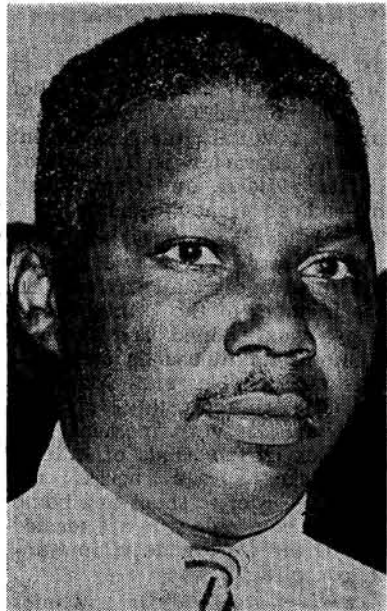
I said to him, "We are going to have our mass meeting." And he wanted to know where. And I said on the lawn of the courthouse.

He said, "I thought the sheriff had told you you couldn't come there."

And I said, "Yes, but we are going to be there."

Then he wanted to know, if shooting takes place, what are we going to do. And I said that we "are going to stay out there and everybody die together."

And then he began to get



**CANDIDATE.** Sidney Logan, Jr., Lowndes County Freedom Organization candidate for sheriff.

worried, and I said, "Don't worry. You're going to have to be here to see it out and there's no place to hide, so whatever happens, you can be a part of it."

And then he began to really panic. And he said, "There's nothing I can do."

And I said, "I'm not asking you to do anything. All I want you to know is we are going to have a mass meeting. If the sheriff cannot protect us, then we are going to protect ourselves." And I said to him, "Through the years Negroes in the South have never had any protection, and today we aren't looking to anybody to protect us. We are going to protect ourselves."

That was on Saturday. On Sunday, at about 2 o'clock, we were having a meeting, and we decided among ourselves that [in addition to the mass nominating meeting] we were going to start collecting petitions for our candidates to be sure that they got on the ballot. The state laws require at least 25 signatures of qualified electors, and so we decided to get at least 100 for fear somebody might come up and find fault or something. And we decided to still have

our mass meeting and nominate our candidates.

About 2:30, here comes the Justice Department again, and he was really worried. And he said he wasn't satisfied. He said to me, "John, I've done all I can do, and I don't know what else I can do, and now it looks like you'll have to call this meeting off at the courthouse."

And I said to him, "No, we aren't going to call it off. We're going to have it."

He stayed around for a while and then got in his car and drove off, saying, "I'll see you tomorrow, maybe." And we stayed at this meeting from 2:30 until about 11:30 that night. About 11:15, the Justice Department came walking up the aisle of the church and said to me, "Listen. I've talked to the attorney general of the state of Alabama, and he said that you can go ahead and have a mass meeting at the church and it will be legal."

### Legalized Papers

Then we asked him, "Do you have any papers that say that's true, that are signed by the governor or the attorney general?" And he said no. And we said to him, "Go back and get it legalized, and bring it back here to us and we will accept it."

And sure enough, on Monday at 3 o'clock, I went to the courthouse and there in the sheriff's office were the papers all legalized and fixed up, saying that we could go to the church to have our mass meeting.

To me, this showed strength. When people are together, they can do a lot of things, but when you are alone you cannot do anything . . .

There are 600 Negroes in the county who did not trust in themselves and who joined the Democratic Party . . . We had warned them that they could not get what they wanted in the Democratic Party. We warned the entire state of Alabama that running on the Democratic ticket could not do them any good, because this party is controlled by people like George Wallace; and whoever won would have to do what these people said to do . . .

### Democratic Game

Now, to me, the Democratic Party primaries and the Democratic Party are something like an integrated gambler who carries a card around in his pocket and every now and then he has to let somebody win to keep the game going. To me, this is what the Democratic Party means to the people in Alabama. It's a gambling game. And somebody's got to win to keep the game going every now and then . . .

There is another guy who was running on the ticket calling himself a liberal, the attorney general of the state of Alabama, Richmond Flowers. Most of you have heard about him. When he started campaigning to the people of Alabama, especially the Negro people, he assembled all of their leaders and he made all kinds of promises to them. "If you elect me for your governor, I'll do everything in the world for you."

And at the same time, he never made a decent campaign speech to the white people of this state. We kept warning our people in the state of Alabama that this was a trick; this was a trick to draw all Negroes together, and many Negroes listened to their so-called leaders, who profess to speak for the state of Alabama, and they got caught in the trap, too . . .

I would like to say here, and this is one thing I am proud of, the people in Lowndes County stood together; and the 600 people who voted in the Democratic primary have realized one thing,



Photo by John Benson

**REAL PRIMARY ELECTION.** Lowndes County voter signs registration to vote in nominating convention of Lowndes County Freedom Organization last May 3. Nominees will contest against Republicans and Democrats in November general election.

that they were tricked by their leaders, and they were tricked by the Democratic Party. And now they, too, are ready to join us with the LCFO, whose emblem is the black panther.

We have seven people who are running for office this year in our county; namely, the coronor, three members of the board of education — and if we win those three, we will control the board of education — tax collector, tax assessor and the individual who carries a gun at his side, the sheriff.

Let me say this — a lot of persons tonight asked me, "Do you really think if you win that you will be able to take it all over, and live?"

I say to the people here tonight — yes, we're going to do it. If we have to do like the [present] sheriff, if we have to deputize every man in Lowndes County 21 and over, to protect people, we're going to do it.

There was something in Alabama a few months ago they called fear. Negroes feared to move on their own; they waited until the man, the people whose place they lived on, told them they could get registered. They told many people, "Don't you move until I tell you to move, and when I give you an order, don't you go down and get registered."

### Evictions

But the people who sit quietly wouldn't move on their own accord. Then all the people were being evicted at the same time and even today in Lowndes County, there are at least 75 families that have been evicted. Some are living in tents now, while some are living in one-room houses — with eight or nine in a family. Others have split their families up and are living together with their rel-

atives or their friends. But they are determined to stay in Lowndes County, until justice rolls down like water.

Evicting the families wasn't all — there were other people who live on their own places who owe large debts, so they decided to foreclose on these debts to run Negroes off the place. People made threats. But we're going to stay there, we aren't going anywhere . . .

I would like to let the people here tonight know why we chose this black panther as our emblem. Many people have been asking me this question for a long time. Our political group is open to whoever wants to come in who would like to work with us. But we aren't begging anyone to come in. It's open; you come at your own free will and accord.

### Want Victory

But this black panther is a vicious animal, as you know. He never bothers anything — but when you start pushing him, he moves backwards, backwards, and backwards into his corner, and then he comes out to destroy everything that's before him.

Negroes in Lowndes County have been pushed back through the years. We have been deprived of our rights to speak, to move, and to do whatever we want to do at all times. And now we are going to start moving. On Nov. 8 of this year, we plan to take over the courthouse in Hayneville. And whatever it takes to do it, we're going to do it.

We've decided to stop begging. We've decided to stop asking for integration. Once we control the courthouse, once we control the board of education, we can build our school system where our boys and girls can get an education in

Lowndes County. Once we control the courthouse with a sheriff, a tax assessor and a tax collector.

There are 89 prominent families in this county who own 90 percent of the land. These people will be taxed. And we will collect these taxes. And if they don't pay them, we'll take their property and sell it to whoever wants to buy it. And we know there will be people who will buy land, where at the present time they cannot buy it. This is what it's going to take . . .

We aren't asking for protection any longer — we won't need it — or for anyone to come from the outside to speak for us, because we're going to speak for ourselves now and from now on. And I think not only in Lowndes County, not only in the state of Alabama, not only in the South, but in the North — I hope they, too, will start thinking for themselves. And that they will move and join us in this fight for freedom . . .

**JUST PUBLISHED**

**The  
Black  
Panther  
Party**

Speech by John Hulett — Interview with Stokely Carmichael — Report from Lowndes County

25 cents

**Merit Publisher  
5 East Third St.  
New York, N.Y. 10003**

## AN HISTORIC ANNIVERSARY

## THE POZNAN UPRISING

By Harry Ring

When the monstrosity of bureaucratic rule is finally eradicated from the Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe, June 28, 1956, will be recorded as a signal date in the process of achieving that socialist aim.

That was the day the Polish working class city of Poznan exploded in rebellion — a rebellion that won significant concessions for the Polish people and altered the basic pattern of relations between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Overworked, underpaid and underfed, the workers in the Stalin locomotive plant in that city defied their Soviet and native rulers that day and went on strike. The strike swiftly spread throughout the city of 365,000, and workers marched on City Hall with banners declaring: "Bread and Freedom," "We are Hungry," "Out with the Russians."

The Poznan revolt was the product of long oppression and was sparked by the existence of fissures in the ruling bureaucracy that gave so daring an act the hope of success.

## History of Domination

Nationalism was a significant factor in the outbreak. The Polish people had long suffered foreign domination. Prior to World War I, Poland had been under the heel of Czarist Russia and imperial Germany. In the post-war era, it was largely under the hegemony of the French. In 1939, it was carved up by Hitler and Stalin. This proved to be the prelude for World War II and the occupation of Poland by the Nazi murder machine. Five years of fierce partisan resistance followed.

With the advance of the Red Army into Poland, the people saw the prospect of liberation. But once again they found themselves under foreign domination, although this time in a different form. In the period after the war, capitalist property relations were abolished in Poland as in the rest of Eastern Europe. But the occupying Red Army fastened on the Polish people the same kind of police state rule that the Soviet people were suffering under Stalin.

An added ingredient to the horror of that totalitarian rule was national oppression. Stalin's reign over East Europe was pervaded with Great Russian chauvinism and the rights of nationalities were trampled upon.

As in the Soviet Union, secret policemen and police spies were everywhere. A young man who lived in Poland in those days told me it had been easier, in a sense, under Hitler. At least during the Nazi occupation, he explained, you



Gomulka

could see the uniformed Nazi on the corner and know exactly who he was. But in the Stalin era, he added, you never knew who was a police spy. It could be a fellow student, a shopmate, a neighbor or even a relative.

A Polish bureaucracy was hand-picked by Stalin. The oppression was total. Wages were low, food and housing inadequate, the speed-up and iron discipline in the plants brutal.

But events had begun to demonstrate that the totalitarian machine was not omnipotent. Tito had defied the Kremlin and survived Stalin's savage onslaught. In 1953, the East German workers had risen in a brief dramatic rebellion against conditions similar to those in Poland. And in February of 1956, the pressure of the Soviet people themselves for an alleviation of the police rule was manifested in Khrushchev's famed 20th Congress speech denouncing the crimes of Stalin.

## Widespread Feeling

The easing of bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union, following Stalin's death, was reflected in the appearance of similar pressures for de-Stalinization in various East European countries.

That was the setting for Poznan. On June 25 the workers at the Stalin plant had sent a delegation to Warsaw to demand a 15 percent wage increase to compensate for a series of wage cuts that had been imposed on them. They instructed the delegation that if their demands were not met they would strike.

On June 28, they received word from the delegation that the labor minister had told them that a strike would be crushed by armed force. His message had the opposite of its intended effect. Six-

teen thousand workers walked out of the plant and began a march to City Hall. Other workers began to join them. Street car crews left their posts to join the march. Truck drivers did too. Small shop-owners closed their doors in solidarity. The strike became general.

At City Hall some officials expressed sympathy. Others disappeared. Meanwhile, a rumor spread that the delegation to Warsaw had been jailed.

The huge throng marched on the jail. They were confronted by armed soldiers and ordered to disperse. Their refusal was followed by a volley of machine gun fire. A striker fell dead. The next man to die was a soldier who refused to obey his officer's order to shoot. The officer shot him on the spot.

## Jail Invaded

The throng erupted. Soldiers stood by. Some turned over their guns. The jailed was invaded and the cell doors torn open. They destroyed police records and burned down the jail. The headquarters of the hated secret police was attacked. The local radio station was occupied. Shops were broken into.

Workers obtained guns at the armory and several high schools where students were given military training. For three days there were running battles. Snipers fired from roof tops.

Then specially trained reliable forces were sent in from Warsaw. Huge tanks rolled into the city. The rebellion ended.

There were several thousand in jail. Fifty-four were dead, including a dozen cops and soldiers.

But, the rulers in Warsaw realized they had won no victory. A debate began in the top governing circles on the need for granting concessions to the masses if their rule was to be preserved. They rushed food into Poznan.

The Warsaw politicians dropped their original slanderous charge that the uprising was the work of "enemy agents." The press began to speak of justified grievances. An attempt was made to separate the jailed demonstrators from the rest of the population. They were branded murderers, hoodlums and thieves who had exploited the outbreak.

But even this could not be carried through. The trial itself was a new departure, in that it was conducted in open court and the defendants were allowed their own attorneys. At the trial, the so-called hoodlums cried out against the oppression and misery that had driven them to act. The charges could not be made to stick and finally all but three were released.

## Defiance of Moscow

The Poznan uprising was over, but the ferment continued to spread through Poland, and the Warsaw bureaucrats realized their only hope for survival was to achieve at least a measure of independence from the Kremlin. Gomulka, a popular figure in Poland since he had been ousted by Stalin in 1948, was called back in. The government decided to defy the Kremlin.

On Oct. 19, rejecting an ultimatum from Khrushchev, the Polish CP tops decided to install a new party leadership not hand-picked by the Kremlin. Khrushchev and a delegation flew in from Moscow. Soviet occupation troops began to encircle Warsaw. But the Poles stood firm. Gomulka let it be known to the world that if the Red Army moved in, he would call on the entire Polish people to rise. Huge meetings of workers and students made it clear that the people were ready to respond to such a call. The Russian bosses retreated. Khrushchev and



ON TRIAL. Group of youthful defendants seated between policemen in trial that followed Poznan uprising. Continuing mass ferment forced government to free all but three of 154 accused.

his delegation returned to Moscow and Gomulka was installed as new party chief.

Poland entered a new era. The pressure of the Russian boot was eased considerably. Bureaucratic rule within the country was modified significantly. But the workers had not succeeded in establishing their own rule, and while they succeeded in modifying the role of the native bureaucrats, they did not achieve the abolition of the bureaucracy.

The Polish events had profound repercussions in Eastern Europe. They were the spark that set Hungary aflame within days of

the successful defiance of the Kremlin. In Hungary, Khrushchev moved with speed and savage force. Russian tanks and troops drowned the workers' uprising in blood.

But even the defeated Hungarian revolution won gains, and that country has a greater degree of independence today than it had before the uprising; and there, too, bureaucratic rule has been eased.

The process begun at Poznan — the fight for socialist democracy — has not yet been completed. But the struggle of the Poznan workers was a magnificent step in that direction.

## ... Ruling on Detroit Killer

(Continued from Page 1)  
was able to discuss other issues," the doctor explained and told the court about information given him by Waniolek. The defendant "has been going from the coast guard to the Indian Embassy, from Seattle to Hawaii to Washington." The defendant was able to give a logical and good description of Hawaii and his work in the army, so that the "schizophrenia exhibited itself only in discussion related to the Communist Party."

When asked if Waniolek could aid counsel in trial proceedings on the first degree murder charge, Dr. Tanay answered that "as a psychotic, he is able to assist counsel and can provide information for his only defense — insanity." Because he believed that Waniolek's evident insanity was his best defense, Dr. Tanay disagreed with the majority report which stated that Waniolek could not assist in his own defense.

Judge Brennan adopted the recommendation of the majority report and committed Waniolek to the Ionia State Hospital until certified by able psychiatrists as cured. This set aside the first degree murder charge. The judge explained that it would be possible for Waniolek to be charged with Leo Bernard's murder if he were released from the hospital as cured. If Waniolek then stood trial, defense attorneys could refer to the sanity commission findings to prove that Waniolek was insane at the time of the murder and could then ask for dismissal of all charge against him.

## Ignored Questions

The psychiatrists' testimony and the police records have revealed much more than one man's insanity. The most important questions were not asked at Waniolek's hearing; the most crucial findings were not presented for action. Why is it that an individual can be logical and coherent about everything under the sun except "Communist conspiracy"? Where did Waniolek get the idea that such a conspiracy existed? It is no secret that the United States government has deliberately maintained a vicious anti-Communist, anti-radical witchhunt over the

past 20 years. If an individual is judged insane because of his belief in a monolithic Communist conspiracy, how must the government itself be characterized in light of all its official anti-Communist, anti-radical pronouncements?

Waniolek was charged with first degree murder because he shot and killed one socialist. Waniolek, as a member of the United States Army, was trained and ordered to annihilate thousands and millions of socialists and Communists. The United States government, at this very moment, has hundreds of thousands of killers-in-uniform spread across the world, in order to shoot and bomb and torture people who are termed part of the worldwide "Communist conspiracy."

The records prove that Waniolek's threats to "start shooting Communists" were known to local police and the Secret Service. Why was he allowed to carry his threats into action?

Waniolek may very well end his days in the Ionia State Hospital, an insane man who took his government's statements as actual truth. It may be that Waniolek will be "cured" and then declared innocent of murder by reason of insanity. In either event, the real madmen and killers will not be committed or forced to stand trial.



OCTOBER DAYS. Polish students gather to read latest news bulletins during turbulent October, 1956, Polish revolt against Kremlin domination.

Peking

vs.

Moscow

The Meaning  
Of the Great Debate

By William F. Warde

The first comprehensive appraisal of  
the Sino-Soviet dispute from a  
Marxist standpoint

50 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS

5 East Third St.  
New York, N. Y. 10003

# 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.]

## Message from Chile

Santiago, Chile

The Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) of Chile sends the Socialist Workers Party its strongest feelings of proletarian international solidarity against the sinister attack in which your militant, Leo Bernard, was assassinated and Jan Garrett and Walter Graham were wounded.

The war and anti-communist psychoses that have been created by Yankee imperialism are the essential cause of these first victimizations in the fight against the war, which animates the youth and the socialist vanguard of the North American people.

We Latin American revolutionaries follow with great attention the advances of the new movement of the North American left, whose massive demonstrations against the "dirty" war of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam have served to fortify our struggle for the Latin American Socialist Revolution.

Comrade Leo Bernard: We salute you!  
Central Committee of MIR

## Unity Needed

Chicago, Ill.

Your special issues of May 30 and June 6, relating to the wanton murder of Leo Bernard and the wounding of his two comrades, Jan Garrett and Walter Graham, should serve to unite all progressive forces despite their minor differences.

It becomes evident that the administration feels that all peace advocates and civil-rights workers are expendable. It shall shed a few hypocritical crocodile tears and stamp the incident "closed." It behooves every decent American to denounce the cowardly attack upon James Meredith, upon the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, etc. Silence can no longer be condoned! It is seized upon as acquiescence by the warped mentality.

The enclosed \$10 is my modest contribution for the Emergency Fund for Bernard, Graham and Garrett. I shall try to add to it as soon as possible.

Kindly keep your readers informed of the plight of these families. Their welfare must also be our concern.

(Mrs.) Nellie DeSchaaf

## Bernard's Purpose Lives

Providence, Ky.

Leo Bernard was one of those individuals who took a look at the society in which he lived, didn't like what he saw, and decided to do something about it. He had dedicated his life to the whole battle for peace, equality, freedom, justice and socialism. Now he is gone. Killed by an

anti-communist fanatic, he will be missed. But the spirit of progress which drove him on did not die with him. The death of Leo Bernard has only intensified the movement of the spirit of progress, which will grow and grow until it covers our land, making America truly a Great Society.

Richard Chinn, chairman  
Committee for a Liberal  
Lending Library

## From England

Brighton, England

It was with deep shock that we heard of the brutal murder of Leo Bernard and the wounding of two other comrades of the SWP and YSA.

It is obviously the hope of reactionary elements in the USA that they will be able to intimidate the American working class movement by such actions. We however, are confident that the American working class (led by a Marxist party) will prove strong enough to withstand such outrages and go forward to build socialism in the USA. This, we are sure, would be the finest memorial to our American comrade.

Michael Carr  
Chairman  
Socialist Club  
University of Sussex Union

## Fan-Mail Dep't.

Berkeley, Calif.

I like to read your newspaper. It is difficult to find a genuine tone of honesty in any other American paper I have read. Many of the facts you bring out cannot be found in the other papers either.

May I add that I particularly enjoy Harry Ring's articles and comments. I hope *The Militant* keeps growing!

N. H.

## Case of Discrimination

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I am a regular reader of your newspaper, and as a citizen of the United States, and as a human being, I wish to report the following indignities:

On Saturday, May 28, I went to Sunshine Park at Somers Point Road in Mays Landing, New Jersey. I had been invited to go there for a trial visit before applying for membership. I enclose a copy of the letter sent to me by Mr. Roberts, advising me to visit the park.

I am a resident of New York. So on Saturday morning, a friend of mine, her daughter, my niece and I started off to spend what we thought would be a delightfully healthy and invigorating Memorial holiday. After having driven for five hours, fatigued, but joyous that we had finally arrived at our destination, we pulled up in front of Mr. Roberts' house. I was not surprised to find that he was not there, because when I had telephoned him on Wednesday, May 25, to confirm my arrival, he told me that when I came, if he were not at the house he and his brother occupy at Sun-

shine Park, we could certainly find one of them at the Beach Cabin Office or somewhere on the grounds with other guests.

We turned the car around, and found Mr. Roberts in front of the dining cabin. He approached us with a foreboding expression on his face. With no greeting whatsoever, he told us that he could not accept us as members because we are Negroes. After having traveled with two small children from New York to southern New Jersey to a spot to which we had been invited officially by letter, we were refused membership in this club simply because we are Negroes. Mr. Roberts then tried apologetically to explain to us that neither he nor his brother is prejudiced, but that the people of southern New Jersey are. As a matter of fact, he said that the Ku Klux Klan had held a rally in southern New Jersey.

The people of southern New Jersey, and many other persons elsewhere, alas, may be prejudiced, but can they still segregate against us, and get away with it?

I am a born American. My birthplace is New York City. I have always paid my share of taxes; I have a cousin who lost an arm fighting in Europe in World War II. He was a piano player before this incident occurred. My deceased father received a hero's burial, as tribute to his having defended the United States of America. If we are good enough to defend a country, pay our share of taxes to support it, why can't we peaceably enjoy it? I feel that we and our children should have the right to sunbathe wherever resorts are established for this purpose. The unfairness of

## Thought for the Week

"Last year, the United States Public Health Service destroyed \$19 million worth of medical supplies — supplies that could have relieved human suffering and misery had they been used before their useful life expired on some storage shelf. These needed supplies are stored in more than 2,000 locations around the country as part of our civil defense stockpile." Howard A. Rusk, M.D., in the June 12 *New York Times*.

this situation is apparent, and I am writing you to inform you of another area where Negroes are discriminated against.

Thank you for your concern in these matters.

(Mrs.) Loretta Gueye

P.S. — We were, I assume, supposed to have become somewhat consoled when Mr. Roberts said, as we were driving off, that he has our application for membership and when and if his Park should decide to accept Negroes, we will be the first ones considered.

## Better than Oregonian

Portland, Ore.

I am sending a check for a renewal of subscription. I do not always agree with everything I find in *The Militant*, but I am horrified to find that *The Militant* does have news that we do not get in our paper, the *Oregonian*.

Some time ago, I heard Sergeant Donald Duncan speak on Vietnam here and make the statement that the peace march in New York City had been led by some three blocks of war veterans. He made the statement that it took three hours for the march to pass any one point. The next day this was in *The Militant*, but has never hit the pages of our local newspapers.

The talk by Duncan was held in a local high school, but with no police help in any way, shape or manner. There were no incidents, but if incidents had occurred, it was a full mile through city traffic to the police headquarters, so the people at the meeting were on their own.

The local papers are very much against Senator Morse since they do not like dissent in any way. As far as that goes, they are inconsistent, since in 1941, when the local longshoremen observed a Chinese picket line before a Japanese ship taking scrap iron to the mills in Japan, the paper insisted the men had no right to interfere with legitimate business.

Apparently, selling scrap iron to the Japanese was the same kind of legitimate business in 1941 that bombing villages is in 1966. I am sorry to see either one and more sorry to see that our press is so concerned with supporting actions which make a mockery out of all that the Christian ethic implies.

When we support war in an unlimited fashion and refuse to create programs which will undercut the misery in Negro ghettos such as the Watts area, we have made a mockery out of Christian beliefs.

H.R.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Un-Vietnamese** — Senator George Smathers, Florida Democrat and old crony of the late President Kennedy, says those demonstrators in Saigon are like the "peacenik" marchers in the U.S. and don't represent the opinions of the south Vietnamese people. Of course they don't. LBJ does.

**Most Likely Story of the Week** — With a straight face yet, the *New York Times* said the decision on whether or not to withdraw the occupation troops from the Dominican Republic rests with the Organization of American States.

**Skeptical** — Residents of California's 36th Congressional District were asked: "Do you believe that our government gives the people enough reliable information about what it is doing?" A grand total of 14.8 percent replied in the affirmative, while 80.7 percent said no.

**Paytriotic Endeavor** — Since 1955, the United States has pumped some \$1.7 billion worth of consumer goods into south Vietnam. Through a rigged currency deal, south Vietnamese importers get the goods at about a third of its value and then resell it for stupendous profits. After a visit there, Senator Robert Griffin (R-Mich.) commented: "What we saw over there is a situation where Saigon businessmen have a vested interest in the prolongation of the war." Which leads us to think of the U.S. businessmen whose war profits make those of their Saigon brothers look like chicken feed.

**Socialist or Socialite?** — A headline in the June 15 *New York Times* read: "Spanish Socialist Favors Monarchy — Tierno, a Moderate, Looks to Return of Don Juan."

**How to End Racism** — Twenty-one of the most promising eighth-grade graduates of an all-Negro school in Chicago will be treated to an \$8 dinner at a plush hotel dining room, with a Negro businessman picking up the tab. The purpose is to let the students know there are good things in life and, a school spokesman explained, "to encourage them not to stand on a street corner doing nothing." The students are being given a cram course in etiquette. "They have never seen seven or eight items of cutlery before," the spokesman explained. Anyway, hopefully, they will get a good meal out of it.

**Lindsay's Crackdown** — The new Lindsay regime in New York is sure living up to its campaign

pledge of crusading liberalism to build a better New York. The owner of two of the worst slums in the city was just hauled into court and charged with 223 violations, including such things as missing windows, leaking pipes, rats, defective ceilings, etc. The total fines averaged out to 80 cents each.

**Feature That** — LBJ says he wants a commission to study how to improve the quality of life for the elderly.

**Oh** — Finn Christensen, current top purveyor of fur coats, says: "A fur coat should look like a normal cloth coat. It's just that you're able to afford a more expensive overcoat than anyone else."

—Harry Ring

## FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

## THE MILITANT

873 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10003

Name .....  
Street ..... Zip .....  
City ..... State .....

If you enjoy reading *The Militant* and are interested in what the young socialist movement is thinking and doing, you will want to subscribe to America's leading young socialist magazine

## THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

\$1 a year (six issues)

Send your dollar to

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

Name.....  
Street..... Zip.....  
City..... State.....

## REPORT FROM CHICAGO

## How Cops Provoked Puerto Ricans

By Herman Porter

CHICAGO, June 16 — Residents of the Puerto Rican ghetto here reacted against a recent incident of police brutality in the manner that Negroes in the Northern ghettos are adopting more and more frequently. The shooting of a young Puerto Rican, Sunday night, June 12, by a cop, triggered a set of events in which teenage Puerto Ricans and young men armed with bottles and bricks fought skirmishes with several hundred cops using night sticks, guns and dogs.

The largest Puerto Rican community here is concentrated in a small area that stretches along West Division St. An estimated 40,000 Puerto Ricans live in that area, the great majority of whom arrived directly from Puerto Rico within the past six years.

The week before the shooting had been designated Puerto Rican Week by the community, culminating Saturday with the first annual Puerto Rican Day Parade. Some 10,000 people marched in the parade in downtown Chicago.

Incidents of police brutality against Puerto Ricans occur frequently. There are only six Puerto Ricans on the police force, and only 16 to 20 policemen are reported to be fluent in Spanish.

## Differing Stories

Reports of the incident that touched off the police invasion of the community vary. Apparently, two cops went to arrest a young man, Arcelis Cruz, 20, who they claim had been fighting. Patrolman Thomas Munyon shot Cruz in the leg. Munyon claims Cruz drew a gun and then tried to flee, before he was shot.

Several hundred people gathered and police reinforcements arrived. They used dogs to disperse the crowds and one young man, Juan Gonzales, was severely bitten. People picked him up and carried him through the crowd to show what the cops had done before taking him to the hospital.

Several hundred cops were sent into the area, and the incensed people began attacking police cars. They succeeded in setting fire to several. The cops attacked the people indiscriminately with billy clubs, and the young men threw bottles and bricks back.

Monday, the cops managed to keep dogs and patrol cars out of the area, while the clergy and others attempted to quiet the angry community. That night, a group of 2,000 to 3,000 began marching to demonstrate at the police station. It was headed off and turned into a rally by a group of clergymen.

## Used Guns

After the rally, however, the cops moved in to disperse the people gathered on Division St. This time, they used their guns as well as billy clubs. During the course of the night they shot seven people.

Some of the people vented their anger against the police attack and the society that oppresses them by smashing store windows along Division St.

Thousands remained on the streets, standing in groups, watching the police who occupied the



SPARKED OUTBREAK. When police dog bit Juan Gonzales, shown here being carried by neighbors, Chicago's Puerto Rican community erupted in fury.

intersections. Every now and then, one of the more daring youngsters dashed out to hurl a bottle or rock at one of the parked patrol cars and everyone nearby went for cover.

Tuesday evening, the cops changed their tactics and occupied Division St. more completely. They drove every group that assembled off the street, diverted traffic as they had done earlier and even prevented bus passengers from getting off.

Thus far, well over 100 people have been arrested. The area has

quieted down while police patrol in force.

Though the Puerto Rican community suffers from substandard housing, low paid jobs and lack of any representation in the city government, the main thrust of the demonstrations has been against inhuman treatment by the police. The only sign I saw carried said: "We are against blue brutality." "Blue" is the symbol of the inhuman cops who have invaded the neighborhood wearing special light-blue helmets, light-blue shirts and dark-blue trousers.

## Hansen Replies to New Charge by Blas Roca

By Barry Sheppard

Readers of *The Militant* will recall that Fidel Castro made an attack on Trotskyism in his closing speech to the Tricontinental Congress on Jan. 16. Castro charged that Trotskyism was a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction."

*The Militant* answered Castro's speech in detail in its Jan. 31, Feb. 7 and Feb. 14 issues.

A widespread response in the radical movement to Castro's speech was that he had made a serious error. The April *Monthly Review* said: "But the accusation [that Trotskyists are instruments of imperialism] has no foundation whatever, as anyone who has seriously studied the history of the communist movement since the October Revolution must know. It was precisely this accusation which provided the rationalization for the Soviet purge trials of the 1930s. If anything has been proved — and not least by the Soviet government itself — it is that the trials were a shameless frame-up; and no evidence has ever been produced to restore credibility to the accusation.

"To revive it now is a sure sign of either ignorance or malice. For our part, we prefer to believe that in this matter Fidel himself is ignorant, and the malice comes from advisers who have never abandoned the attitudes and methods which underlay the trials."

Cedric Belfrage, writing in the April 2 *National Guardian*, said: "But Castro's blast seemed out of context, since the Peruvian guerrilla movement, which the conference treated with the same respect as all others, is well known to have been sparked by Trotskyists.

"Furthermore, Trotskyists have since shown from the record that the sources quoted by Castro on Guevara's disappearance were not Fourth International spokesmen, and that the groups affiliated with

the International have in fact always supported Castro and the Cuban Revolution."

But recently a defense of Castro's speech has appeared, written by Blas Roca in the May 1 issue of the Mexican magazine *Politica*, and also printed in the Cuban theoretical magazine, *Cuba Socialista*. It is interesting that Roca felt constrained to step into the debate and defend Castro's speech against the generally unfavorable reaction to it. Why Blas Roca in particular rather than some other spokesman?

Roca is an old-time Cuban leader of the Popular Socialist Party (Communist Party), who faithfully followed Stalin's line of coalition politics. He was a leader of the party since the 1930s, including when the party entered into a coalition government with Batista. He is now a member of the secretariat of the newly-organized Communist Party of Cuba.

We can only speculate, but is it possible that Roca was one of those "advisers who have never abandoned the attitudes and methods" of the Moscow trials who gave Castro the material for his Tricontinental Congress speech? Roca, in accordance with his Stalinist background, has made Trotsky-baiting one of his specialties since the victory of the Cuban Revolution.

There are two reasons why Blas Roca's article is important. The first is that he attempts to rebut the replies to Castro's speech presented by such publications as *The Militant* and *Monthly Review*. Castro quoted material from various independent radical magazines, and from the writings of a certain J. Posadas who has set up a fake "Fourth International" which is in opposition to the actual Fourth International. Castro never identified his source as Posadas, but simply called his writings

## CORE Leader Hits Gov't For Attack on Committee Aiding Apartheid Victims

NEW YORK — Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, has vigorously protested the Justice Department's demand that the Alexander Defense Committee register as a "foreign agent." Formed to defend Dr. Neville Alexander, a jailed victim of South African racism, the committee aids the victims of the Verwoerd regime and their families. Mr. McKissick's statement declared:

"The same racism which makes it necessary for us to march in Mississippi and which makes it impossible for us to do so in safety, now manifests itself in the U.S. Justice Department's almost unbelievable order that the Alexander Defense Committee register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The Alexander Defense Committee is one of the few organizations in this country giving aid to the black and colored victims of the barbarous apartheid regime in South Africa. It financed court appeals in South Africa while that was possible and now aids the destitute families of those unjustly imprisoned. And now the U.S. Justice Department orders the officers of this committee to brand themselves under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, or face heavy fines and prison sentences. Truly, this is a perversion of the law and due process of law, equal to what has long been going on and continues to go on in Mississippi.

"Washington's policy is indeed consistent: the administration always expresses pious sentiments about its devotion to freedom and justice — and then proceeds to support racism and oppression both in this country and throughout the world. It encourages American investment in South Africa, investments now amounting to over half a billion dollars and which draw from sweated black labor there returns of as high as 25 percent annually.

"In the United Nations, the U.S. representatives have abstained from voting on resolutions calling for economic and diplomatic sanctions against the racist South African regime and from voting on the African nations' proposal for effective action against Rhodesia.

"The administration in Washington refuses to send troops or give other federal protection to the marchers and the Negro people in Mississippi on the basis of a falsely narrow interpretation of its powers under the Constitution and the federal laws. At the same time, it reveals its hypocrisy in the case of the Alexander Defense Committee by making a falsely broad and sweeping interpretation — or rather misinterpretation — of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. What emerges is that the administration has chosen to interpret the law in both cases so it works out to the detriment of the black people and to the advantage of the racists."

representative of Trotskyism. Roca, on the other hand, admits that there are different kinds of "Trotskyists." But he attempts to slur over the differences by claiming that all of these are "agents of imperialism."

More important, Roca uses his defense of Castro's speech to advocate his own particular views on the perspectives of the Latin-American revolution. His line is to support the national bourgeoisie, in the hope that it will lead a democratic-capitalist revolution against imperialism. He defends this position against the line of socialist revolution.

Because of the importance of the questions raised in Roca's article, the *International Socialist Review* has made the complete text available in this summer issue, together with a reply by Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant* (available from the *International Socialist Review*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, 50¢).

Hansen's reply is a point-by-point analysis of Roca's arguments.



Joseph Hansen

For example, Hansen gives a reasoned explanation of the basic theoretical difference between Trotskyism and the perspective advanced by Roca. Roca's line of support to the national bourgeoisie stands opposed to the line of socialist revolution in Latin America, as advanced by Castro in his speech of March 13, for instance.

Hansen caps his argument for the course of socialist revolution with a defense of what happened in Cuba: "The Cuban Revolution has had an immense effect on popular consciousness through Latin America, and this effect will grow as the contrast between Cuba's gains and the stagnation in the rest of Latin America becomes more glaring. In record time, Cuba has achieved such things as the liquidation of illiteracy. Unemployment was ended, social security guaranteed, an education assured every child. Despite all the difficulties of the imperialist blockade and a number of serious errors, the planned economy is developing and offers a bright perspective for the future.

"And what is an impressive fact — little Cuba, only 90 miles from the imperialist U.S., has been able to hold out against the world's mightiest power for seven years now! 'Socialism,' Cuban-style, is bound to appear more and more attractive — as the socialist revolution was to the masses of the world in the first years after the October Revolution. The Latin American masses will become increasingly impatient to achieve what the Cubans did — a socialist revolution. And why shouldn't they have it?"

In view of the acuteness of the issues involved, it is not likely that this exchange will mark the end of the debate. It remains to be seen what kind of arguments the Blas Rocas will try next, in view of the crushing response their efforts up to now have met with.

## Mass Slaughter In Vietnam

Robert Guillain, expert in Far Eastern affairs for the authoritative Paris daily, *Le Monde*, estimates that in 1965 alone, nearly 100,000 people were exterminated in the highly indiscriminate U.S. bombings in south Vietnam.