

THE MILITANT

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Why U.S. Is Losing War Against Vietnam Rebels

By Art Preis

There are no more cheap conquests for imperialism. The days when the advanced capitalist countries could subjugate and exploit underdeveloped peoples with the use of relatively small military forces are long since gone. The American people are once more being taught this lesson the hard way.

After ten years of trying to prop up rotten and corrupt regimes in South Vietnam and to crush the Vietnamese revolution, U.S. intervention appears headed for a staggering defeat such as French imperialism suffered just a decade ago.

U.S. aggression has degenerated into a mass slaughter of the Vietnamese peasants with flaming, jellied-gasoline (napalm), saturation bombings by U.S. planes and pilots.

The Johnson administration can no longer conceal or effectively minimize the victorious sweep of the Vietnamese revolution despite the staggering amount of U.S. military supplies and direct military support being sent to dictator Nguyen Khanh.

A Washington dispatch in the May 17 *New York Times* reports three days of intensive conferences between Johnson and his principal aides trying to figure out some way "to cope with increasingly effective Communist insurgency in South Vietnam."

The meetings, the story goes on, "took place in an atmosphere of concern . . . due largely to gloomy assessments reported privately to Congressional participants in a National Security Council meeting yesterday." Meanwhile the administration threatens to involve this country even more deeply in South Vietnam by shipping more troops, bombers, pilots and napalm to that tortured land.

The guarded statements of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, upon returning from his fifth "inspection" junket to Saigon, gave only the barest hint of the extent of the advances of the revolutionary Vietnamese since "strongman" Khanh started carrying the ball early this year for the U.S. invaders.

The situation of the U.S. forces and their puppet ally is "worse than the public has been told — far worse," states a May 16 *Scripps-Howard* Washington dispatch. It reports "shocking developments" about which McNamara kept his mouth shut in public.

The brunt of the fighting in South Vietnam, according to this dispatch, is being borne by U.S. forces, who, we have been falsely

told, are acting solely as "advisers" to the South Vietnam government. "Americans — not Vietnamese — are accounting for 60 per cent of the casualties inflicted on the Communist Viet Cong," this account flatly states.

The South Vietnam dictatorship has so little popular support that its military recruits "come almost entirely from the unemployed in Saigon's slums." Joining the army is the only way they can keep from starving to death. But, the dispatch adds, while the top officers and Khanh's favorites are "living better than ever in the villas of departed French officials," their troops are "tired. They see little ahead but more dirty fighting and death. They are convinced the government in Saigon cares nothing about them. Some walk away when the fighting gets hot."

Hedrick Smith reports in the May 15 *New York Times* that the "most striking fact" about McNamara's last trip to South Vietnam is that for the first time "he had to wrap himself in a bullet-proof vest to drive through the streets of Saigon." Saigon, the capital of the Khanh regime, is actually in a state of siege. Almost all of the countryside is in the hands of the revolutionaries.

In the past two years the insurgent army has doubled in size, to an estimated 40,000, armed largely with captured U.S. weapons. They are supported by an overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people. In the same two years, South Vietnam government casualties have totalled 41,800, according to a May 16 *Associated Press* report. U.S. casualties have now reached more than 1,200.

As more and more of the facts leak out, the American people will learn that we have been dragged into a dirty, bloody, brutal and costly aggression against a people who have been fighting for 20 years for land and freedom. But there is still time to repudiate the U.S. atrocities in South Vietnam and to compel Washington to withdraw its counter-revolutionary forces before we have another Korean War on our hands.

Senate Liberals Pull Rights Bill Swindle

By Charles Taylor

MAY 27 — Democratic liberal leader Hubert Humphrey, Republican leader Everett Dirksen, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy have made a deal to water down the so-called civil-rights bill to the point where two-thirds of the Senators would vote to end the Southern filibuster against it.

Acceptance of some 50 amendments drawn up by reactionary Senator Dirksen constitutes the "compromise" or deal. This represents a further dilution of the bill which was as weak as water to begin with. The amendments particularly weaken the enforcement provisions of the public-accommodations section (Title II) and the fair-employment section (Title VIII). These are the only parts of the eleven-part bill which might have brought some betterment in the lives of Negroes — if they were enforced.

The 50 new amendments will mean — assuming the bill is passed — that those seeking their civil rights under the law will have to hack their way through jungles of red tape.

The amendments also add to the delays before cases can be brought to court, increasing them to periods of from six to nine months. Furthermore, only the individual discriminated against is allowed in most cases to bring suit — the U.S. Attorney General and such organizations as the NAACP are denied that right.

"Legal Concession"

The civil-rights bill was grudgingly introduced into Congress by the Kennedy administration last summer in an effort to get Negro demonstrators off the streets, by offering them some "legal concessions."

President Johnson needs the passage of some sort of bill with a civil-rights label before the November elections. He hopes that will help remove from him the political curse of being a Southern Democrat — which is exactly what he is.

The civil-rights fight in Congress is as carefully staged and as phony as a professional wrestling match. Militant Negro leaders are putting little faith in the bill. Instead, they are putting their faith in demonstrations and other mass actions.

The liberal Democrats, Dixiecrats and Republicans will continue their flim-flam game on civil rights until it is broken up by some drastic political development. Such a development could be the organization by the Negro people of their own independent political party.



THEY WON. Some of the Harlem parents who defied cops and kept demonstrating until city officials agreed to install traffic light at busy school-street crossing.

Determined Harlemites Win Installation of Traffic Light

By Constance Weissman

NEW YORK — A group of Harlem mothers won the promise of a traffic light at a dangerous intersection after four days of protests during which 17 demonstrators were arrested.

On the first day of the protest, about 100 women and youngsters from parent groups and Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU) stationed two children in a baby carriage at the 131st Street and Fifth Avenue crossing and sat down in the street. According to an article by Junius Griffin in the May 20 *N.Y. Times*, "A melee erupted when someone shouted 'the dirty cop slapped her.'" Charges of police brutality were made by the demonstrators who said the 50 or so cops there "had struck, kicked and shoved women and children in breaking up the blockade."

After the police put up barricades near the school, women and children began marching down the middle of the street to the police station. Mrs. Alice Kornegay, head of the East Harlem Triangle Association, was seized by three

cops when she tried to halt a vehicle. About 50 people tried to free her. She was later charged with interfering with the police, disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly. Earlier, she charged that the police had kicked her on the leg in front of the school.

Mrs. Vonnice Jordan, president of the school's Parent-Teacher Association also charged that the police "had kicked and hit us while making the arrests." A 13-year-old boy said police struck him while he was walking along the street. Among those charged with disorderly conduct was a ten-year-old girl. Major Williams, one of the Harlem rent-strike leaders, was one of the eleven arrested.

On the third day of the protest demonstrations, a group among the 150 demonstrators passed barricades set up by the police and sat down on the crosswalk. Six were arrested. They all gave the headquarters of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) as their addresses.

Meantime, meetings were being (Continued on Page 6)

BEHIND THE RACIST VOTES FOR WALLACE

Ugly Truth About the Democratic Party

By Barry Sheppard

National Co-ordinator Students for DeBerry and Shaw

Commentators are generally agreed that the big votes won by Gov. Wallace of Alabama in northern primary elections point up the widespread race prejudice among whites in the country. But the ominously large votes for Wallace show something else too — namely, what an effective weapon the Democratic Party is for the Southern racists.

The power of the Democratic Party has traditionally been based on its two principal wings — the Southern racists and the Northern big-city machines based in large measure on the vote-catching power of the labor-liberal alliance.

For the liberals and labor officials, the North-South alliance has long been an embarrassing prob-

lem. How do you explain to Negroes your membership in the same party as a foul-mouthed racist like Wallace?

Some Northern Democrats have tried to pretend that their Southern fellow card-carriers are not really Democrats; they're just Dixiecrats who misappropriate the name.

But the Dixiecrat power in the South is based in large measure on federal patronage — patronage dispensed by the Democratic administration. And Dixiecrat power is further entrenched by the control of key Congressional committees — control maintained solely on the basis of Democratic Party insistence that "seniority" is inviolate.

So some liberal-labor spokesmen peddle the pipe-dream of a Democratic Party that will one day be

free of the Southern racists. A few years back, for example, UAW President Walter Reuther was storming to the Democrats, "You can't have me and Eastland too!"

Now it's high time to face the fact that the Democrats not only have both the Reuthers and the Eastlands but that the Eastlands are using the alliance to make impressive gains.

With their white-supremacy system now under assault by the Freedom Now movement, the Dixiecrats want to deepen their political strength at home and extend their influence by tapping the racist sentiment in the North.

What vehicle do they chose to carry out the task? Why, their party, of course. Wallace simply enters Democratic primaries in other states and without any great

(Continued on Page 2)

White GIs Walk

GIs are unpopular foreign invaders in South Vietnam. But the populace shows a certain sympathy to those Americans it knows are themselves victims of oppression. This was apparent when the Saigon taxi drivers recently held a boycott of foreign passengers to protest the killing of two drivers by American servicemen. They made one exception to the boycott — American Negroes.



Johnson



A rash of "wildcat" rail strikes followed the recent White House-negotiated rail settlement despite top union officials' claims that the settlement was satisfactory. The settlement dealt with the five "operating" unions — whose members work on moving trains.

Strikes, picketing and other demonstrations increased when the previous arbitration award allowing companies to lay off many firemen became effective May 7. The rail corporations have obtained injunctions against such walkouts, including one order by Federal Judge Alexander Holtzoff restraining rail workers anywhere in the nation from striking on the firemen's issue. Officials of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen have insisted on compliance with the injunctions.

Walkouts against the White House settlement occurred on the Toledo, Peoria & Western; Peoria and Pekin Union; Elgin, Joliet & Eastern; on the New York Central at Mattoon, Ill., and Indianapolis; on the Santa Fe; on the Milwaukee at Spokane, Wash.; and on the Pennsylvania Railroad in Pittsburgh and Chicago.

Tip workers are marching on Washington May 27 to demand that tips be counted as wages for purposes of figuring Social Security benefits. Tips are already counted as wages for purposes of paying income tax. The march is being sponsored by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, AFL-CIO.

UAW President Walter Reuther is picking up more support for his "flexible" approach to this year's bargaining on the question of earlier retirement. On May 12, Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, announced that the 128-member Ford General Council had voted in favor of supporting Reuther's position as opposed to the "25-30-60" proposal. Stellato said the 25-30-60 demand was "too rigid" and might precipitate a strike. In spite of the fact that the auto companies' profit and sales picture make this an ideal year for winning substantial gains in a short strike, Stellato said "the

union does not want a strike if a strike can be avoided."

"25-30-60" has been sparked by Buick Local 599 in Flint. It means retirement at age 60 at half pay after 25 years' service, and two-thirds pay after 30 years. Reuther's proposal — which has been recommended by a federal advisory committee — is for a "phasing out" of retirement, with older workers on the job part time and collecting retirement part time.

The precise terms, however, are vague and subject to "flexible" bargaining. This means Reuther can accommodate to the auto companies in any way he chooses and minimize the possibility of strike in an election year.

The Johnson administration is known to expect "a strike-free settlement that will not force an increase in car prices." This is just a diplomatic way of saying it wants the UAW not to take advantage of the present boom in car production to force significant concessions. There is little likelihood that Reuther will disappoint his friends in the Democratic Party. The emphasis being placed on retirement would also indicate that there will not be much of an effective fight on working conditions, which the UAW convention put at the top of the bargaining agenda.

...Wallace Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

difficulty rallies an amount of support which should not be belittled.

What has been the reaction of the Northern liberals to this? Has a single one of them said maybe there's something wrong with a party that not only tolerates rabid racists in its ranks but offers them a platform and machinery for extending their influence? Has one of them challenged Wallace's right to membership in a party that is formally pledged to the preservation of democratic rights?

Or has a single liberal or labor leader declared, "I don't intend to disgrace myself by membership in the same organization as a creature like Wallace?" After all, the Democratic Party is a voluntary organization — just like some of the clubs from which some liberals have resigned when their Jim-Crow policies were spotlighted.

Need Dixiecrats

The reality is they don't intend to break with the Dixiecrats because it would mean a loss of power. They prefer to permit the Southern racists to become legitimized in the North through the machinery of the party rather than to disturb the national political balance which provides them with patronage, status and political favors and which helps perpetuate the capitalist system from which their special privileges derive.

For those who do not have such a stake in the preservation of the Democratic Party, for those who want to oppose the racists of both parties, a real alternative is offered by the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party — a party not open to racists! Its presidential candidate, Clifton DeBerry, is the first Negro in U.S. history to be nominated for president by a political party. He and his running mate, Edward Shaw, are uncompromising supporters of Freedom Now.

Students and other young people opposed to the racism, witch-hunting and war-mongering of the major parties have organized the Youth and Student Committee in Support of DeBerry and Shaw. For information on the committee's activity, write to Students for DeBerry and Shaw, P.O. Box 205, New York 3, N.Y.

Union Drive Successful

Detroit Teachers Win Bargaining Rights

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — "... Dynamic ... militant ... It will get things done ... it is the more democratic group and we'll have a voice in it ... The DFT started a fire under the Board of Education."

These were reasons given by those who voted May 11 to make the Detroit Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) the sole bargaining agent for the city's 10,000 teachers.

The representation election climaxed an intensive year-long campaign to force the Board of Education to give classroom teachers a greater voice in school policies and practices. The election also climaxed a long struggle between the union-oriented DFT, based on classroom teachers, and the Detroit Educational Association (DEA), a company union that includes principals and supervisors. DEA is a "professional" organization and refuses to consider strike action.

The Detroit election is a part of the recent nation-wide rebellion of teachers that was so dramatically inaugurated with the militant actions of the New York teachers who won a collective bargaining agreement in 1961.

Vigorous Campaign

Encouraged by the New York victory, the DFT launched a vigorous campaign during 1963. Last May the union got the signatures of 70 per cent of Detroit's teachers on petitions asking the Board of Education for a representation election. Faced with such a show of strength from its rival, the DEA company union countered with a petition drive to represent the teachers' grievances before the State Labor Mediation Board. The Michigan Education Association followed up with a petition drive to get state-wide mandatory tenure.

The Board of Education refused to act on any of the demands raised by either teacher group. On Feb. 27 a DFT strike vote carried 2109-387. The strike plans were immediately denounced by state officials, Board of Education members and the major daily newspapers. The DEA said their members would go through the picket lines.

The DFT was warned that if it hit the bricks all participants would be fired and would lose pension and seniority rights under the state's Hutchinson Act prohibiting strikes by public employees. This was designed to scare the teachers but they continued their plans for a strike.

The Board presented a compromise plan to the teachers. It would set up an eleven-member advisory board made up of representatives of both the DFT and DEA. This advisory group would have no powers, but would have to agree to a no-strike pledge. Both the DFT and DEA turned the plan down flat.

The DFT proceeded to set an April 15 strike date. The Board hurriedly arranged a special election for April 8 to allow teachers to advise the Board if they really wanted a representation election



Evelyn Sell

S.W.P. Candidate for U.S. Senator from Michigan

or the Board's eleven-member advisory committee plan.

The DFT and DEA advised their members to vote for a representation election and 80 per cent of the teachers did so. The Board was then compelled to hold such an election May 11, which the DFT won by a 3-2 margin. After the victory, DFT President Mary Ellen Riordan said, "We want to reduce class size, raise salaries and rid teachers of non-teaching duties."

Many jubilant teachers now look forward to a new era in teacher-Board relations. They had won something to be proud of: by sticking to their guns they had forced the Board to recognize their union and they had repudiated the company unionism of the DEA by declaring in favor of industrial-union methods of struggle. However, there are a great many obstacles in the way before a healthy, militant and democratic teachers union can gain a powerful voice in school affairs.

Board's Trump Cards

First of all, the Board made sure it would hold all the trump cards no matter how the election went. It will not enter into a formal contract with the union but instead will put the union through an elaborate mediation process — the end result of which will not be binding on either the teachers or the Board!

Another weak feature is the present Reutherite leadership of the DFT. The leadership is careful to sound militant but not to be very militant.

A very serious weakness in the DFT is its refusal to take a firm stand on the problems of Negro teachers and Negro school-children. Doris Cleage, a public-school teacher writing in the *Illustrated News*, pointed out glaring defects in the DFT. She reminded readers that when the Board of Education had failed to secure passage of a law hiking taxes for school purposes, drastic changes were put into effect in Detroit schools.

One of the steps taken was to equalize class size throughout the

city. "This meant that white schools in the outer districts of the city lost teachers because their classes were below average. These teachers who were, of course, white were transferred to Negro schools in the inner city if those schools had rooms to put them in. The Negro schools had classes far above the average. Now what was the union concerned about? Equalizing class size all over the city instead of within districts? Reducing the class size for Negro children? Indeed not. Their concern was for those poor white teachers who had to leave their 'good' comfortable white schools and come into the difficult, problem, Negro schools of the Center District."

Ignore School Bias

Before the representation election of May 11 both the DFT and DEA were eagerly wooing votes. Mrs. Cleage wrote that "in all the tons of material both unions have stuffed in our mailboxes these last few weeks I haven't seen or heard one meaningful word about the problems of discrimination against Negro children in the Detroit Public Schools. They must know about the problem because it is at the root of every major problem facing the Board of Education and the union."

Because both the DFT and the DEA refused to take a positive stand on Negro educational problems and refused to do anything serious about them, Mrs. Cleage urged Negro teachers to "draw up a list of demands for the DFT just as the DFT draws them up for the Board. We should withdraw support from the DFT and cross their picket lines on the day of the strike. If we help the DFT to the power position of sole bargaining agent, they will have even less reason to listen to us than they have now ... We should vote for no union at all and see if they can figure out what they can do about Negroes' problems in Detroit schools before it's time for another election."

The election has been held and the DFT is sole bargaining agent but some of the pre-election advice given by Doris Cleage is now just as important and correct: "You get what you fight for whether you're a union seeking recognition from the Board or the colonists seeking freedom from the mother country. The union is not going to fight for equal educational opportunity for Negro children in Detroit unless Negro teachers force them to. Negroes are the ones who can see most clearly this basic problem of perpetual inequality and all the evils that flow from it. We therefore are the ones who must use our power to force the union and the larger community to face this problem honestly and solve it."

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO
UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE WAR ON POVERTY. Speaker, Edward Heisler. Fri., June 5, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT
JOHNSON'S POP-GUN WAR ON POVERTY. Speaker, Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan. Fri., June 5, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

HEAR SOCIALIST VIEWS ON RADIO. Every Monday, 7:15-7:30 p.m. Station WQRS-FM (105.1)

LOS ANGELES
ROBERT BURKART, Organization Co-ordinator, Western Region, United Auto Workers, will speak on the Effects of Cybernation and Automation on American Labor and Industry. Fri., June 5, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK
MARC D. SCHLEIFER, poet and author of recent articles on Cuba, answers questions from a panel of artists on Art and Socialism. Fri., June 5, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Friday, JUNE 12 — PAN-AFRICAN UNITY AND APARTHEID, discussed by three African students.

Join Students for DeBerry and Shaw

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Clip and mail to Barry Sheppard, National Co-ordinator, Students for DeBerry and Shaw, P.O. Box 205, New York 3, N.Y.

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REVIEWS and REPORTS

"ONE OF THE GREAT COMPANIONS." Address Delivered by Rev. William H. Melish at the Memorial Service for Dr. W.E.B. DuBois in Accra, Ghana 24 pp. 25 cents. Order from Rev. Melish, 905 St. Marks Ave. Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213.

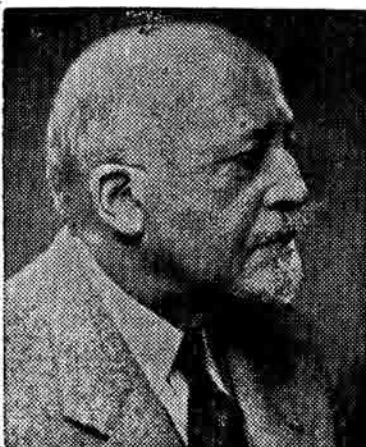
After over a half-century of service to the Negro people, William Edward Burghardt DuBois died on Aug. 27, 1963 at the age of 95, in Ghana. That country had been his home in the last few years of his life. In his will, Dr. DuBois asked that his funeral address be given by the Rev. William Howard Melish of New York. It was delivered at memorial services in the Aggrey Memorial Church of Achimota College in Accra. Now published in pamphlet form, it is an eloquent summary of DuBois' life.

Classical Education

Born in Great Barrington in western Massachusetts, DuBois received a classical education, first at Fisk, then at Harvard and the University of Berlin. From the very beginning, DuBois was a trailblazer. In the 1890s, he wrote: *The Philadelphia Negro*, the first American study in urban sociology, and his Ph.D. thesis, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America*, became volume one in the series of Harvard Historical Studies. He was the first Negro awarded the doctoral degree by Harvard. For the next 13 years, teaching at Atlanta University, he trained a whole generation of Negro scholars.

DuBois had been concerned with racial injustices from his youth. But, it was only after he wrote his classic, *The Souls of Black Folk*, that he began to involve himself actively in the quest for racial justice.

In this period, he faced the great



W. E. B. DuBois

choice: the path of George Washington Carver, namely, capitulation to the Northern industrialists' plans for the subjugation of the Negroes; or the path of resolute struggle for full rights for his people. DuBois chose the latter by launching the Niagara Movement, the predecessor of the NAACP and the modern starting point for the civil-rights drive which is reaching new heights in our own day. Through the magazine, *Crisis*, which he edited, DuBois' message reached hundreds of thousands.

DuBois' participation in this struggle continued till his death, thus spanning almost two thirds of the 20th Century. The spirit throughout his scholarly work, such as *Black Reconstruction*, his political activities — in the socialist and Pan-African movements and in opposing the two major parties in the USA, with their racist, cold-war and witch-hunt tactics, and, in his tireless labor in behalf of his people, was blazoned on the banner which he held so high: "It is a thing of pride to be a Negro."

—Ralph Levitt



By Carolyn Kerry

The New York contingent of the Militant Army is setting the pace for the rest of the country in the special introductory subscription campaign which aims at adding 3,000 new readers to our list by July 15.

The *Militant* is becoming well known and is well received in Harlem where our New York supporters sold 134 new subs and 300 single copies this past week end. In addition, the paper is now carried by several dozen newsstands in the area with increased sales reported each week. The New York total is now 313, over half its quota of 600 with six weeks left to go.

Chicago is runner-up with 240 new subscribers out of a quota of 1,000. Sub director Carrie phoned to ask us to increase the number of papers we are sending them. She reports that everyone is so enthusiastic about the response to the paper that they are planning to challenge New York to a contest.

Cleveland follows Chicago with 44 new readers' subscriptions. And from another section of Ohio we received six new subs. Writing from Cincinnati, one of our friends says: "We're few in number but three of us have got together to

give *The Militant* some new readers." As a result, six new readers in that city.

Oakland-Berkeley comes next with 42. Philadelphia sends us 16 new readers from Chester, Pa., scene of recent Freedom Now demonstrations. We're still waiting for quotas from a number of areas — and some new *Militant* subscriptions too.

| City | Quota | Score |
|----------------------|-------|-------|
| New York | 600 | 313 |
| Chicago | 1,000 | 245 |
| Cleveland | 75 | 44 |
| Oakland/Berkeley | 200 | 42 |
| San Francisco | 100 | 26 |
| Minneapolis/St. Paul | 200 | 18 |
| Philadelphia | — | 18 |
| Denver | 50 | 7 |
| Cincinnati | — | 6 |
| St. Louis | 15 | 4 |
| Boston | 200 | 2 |
| Baltimore | — | 2 |
| Detroit | — | 2 |
| Los Angeles | — | 1 |
| Newark | 150 | 1 |
| Milwaukee | 100 | — |
| San Diego | 75 | — |
| Seattle | — | — |
| Madison | — | — |
| General | — | — |

Totals as of May 26 2,765 752

Some Proposals for Action

How to Fight Denver Police Brutality

The following is a section of a speech delivered by Allen Taplin at a Denver May Day meeting where he shared the platform with Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party nominee for president. Allen Taplin is the SWP candidate for Congress from the Denver district.

Some radical people here, on hearing the title of this talk, "How to Stop Police Brutality in Denver," might have thought I was going to say: Abolish the Police Force.

Now I'm not going to say that, though it is a good idea. It's really not far-fetched. It has happened. I was fortunate enough to see it happen, in Cuba, when I was there three years ago.

Not that there weren't plenty of people with guns on the streets then — there were. But they were people like you and me — volunteers in the militia on duty for a few hours after work or on weekends.

I saw a lot of teen-age girls there, with long hair, and sub-machine guns. They were the police.

And there wasn't any police brutality. Nor was there any racial discrimination in Cuba then. Nor was there any violence.

When the revolution came to power — that is, when the people of Cuba rose up in arms and took the control of their lives away from the sugar barons, the army, the American bankers and the police — on that day they did away with police brutality.

The old Batista police disappeared, as though they had gone up in smoke. The uniforms went into the garbage cans, the nightsticks into the fireplaces, the guns into the river. The Cuban people didn't have to abolish the police force — the policemen disappeared on their own.

After January 1, 1959, you couldn't find a soul in Cuba who would admit to ever having been a policeman.

Police Not Popular

Now we're not quite at that point in this country — nor in Denver — not yet. I don't expect to see nightsticks floating down Cherry Creek tomorrow.

But the police in this country aren't popular, and they know it. That's why millions are spent by businessmen's associations and newspapers — by everyone with property rights to protect — in trying to brainwash the public into thinking that the cops are their friends.

But the experience of life is more convincing than this propaganda.

It's estimated that an average of one Negro is murdered every day in Southern jails — beaten to death or "shot while trying to escape." You rarely hear or read about this — not in the newspapers at any rate.

In Denver this doesn't happen quite so often, but it does happen.

This very night while we're sitting here, if some Spanish-American or Negro isn't shot in the back or the stomach by a sadistic or nervous white cop — and it doesn't make much difference to the victim which he is — then there will surely be a dozen or so arrested, cuffed around and insulted, just because of the color of their skin. And because it is the unwritten policy of the police force to keep all minority people — and all poor people — in their places through fear.

But unfortunately for the police, this policy of undercover violence and official whitewash can backfire if they go too far. And they always go too far.

The clubbing to death of Alfred Salazar, the shooting of Peter Gomez, and the torture with police dogs of George Romero, all in the past two months, has



Allen Taplin

brought forth a tremendous protest from the Spanish-American community here. And they are being joined in this by the Negro people of Denver. For the first time in Denver, the city's two minority communities are united.

What we are witnessing here is the invasion of Denver by the nation-wide civil-rights movement. The movement is striking at Denver's weakest link, its corrupt, brutal and gangster-ridden police department.

National Struggle

The people in the minority communities here have been watching the civil-rights struggle in the South and the big city ghettos of the North. They've seen thousands of Negroes willing to face police clubs, fire hoses and dogs to get their rights. They've been encouraged by this and they're getting ready to present their demands.

What can be done here in Denver? Obviously, we can follow some of the examples set by the civil-rights movement elsewhere.

One mass march on City Hall for instance would have more effect than a thousand of the conferences or grand jury investigations now going on.

The boycott is another obvious action. The threat has been made to boycott the mayor's bond election, that is, vote No, if he continues to whitewash his cops and renege on his campaign promise to appoint an independent police review board.

This excellent proposal is really a political action, a part of the movement's strategy of dislocation. It is a way of saying that if we can't have justice and the good things of life then no one should. And this is a very legitimate and effective strategy.

It is a positive attack on the existing political con game and can lead to even more effective political actions. In the world we live in, all our problems come to a focus in politics and can be solved most directly by political action.

The idea of independent class political action has been proposed by socialists for a long time in this country. It has never really been tried here. But the idea is spreading and is being discussed widely today. Not in the form of a labor party as we had expected, but in the form of a Freedom Now Party, a party devoted to minority rights.

The present civil-rights movement is about ten years old now — if we count from the Montgomery bus boycott — and it's just beginning to move into the field

of political action. When a mass Freedom Now Party is organized — and it won't take more than one or two major elections to accomplish this — it will tear apart both major political parties, starting with the rotten coalition of Democrat liberals and Dixiecrats.

Such a party would be the most effective means, short of revolution, that the minority people of Denver could use to control and restrain the police here. Such a party would, in effect, be an independent police review board that would really be independent and could effectively review.

You know, I had been hoping that the legislature would fail to agree on a Congressional redistricting plan, and that we could have had an election of the four Colorado congressmen at large.

This type of election would have given the Spanish-Americans of Colorado a realistic opportunity to elect one of their own people to Congress by bulleting their ballots against the Democrats and Republicans. Even the campaign for such a candidate — if it stayed clear of the Democratic Party machine — would have achieved solid results in obtaining minority rights.

Democratic Swamp

The condition that such a campaign stay clear of the Democratic swamp is an important one. I think that the 1948 Presidential campaign is an effective proof of this condition.

In 1948 the Dixiecrats split the Democratic Party and ran their own States Rights Party candidate against Truman. Splitting is a cardinal political crime, and Truman, the victor in the election, would have been entirely justified in dumping all the splitters and replacing them with his own men in the party machine.

But Truman, a "practical" politician, did no such thing. He put them one and all back into the machine and let them retain their control over the Congressional committees. The Dixiecrats showed that they were willing and able to fight for their interests, even if it should wreck the Democratic Party. As a result they rule in that party to this day.

The labor leaders on the other hand have remained loyal to the machine. They have refused to mobilize the power of independent politics inherent in the organized labor movement. As a result they are almost powerless in the Democratic Party machine, and show every sign of remaining so.

The same holds true for the political leaders of the Negro, Puerto Rican and Spanish-American communities. The very reason that Denver's Spanish-American politicians have so little influence in Mayor Curran's administration is that they worked so hard to elect him.

Jack Scott

Vancouver Sun Columnist

Takes a Second Look at Cuba

A section of this top-notch report on Cuba was serialized in *The Militant*. Now the complete report is published by the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

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Monday, June 1, 1964

The Crisis in Southeast Asia

Adlai Stevenson's speech on Southeast Asia in the UN Security Council was a monument of lies. Its hypocrisy was rivaled only by the shamelessness with which Congress — which has pigeon-holed bills like Medicare for years and which is doing a slow filibuster of the civil rights bill — perked up and began speeding through yet another appropriation for the war in Vietnam.

The subject of Southeast Asia was before the UN Security Council because Cambodia had brought charges against the U.S. of aggression. On March 19 of this year U.S. military personnel and the South Vietnamese troops they command had been caught red handed raiding a Cambodian village. In charging the U.S. with this act of aggression, the Cambodians documented 263 similar border violations from South Vietnam in the past year and a half.

With his usual gall, Stevenson simply tried to change the subject. Dismissing U.S. aggression in Cambodia as an "error," he went on to blame "Communist aggression" for the entire worsening situation in Southeast Asia.

The fact is that Washington is the cause of the explosive crises in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. U.S. bipartisan foreign policy since 1954 has propped up a hated neo-colonialist dictatorship in South Vietnam, intervened systematically in Laos and tried the same in Cambodia.

Stevenson proposed that UN observers patrol the Cambodia-South Vietnam border. The U.S. refused this for years when Cambodia proposed it. Its reason for raising it now is to involve UN forces in its collapsing war against the South Vietnamese people.

Neither international conferences, UN debates nor UN "peace-keeping" forces will solve the conflict in South Vietnam and the neighboring countries. The only way to do that is to end what started it — U.S. intervention.

Poor Advice from AFL-CIO

The executive council of the AFL-CIO unanimously adopted a statement May 19 opposing the Johnson administration's "guideposts" for limiting wage increases. The government wants to enforce a rule of no wage and fringe benefit settlements exceeding the average yearly gain in labor productivity of 3.2 percent.

The AFL-CIO top brass declared they were going to push for better wages and working conditions and shorter hours regardless of the "guideposts." They pointed out that in the first quarter of 1964 profits of corporations were up about 33 percent over 1961, while labor income was up only 16 percent. And the government is proposing no lid on those sacred profits.

The Democrats won the 1960 election thanks largely to AFL-CIO political support. But they have been intervening in labor disputes to "hold the line on wages" — invoking all the bipartisan anti-labor laws — practically from the day Kennedy took office, and this continues under Johnson.

The day after publicly opposing Johnson's policy on wages the AFL-CIO tops announced they would endorse a presidential candidate on Sept. 1. We are revealing no secret in noting that once again they will endorse the Democratic candidate, the very man whose policy of wage restraints they unanimously claim to oppose.

Workers who seriously want to fight government hamstringing of their bread-and-butter struggle can certainly see that the labor brass's policy is absurd and self-defeating. They should register their objections to Johnson and to the labor misleaders' subservience to him by voting for DeBerry and Shaw, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Boston | \$ 850 | \$ 787 | 93 |
| St. Louis | 100 | 80 | 80 |
| Minneapolis-St. Paul | 1,200 | 970 | 80 |
| Detroit | 1,000 | 792 | 79 |
| Chicago | 1,800 | 1,400 | 77 |
| Denver | 250 | 192 | 77 |
| New York | 5,800 | 4,193 | 75 |
| Baltimore | 150 | 110 | 73 |
| San Diego | 350 | 226 | 65 |
| Philadelphia | 300 | 195 | 65 |
| Allentown | 150 | 75 | 50 |
| Cleveland | 600 | 300 | 50 |
| Milwaukee | 350 | 150 | 43 |
| Los Angeles | 5,000 | 1,909 | 38 |
| Seattle | 600 | 217 | 36 |
| San Francisco | 800 | 288 | 36 |
| Oakland-Berkeley | 500 | 174 | 35 |
| Newark | 250 | 62 | 24 |
| Connecticut | 200 | 00 | 00 |
| General | 300 | 208 | 69 |
| Totals through May 25 | \$20,550 | \$12,328 | 60% |

MOVIE REVIEW

Three people — a middle-aged man, his attractive wife, and a college student — spend a week-end sailing on a lake in total isolation from the rest of the world. A bitter conflict develops between the two men. This is the plot of *Knife in the Water*, a remarkable Polish film being shown in art theaters here. Well acted, expertly directed and superbly photographed, its dramatic tension has brought it critical acclaim and festival awards in many countries.

The interesting thing about the critical comment it evoked is the astonishing diversity of views about the nature and meaning of the conflict that takes place on the boat. The most obvious and widely expressed theories are those about the struggle of two men for a woman or of a clash between youth and mature age. Some critics even discerned a theme of latent homosexual attraction between the two men.

One critic, however, who lays no claim to artistic sophistication saw the film quite differently. Polish Communist Party boss Gomulka assailed *Knife in the Water* for its "harmful" tendencies and "objectionable" message. He declared that such trends in Polish movies would be checked. (Fortunately they continued.)

Political Theme

Gomulka may not be well versed on the artistic treatment of problems of sex and psychology but he discerned the picture's real theme: an exposition of the basic antagonism in present-day Polish society — the conflict between the privileged and the politically dispossessed, the ruler and the ruled.

The older man owns a magnificent imported car and a luxurious yacht. He enjoys a high position in the Polish social order and has a beautiful wife. He is clearly one of special status.

The boy, a lonely wanderer, is picked up while hitch-hiking and invited on the boat trip by the older man. Was it an unmotivated whim? A homosexual attraction? The desire of a *nouveau riche* to show off?

Or does the invitation spring from the insecurity so often felt by those who hold power — a need to assert themselves, to overwhelm those of "inferior" status?

The yachtsman — as anyone familiar with Polish living standards is acutely aware — is a man of substantial status in the country's hierarchy. The Mercedes Benz he drives is available only to high-ranking bureaucrats. And

who else in that poor country can afford a sailing yacht — a symbol of affluence by any country's standards?

His position as editor of a sports magazine has a different meaning than an American might see. It is a general practice in the bureaucracy to assign favored party members who lack special skills or talents to such posts as sinecure.

Moreover, this particular man is not a former militant now coasting and picking up rewards for previous years of devotion to the struggle. He explains that at the time of the struggle he was occupied with his studies. Only after power was won did he begin his career as an *apparatchik*.

He was one of those trained by the "boatswain." And he recalls nostalgically how well the boatswain taught them. It was he who would point at a willow and declare it was an oak.

A Stalinist

"When I say it's an oak," he would tell his men, "it is an oak and you have to see it as an oak."

The boatswain — Stalin — shaped his men into "a tough crew." This man epitomizes the final product. His arrogance is deep-going. His crudeness is pointed up in the scene where the young man recites some poetry and he ostentatiously tunes in a boxing match on the radio.

The student, too, is representative of a layer of Polish society. He shares a dormitory room with five others and is by no means well fed. He is aggressive, sneering and hateful toward the older man and sometimes even succeeds in putting him on the defensive. His sole possession is a very businesslike knife. The older man is fascinated by this knife. He is afraid and no doubt mindful of the association — the boy and the

knife. He tries to learn how to handle it in the expert manner of the youth but is unsuccessful. The muted conflict sharpens.

The woman — at first a passive witness to the struggle — becomes the symbolic prize in their contest. As the conflict reveals more and more the mean and brutal character of her husband, the prize goes finally to the youth. But she has no real respect for him either.

"You are like him," she says. "You'll have everything he has if you don't lack cheek."

Angry Young Man

For while the "angry young men" of today's Poland are filled with hatred for the men of the regime, not enough of them are concerned with the need for a conscious fight for a fundamental change. Thus the confrontation between the two men is not a clash between a revolutionary and a representative of the privileged bureaucracy. There is a cynical awareness of the stakes of the game — riches, power, position. The young man's hatred is dissipated by his selfish desire to take the older man's place. Thus the knife goes into the water, lost in its depth. The man returns to his comfortable place in society, the boy to his lonely wandering.

The film indicts not only the regime but also the individualism, egotism and lack of principle that prevails among Polish youth today.

Knife in the Water was permitted only a short run in Poland. But the regime did not mind its wide, profitable showing abroad. Gomulka and his men must have counted on the limitations of the bourgeois critics leading them to accept the picture at its psychological-sexual face value. And on this point the regime was right.

—Stephen Korona

Witch-Hunt Victim Given Year For 'Contempt' of N.H. Court

CONCORD, N.H., May 20 — Hugo De Gregory, who has waged a ten-year court fight against attempts by a legislative committee to pry into his past and present political ideas and associates, was found guilty of contempt by the Merrimack County Superior Court here today.

He was sentenced to a year in prison for refusing to answer questions relating to Communist Party activities in the 1940s and early 1950s; he was freed on \$1,000

bond pending appeal to the state Supreme Court.

The 50-year-old bookkeeper was the CP candidate for Massachusetts lieutenant governor in 1940. After spending five years in the army and receiving an honorable discharge, he served for a brief time as secretary-treasurer of the Boston office of the CP.

In June 1954, Louis C. Wyman, the state Attorney General, summoned him in an "investigation" of "subversive activities." De Gregory denied that he ever conspired to overthrow the government or had engaged in espionage, but he refused to say whether he had been a CP member and stood on his Fifth Amendment rights.

Because he declined to involve himself or others, De Gregory has had a long fight, involving 14 appearances in state courts and two before the U.S. Supreme Court. Last November he declared he had not been a member of the CP since 1957, but when he refused to say whether he had been a member earlier, the present attorney general, William Maynard, began new proceedings. Today Maynard tried again to force him to discuss meetings and activities of from ten to 25 years ago. De Gregory again refused.

When asked if he was ever present at any meeting where plans were made to overthrow the government so as to constitute a clear and present danger, De Gregory turned the question around and said he didn't see how meeting decades ago could have constituted a clear and present danger if nothing dangerous had happened and when there isn't even a CP in New Hampshire today.

SOCIALIST FUND

The Count-Down Has Begun

By Marvel Scholl

Fund Director

The count-down has begun. When this issue of *The Militant* reaches you, there will be just 15 days left in the Socialist Campaign Fund Drive. This means that the national percentage should stand, as of May 25, at 81%. The scoreboard shows only 60%.

Boston beat St. Louis for first place this week, with 93% and the following letter: "Maybe this week we'll make first place. There's a real burst of enthusiasm and everyone's trying very hard. Twenty dollars of this check is from a sympathizer who read in the paper that we were having a fund drive and gave the money with this comment — 'This will help to show my appreciation for *The Militant*.' We hope to go over the top next week."

We certainly appreciate that intention. The race now is between

St. Louis to whom we send our congratulations, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, and New York. All of them are within reaching distance of the top.

It is the West Coast we are worried about. Especially since four of those cities have sizeable quotas.

We wish to say thanks to A.S. of Red Bank, N.J., and Dr. M. for contributions to general. That category should go up by leaps and bounds within the next two weeks. A mailing has gone out and returns are already coming in. *The Militant* readers in general are "The General" and always made sure that category went well over the top.

Send your contribution to 116 University Place, New York, N.Y., 10003. Every truth dollar brings the total fund that much closer to a successful conclusion.

Shah of Iran: A Bloody Tyrant

By Parvaneh Shargh

The Shah of Iran is arriving in the United States for a multipurpose visit June 4. Already the huge propaganda machine he controls is in full operation. So this is a good time to expose and analyze the Iranian situation.

Iran once was the center of the Persian Empire. Its written history goes back 3,000 years. It has an area of 628,060 square miles (about twice the size of Texas) and a population of 20,633,000 (UN estimate, 1960). It is one of the potentially richest countries in the Middle East with present oil royalties of about \$400,000,000 a year and a wealth of other natural resources.

The Iranian Constitution of 1906 provides for a constitutional monarchy with the executive powers in a prime minister and cabinet directly responsible to two Houses of Parliament.

A land endowed with a moderate climate, enough land for its population, a wealth of natural resources, and a constitution that promises democracy, would seem to hold in store for its people a bright future.

Why is it then that in this same land 85% of the people are illiterate, that per capita income is about \$70 per year, that the death rate of children stands at 50% and life expectancy is 28 years, that 60% of the farmers own no land whatsoever?

How can it be that freedom of press, assembly and expression are completely suppressed, that a dictator has made the constitution meaningless, that thousands of Iranian patriots have been imprisoned, tortured and killed for demanding their rights as human beings?

In 1921 the present Shah's father, King Reza, then only an army officer, led a *coup d'etat*. In 1925 he obtained dictatorial powers from the parliament and had himself designated Shah of Iran — the first of the Pahlavi dynasty. From 1925 to 1941 Reza Shah ruled with absolute power, ignoring the constitution of 1906. In 1941, forces of the Soviet Union and Great Britain jointly occupied Iran. The result was King Reza's abdication in favor of his eldest son Mohammed Reza, the present Shah.

New Government

In the new Shah's first decade of rule tensions grew. In 1951, Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh became Prime Minister and immediately set about to change Iran's sad condition.

The most pressing problem was foreign influence. Mossadegh saw this as the basis of many other Iranian problems. Specifically, English oil interests became his target since most revenue from Iran's oil went to Great Britain while Persians went hungry. He therefore nationalized petroleum and was then faced with a cruel boycott by the combined Western powers.

But Mossadegh brought the government to the people in a way never before attempted in Iran. Richard W. Cotton, in his exceptionally perceptive book, *Nationalism in Iran*, writes: "It is no exaggeration to say that for the first time in Iran's very long history, a national leader had appeared who enjoyed the respect, devotion, and loyalty of the vast majority of politically aware Iranians."

The Shah, seeing the potential danger to his power, dismissed Mossadegh in the summer of 1952. Teheran, the capital, and all major cities in Iran, rose in open revolt. The Shah was forced to call Mossadegh back and he himself fled to Europe.

After this victory Mossadegh turned his efforts toward Iran's internal problems, notably land reform. In so doing he incurred the hatred of the wealthy landlords so long secure in Iran's feudalism.

Opposed to Mossadegh there emerged a united front of feudal landlords, the Shah's forces and the Western powers.

Prime Minister Mossadegh's regime did not last long. In 1953 Iran's only progressive and democratic government in years was destroyed by a coup sponsored and financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (the CIA contributed \$20 million for the coup), the militarists and the landlords opposed to land reform. The Shah fled back from Europe and Dr. Mossadegh was imprisoned because, in the words of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Douglas, "... he tried to introduce democracy for the first time into Persian villages."

Six years later on May 9, 1959, the respected British journal *New Statesman* in a front-page editorial, made the following statement about the Shah:

"In 1953, fearing rough treatment at the hands of his subjects, he scuttled out of Teheran and later was re-imposed following a military coup arranged by the State Department. He now rules nearly 20 million people thanks to a large army, the most efficient secret police in the Middle East, and a team of F.B.I. advisers."

Real Crackdown

With the Shah's return in 1953 came a real crackdown on freedoms. It appeared he was making sure there would be no more threats to his position. On one hand he had to control the Iranian people; but on the other, he needed for public opinion in the West — especially in the U.S. — a false image as a progressive monarch to obtain foreign aid in the desired amounts.

This split between reality and appearance has widened and become increasingly important and potentially dangerous to the Shah with each passing day.

Only two elements in the country today support the Shah's vicious regime: the 200,000-man army and the massive police force. Most of the national budget goes to support the army.

The army's purpose was clearly stated in a letter by Senator Hubert Humphrey in *Newsweek* of May 1961. He wrote: "Do you know what the head of the Iranian army told one of our people? He said the army is in good shape, thanks to U.S. aid — it was now capable of coping with the civilian population. That army isn't planning to fight Russians. It's planning to fight the Iranian people."

And so it did. The following are examples.

An eyewitness reports the attack on Teheran University in October 1954: "Soldiers entered the classroom with machine guns, insulted the professor, and, choosing two students at random, beat them in front of everyone else. All the students came out of class as a protest. The soldiers opened fire on us killing three students immediately and wounding many, many others. Most of those remaining were rounded up, beaten and taken to prison."

In January 1962, the most brutal assault on Teheran University took place. In protest against this savagery the chancellor of the university and the department heads resigned. In his Jan. 21, 1962 letter of resignation, the Chancellor, Dr. A. Farhad, recounted the events of that tragic day.

"Mr. Prime Minister: Pursuant to our conversation, at 1:00 a.m. soldiers and paratroopers occupied Teheran University. There was no reason or excuse for the violation of the rights or regulations of the university."

"The soldiers and paratroopers after entry attacked boys and girls indiscriminately... many of the students were beaten to the point of death."

"I have never seen or heard of so much cruelty, sadism, atrocity

and vandalism on the part of government forces. Some of the girls in the class rooms were criminally attacked by the soldiers."

"When we inspected the University buildings we were faced with a situation as if an army of barbarians had invaded an enemy territory."

"Books were torn, shelves were broken, typewriters smashed, laboratory equipment stolen or destroyed; desks, chairs, doors, windows and walls were vandalized by the troops fighting un-armed students and without interference from their officers."

Brutality Against People

"Even the University hospital has not been immune from the soldiers. Many of the nurses and patients were either beaten or wounded. The same pattern was followed in the faculty club and the foreign students dormitory. At the present a great number of students are severely injured and are patients at the University hospital."

"As the Chancellor of the University, also as the representative of the faculty and the student body, I take this opportunity to protest against this atrocious and criminal action. Meanwhile, as long as the responsible individuals are not punished, for their beastly action, I and all the deans of the colleges submit our resignation."

And on June 6, 1962, the American news service UPI reported from Teheran: "The Shah issued shoot-to-kill orders today to thousands of troops manning tanks and chattering machine guns." Estimates of the death toll stood at several thousands; for the troops fired point-blank into the demonstrators. This outrageous act was committed, said the Shah's forces, because the demonstrators were "religious fanatics" opposing land reform and the extension of women's rights, when, in fact, they were patriotic Iranians from all walks of life — professors, students, businessmen, workers and peasants who opposed the brutal and dictatorial regime under which they lived, and were demanding the most elementary human rights.

The methods of the Shah's police are revealed by this letter from a Teheran prison:

"I was arrested in Teheran and taken to a torture chamber on Thursday, 17 Dec. 1963, at 11:30 p.m. I am not member of any political party. I had just arrived from Esfahan and was carrying a suitcase which had been trusted to me by a friend in Esfahan for delivery to a certain person in Teheran. I understand that the suitcase contained record of proceedings of the public treason trials in progress in Teheran."

Electric Oven

"The interrogator started questioning me at 12:00 p.m. the same evening. I answered all of his questions to the best of my knowledge. He then proceeded with questions concerning matters of which I had no knowledge at all. I had to confess my ignorance at which time he started at first by slapping me hard on the face and beating my right and left hand with his club. He would ask questions while repeating this procedure over and over again. He then made me taken off my clothes and sit nude on an electric oven. He moved the hot plates close to my organs at which point I fainted. After I recovered he continued asking further questions. At this time with two assistants they stretched me on the rack. He poured acid into a large container in which he dipped his club. They twisted my arms while holding them upwards. I could hear my joints crack; not much room was left before breaking them. They were trying to place the club which was dipped in acid in... I fainted once more. By this time they succeeded in making me sign



papers of the contents of which I am completely unaware.

"All this took place between 12:00 p.m. and 6:30 a.m. of the Friday, 18 Dec. 1963. (signed) Hassan Oboudiat, 23 Dec. 1963."

The magnitude of criminal acts committed by the Shah's forces is staggering. And yet the Shah persists in trying to portray himself as a progressive ruler. To promote this image, he has a huge propaganda machine in the U.S. In the U.S. Attorney General's report to Congress it is disclosed that the amounts spent by the Shah's agents in this country climb into the millions. This, combined with the complete censorship in Iran, creates quite an effective tool. And yet who can say when the spark of truth — which is burning yet in the hearts of Iranians — will flare up and consume the whole web of falsehoods?

U.S. Backs Dictator

Under the guise of fighting communism, the U.S. has pumped huge sums of money into Iran. The money has mysteriously disappeared — or not so mysteriously, since most of it has been safely deposited in the Shah's accounts in Swiss banks and in the pockets of greedy government officials.

Directly after the 1953 coup, Eisenhower poured money into Iran at an astonishing rate (about \$5 million a month for three years). Now the House Committee on Government Operations reports that American aid was administered in such "a loose, slipshod and unbusinesslike manner" that "it is now impossible — with any accuracy — to tell what became of these funds."

The primary reason for the U.S. stand in this matter is not containment of any Communist threat, as it would have its citizens believe, but is instead directly related to U.S. oil interests in Iran. The U.S. oil companies simply will not let Iranian oil slip through their fingers. And the Shah is a willing puppet. So who can lose? The U.S. companies get the oil; the Shah gets money. Who can lose? — the brokenhearted Iranian people.

So it boils down to a shocking set of clear facts about the U.S. role in Iran:

- 1) The U.S. installed and now sponsors an unbelievably cruel dictatorship in Iran.
- 2) U.S. officials are aware of conditions in Iran although the Shah's propaganda dollars blind American taxpayers.
- 3) U.S. oil interests dictate this policy.

In the midst of this tangle of corruption, oil interests and political maneuvers sits the Shah with his promises of a "white revolution," a "revolution from the

top." The most widely publicized element of this "progress" in Iran is the Shah's land-reform program. The following statistics expose this land reform as a complete fraud:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Total Iranian villages | 58,000 |
| Belong to small land-owners | 15,000 |
| Religious property | 6,000 |
| Shah's personal land .. | 4,000 |
| Great landlords | 33,000 |

The Shah's "land-reform" program is aimed at the 33,000 villages which belong to the great landlords. So far 2,500 of those villages have been sold to peasants on an installment basis. That leaves 30,500 to go and the program is now at a standstill.

The Shah himself has supposedly set the example by distributing part of his own land to grateful peasants. Actually, he sold them on an installment basis and has already collected much money and deposited it in foreign banks — just in case. It is interesting to note, however, that of his 3,700,000 acres, 3,000,000 have been set aside for the crown prince.

To complete the picture of this "reforming" Shah, consider the following excerpt from an article by Michael Parrish, a faculty member at Indiana University, in the December 1962 issue of the magazine *Minority of One*:

"The Shah has the monopoly on all opium plantations. In 1953, heroin was virtually unknown in Iran. Today an estimate 20% of Iranians under thirty are addicted. Instead of old fashioned opium, the more efficient heroin was introduced and each year millions of dollars reach the Shah's pocket through this channel... The narcotics business is not confined to Iran. Two years ago, the Swiss police arrested the Shah's sister, Princess Ashraf, for having several suitcases full of heroin. The F.B.I. and the U.S. Customs Department know that Iran is the greatest source of narcotics smuggled into this country, but the Shah is an ally and we can't afford to antagonize him."

Iran today is on the brink of political upheaval. Iranians have heard promises of real reforms for years but no results have been forthcoming. Each year the Shah changes his prime minister and asks the Persians to give the new man a chance to prove his merits. He is stalling for time — but his days in power are numbered.

The Iranians are now asking how the very personification of corruption can fight corruption — how a regime so utterly evil can promote reforms — how a decaying dictatorship can offer them hope for a brighter future. They cannot wait long. They are suffocating and need to breathe the fresh air of freedom now.

The Southern Primaries

Negroes Seek Political Voice

By Fred Halstead

The civil-rights movement in the Deep South, and particularly in Mississippi, is involved this election year in some political activities that deserve comment.

As an outgrowth of the Negro voter-registration drives sparked by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, six Negroes in three Deep South states are running for Congress and are on the Ballot in the Democratic Party primaries. Nominations for the U.S. House of Representatives are being sought in Mississippi by Mrs. Fannie Lou Hammer of Ruleville, Rev. John Erle Cameron of Hattiesburg, and James M. Houston of Vicksburg. Nomination for the U.S. Senate seat now held by racist Sen. John C. Stennis is being contested by Mrs. Victoria Gray of Hattiesburg.

In Alabama, Mrs. Amelia P. Boynton of Selma is running in the 4th Congressional district, and in Georgia, the noted civil-rights attorney, C. B. King of Albany, is running in the state's second district. In addition, A. C. Colfield of Halifax County, North Carolina is running a write-in campaign in the Congressional primary contest.

The Mississippi civil-rights candidates are members of the newly-formed Freedom Democratic Party which is being organized on a grass-roots level by the Conference of Federated Organizations (COFO) whose chairman is Dr. Aaron Henry. They have announced that if they lose in the primaries, they will run as candidates of the new party in the general election in November.

The fact that Negroes are seeking federal office from these states for the first time since Reconstruction is a historic development and a good thing. The tactic of running in the Democratic Party primaries, however, is another matter.

Southern Negroes, of course, are quite aware of the fact that the Democratic Party is the party of white racist tyranny in the South. But there are many elements in and around the civil-rights movement, including the more timid leaders, who are trying to sell the



Aaron Henry

false idea that this white-supremacist instrument of oppression can somehow be transformed. Those who advocate staying in the Democratic Party do so because they fear a really fundamental change. They spread the illusion that the Democratic Party in the North is not responsible for what the Democratic Party in the South does. They say that some day the "liberals" will force the Dixiecrats out of the party or out of their positions of control and decisive influence. This is pure hogwash.

The Democratic Party in the North is the same party as that in the South. The difference is simply a division of labor. The Southern Democrats make no bones about their white-supremacy, the Northerners are more hypocritical. But they belong to the same party and when Democratic congressmen — including the liberals and the few Negroes — go to Washington, they all vote to put the Southern racists at the head of most committees.

The simple truth is that both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by big business. They are both capitalist parties, devoted to maintaining the

profit system and the racism and colonialism it fattens on.

The agreement made in 1877 between the Democratic and Republican parties, between the capitalists of the North and the capitalists of the South, to keep the Negroes as a source of cheap labor, still stands.

The Negroes who are running in the Democratic primaries in the South have no illusion that they will win the nominations. They are running to establish a tradition of Negro political action and to take advantage of the elections to educate their people. But where there are general elections, the same thing can be done without sowing illusions about the Democratic Party.

The movement for justice and racial equality can never accomplish its aims within the capitalist party system. It can never liberate the Southern Negro — or build an effective alliance with poor Southern whites — while it is trapped into supporting the very system designed to exploit them.

Another aspect of the "Mississippi Project" sponsored by COFO is the plan by the Freedom Democratic Party to elect a slate of representatives to the Democratic Party national convention and to challenge the seating of the regular — that is the white racist — delegation.

If the Negro delegation goes there with an uncompromising resolve to expose the Southern delegations for the racists they are and the Northern delegations as the collaborators of these racists, this tactic can be very effective. Actually, the only reason any civil-rights fighter should ever get near the Democratic Party is to embarrass it, weaken it, break it up and win away any decent people sucked in by it.

Independent political action by the Negro people can force the labor movement to start on the same course. That's the road to an effective Negro-labor alliance. But there will be nothing but failure and disillusionment as long as the forces of social change remain trapped within the party of Eastland, Byrd, Russell and Johnson.

Busy West Coast Schedule Boosts DeBerry Campaign

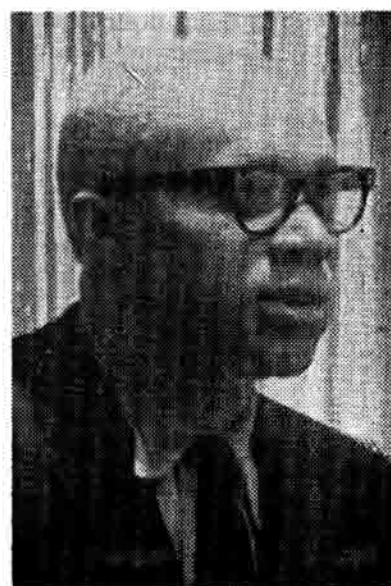
Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the U.S. and the first Negro nominated by an American political party for that office, spoke May 14 to an overflow crowd of students at the San José College campus in San José, Calif. DeBerry was introduced by Dr. Lowell C. Pratt of the San José Political Science department.

The SWP candidate discussed the problems of young people growing up in a society where unemployment is increasing — especially for teenagers, where automation is displacing 40,000 workers a week, where thought-control is widespread, and where the political system is rigged to maintain gradualism in civil rights.

DeBerry pointed out that young people are increasingly interested in radical ideas and are becoming aware that "the step toward independent political action is the answer to these problems."

Earlier the same day, the candidate spoke before the Socialist Discussion Club on the Oakland City College campus. He emphasized that the profit system will not give freedom and that the road to equality is through a basic social change.

DeBerry spoke at the University of California in Berkeley on May 15, and later that evening addressed the Militant Labor Forum in Berkeley on the "Negro Challenge to the Social Order." While in the Bay Area, the SWP nominee received extensive newspaper, television and radio coverage. Three television channels interviewed him May 12, as did radio



Clifton DeBerry

stations KGO and KSJS-FM and the San Francisco Chronicle and Oakland Tribune.

After addressing the Militant Labor Forum, DeBerry had a taped interview with the Danish Radio and Television Service.

From California, DeBerry's tour continued to the state of Washington. There, he took time off from his campaign to speak in Vancouver, British Columbia, at a May 17 meeting sponsored by the League for Socialist Action. He explained to the Canadian audience the SWP platform and its call for full economic social and political equality and an end to discrimination against Negroes and other minorities in the U.S.

Minn. Witch-Hunters Step Up Drive on Campus Liberties

MAY 20 — State Senator Donald O. Wright, who called for the current investigation of the University of Minnesota's hiring-and-firing policies, today said he might demand an investigation of the university's student paper and literary magazine.

Wright made his call for the current probe in the midst of a right-wing hue and cry against U of M Professor Mulford Q. Sibley, an outspoken socialist, pacifist and champion of civil liberties.

Wright has been criticized by the student newspaper. He gave cause for such criticism last year when he accused the campus literary magazine of having printed a "filthy, indecent and immoral" short story and also "recalled" that U of M President Wilson had apologized to Premier Khrushchev when a Soviet flag outside a traveling medical exhibit was torn down.

By Jim Kessler

MINNEAPOLIS — More than 250 University of Minnesota students held a rally May 15 to protest the banning of a campus debate between Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley and Peter Reiss, president of the John Birch Society in Sheboygan, Wis. Earlier in the week U of M President Wilson had backed Dean Williamson's "postponement" of the debate. Because of the impossibility of rescheduling a time suitable to both speakers, the "postponement" was in effect a cancellation. The administration attempted to justify its action by saying the debate, scheduled for May 18, would have appeared as a "gratuitous affront" to the state legislature whose subcommittee was to begin an investigation of the university's hiring policies on May 19.

In preventing the debate, President Wilson overruled the Senate Committee on Student Affairs — a faculty-student body — which had reversed Dean Williamson's decision.

The Minnesota Daily, the Amer-

ican Association of University Professors, and the Minnesota branch of the American Civil Liberties Union opposed the postponement.

Though four groups had originally supported the rally protesting the ban, both the Young Americans for Freedom and the Republican Association withdrew.

At the rally, George Tselos, spokesman for the Young Socialist Alliance, charged that by its action the university administration had turned itself into "an open tool for witch-hunters."

Peter Sederberg, president of the Young Democrats, criticized the administration's lack of respect for the students. Philip Raup, Minnesota Student Association senator, charged the university with deliberately violating its own policy on speakers. The rally was also addressed by Prof. Sibley, the storm center of the current witch-hunting. Several other scheduled speakers were rained out.

... Harlem Parents

(Continued from Page 1)

held with the city officials to discuss the demand for the traffic light. Isiah Robinson, chairman of the Parents Committee, disgusted by the stalling of the city officials, said: "We will have no more meetings. We want a light. We will continue this demonstration until we have a commitment that a light will be installed. We'll be back tomorrow, the next day and the next day."

Mayor Wagner finally said the light near Public School 133 would be installed as soon as possible. The mothers received the mayor's promise with some skepticism. Their attitude was that they'd believe it when they saw it. Told that a traffic light costs \$4,000, their reaction was that if the city could afford to construct the new Shea Stadium and help finance the World's Fair, it could afford the traffic light.

World Events

Bolivian Election Crisis

A serious crisis is looming over the presidential elections scheduled in Bolivia for May 31. All political parties except that of President Paz Estenssoro, who is running for re-election, are boycotting the elections. Paz, however, has refused the demand to postpone the elections for a year. His main opponent, Juan Lechin, who has left-wing and labor support, said recently that holding the elections would start a popular movement to topple Paz.

The Paz government, backed by the Bolivian army and the U.S., is spreading rumors that "Cuban agents" plan to assassinate the president. This is probably meant to prepare for a round-up of opponents on phony charges of a "pro-Castro plot."

Labor Party Backs War

British Labor Party leader Harold Wilson recently brought worried U.S. officials some deep relief.

They were worried by the "surprising amount of opposition to hanging on to Aden at all costs." This opposition has developed in Britain since the people of that British colony in the Midwest resorted to an armed uprising to win independence and political and economic rights, long denied them under British rule.

Even pro-Conservative papers have questioned the need for Aden

as a military base. And the use of bombs, rockets and fighter planes against tribal villages in the rebel area has disgusted many Britishers.

Washington is backing Britain's latest colonial war, just as it backs the one in Malaysia. "The U.S. government has told official British visitors that it considers Britain's retention of bases in Singapore and Aden as vital to the West's over-all military and political positions," according to a May 13 New York Times story.

These officials, says the Times, were "apprehensive that a Labor government, to free itself of charges of colonialism, would be tempted to give up the base" in Aden.

Wilson, however, brought the Labor Party in firmly behind the Tory's imperialist outlook when he declared on May 12 that Aden "must be held as an important base" and justified even the most savage military measures by saying, "British troops must be safeguarded."

As one commentator put it, Wilson's statement "plugged an important chink in Britain's armor."

Allende Softens Stand?

Dr. Salvador Allende, who is favored to win the elections in Chile this fall, has reportedly softened his stand on the question of nationalizing the huge, U.S.-owned copper mines.

Allende, candidate of the FRAP — an alliance of nationalist, labor and socialist groups — "caused a stir in political circles," according to a May 19 New York Times report, when he declared that nationalization of copper "cannot be carried out immediately" but "requires the right conditions and the proper time."

This statement came in the wake of fears, expressed by FRAP leaders, of a Brazil-type military coup d'état to prevent Allende's movement from coming into office.

Protest Korean Military

Korean students are continuing their struggle against the corrupt and authoritarian, U.S.-backed military regime, which revived the essence of the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee not long after student protests had driven him out.

Students are being joined by the oppressed, unemployed workers to judge by a May 20 New York Times dispatch from Seoul, which reported that over 1,000 students and "hundreds of other persons clashed with a strong force of policemen today."

Sit-down Strikes in Peru

Metal workers in Lima, capital of Peru, occupied 22 factories the week of May 18 in sit-down strikes to back up demands for pay increases. Police reportedly arrested over 160 persons.

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.]

Likes Rights Coverage

Bramalea, Canada
Unfortunately I misplaced the April 6th issue of *The Militant* before I was able to complete it.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"WHY DID THE SUPREME COURT RULE ON MAY 17 THAT SEGREGATION in the public schools was unconstitutional? Why has the Pentagon in the last few years taken steps to end segregation in the armed forces?"

"Because they are lovers of democracy, justice and fair play? Such an explanation would raise more questions than it would answer. These judges read the Constitution before 1954, and they had numerous opportunities in the past to strike down the discriminatory 'separate-but-equal' doctrine; but they refused to do it. The brass hats had plenty of chances to stop segregation of Negro troops in World War II, and after; but they stubbornly opposed any changes . . .

"The real reasons are political. They are prompted by (1) the pressure of the Negro people and their allies, and (2) the international diplomatic and propaganda needs of U.S. imperialism. Without both these factors, the anti-segregation moves in the schools and armed forces would be inconceivable. But the second of these, in our opinion, exerts the greater weight at the present time . . .

"To win domination of the world, the U.S. ruling class finally became convinced it would have to make some sacrifices and some changes at home — not merely in words, but also in some actions. That was the real and most compelling impetus for the change in the armed forces. That was the real and chief consideration in the school decision." — May 31, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"IN THE MIDST OF A FEROCIOUS ANTI-LABOR DRIVE whipped up by Big Business, its political agents in Washington and its press, R.J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers, CIO, comes forward to blast the membership of his own union with ammunition borrowed from the arsenal of the most rabid enemies of labor. In a statement issued last week, Thomas unloads sole responsibility for a number of work stoppages that have occurred in recent weeks, on those UAW members and locals who resisted the deliberate provocation of the auto barons, who defended the union contracts and who fought to maintain union rights and union conditions in the industry.

"Within recent weeks," says Thomas, "There have been too many wildcat strikes. Public opinion has become inflamed against our union. Word of these strikes is going to our millions of men in uniform. Our union cannot survive if the nation and our soldiers believe that we are obstructing the war efforts."

"The Thomas 'stab-in-the-back' statement was released for publication just a few days after the International Executive Board of the UAW . . . removed the officers of Local 490 . . . for participating in an 'unauthorized' strike against the Chrysler Corporation . . ." — June 3, 1944.

I would be very grateful if you would be so kind as to fill out my request for this issue. I should add that this edition was of particular interest to me due to the presentation of the Socialist Workers party platform.

I must commend your paper for its extensive coverage of the civil-rights struggle, and I found your articles on the movement led by Malcolm X extremely interesting, and I must add, very surprising. You may undoubtedly expect a renewal of my subscription when the time comes.

I have enclosed ten cents for *The Militant* and another fifty cents for a copy of the spring issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

B.M.

P.S. Would you please send me your reading list.

Battling Syracuse Chancellor

New York, N.Y.
That's quite a story about the chancellor of Syracuse University hitting an anti-ROTC demonstrator with his cane. This is the fourth time recently that the school has been in the news. Previous publicity included these items:

1. Putting civil-rights demonstrators on automatic disciplinary probation.
2. Privileged treatment of athletes.

3. Lousy food which prompted a student boycott of food services. "Food Services" is the name of the concession that runs the student cafeterias. Students pay the college a lump sum at the beginning of the semester, along with a tuition fee and dormitory charge, and then take their meals in the cafeteria. Some students have figured out they could eat a lot better in regular commercial restaurants for the same money.

Do you remember way back in 1935 when President Robinson of City College got into the news for much the same thing? I don't remember the details — whether it was during a peace demonstration or an academic freedom demonstration — but forever after he was known as "Umbrella Robinson."

History repeats itself — except the cane has replaced the umbrella which is, no doubt, now an obsolete weapon.

R.P.

Baltimore Laundry Union

Baltimore, Md.
The AFL-CIO Laundry Workers has recently won its fourth election in a row in its successful attempt to organize laundries in this area. This recent campaign has been under way for over five months with the participation of civil rights groups as the Civic Interest Group and the Baltimore Ministerial Alliance.

More than 90 per cent of the laundry workers are colored. They work long hours under poor working conditions for hourly wage rates of far less than the \$1.25 federal minimum, since the laundry industry is exempt from the provisions of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act which establishes the minimum rate of pay and maximum working hours.

Attempts in the past to organize these laundries have met with

continued failure and it appears that the entrance of civil-rights groups into the struggle has played an important part in this success.

G.C.

Workers' Memorial Day?

Orange, Calif.
Why don't we have a Workers' Memorial Day to pay respect to our fallen? To pay homage to the men and women who are hurt, crippled and killed every year. The police have a Memorial Day May 15.

People seem under the impression that when a worker gets killed or hurt — many times because the employer didn't obey the lawful safety rules — that it is just too bad.

Let us let the public know that before any product reaches the market place or there is any coupon clipping, there was pain, injury, death to countless workers.

C.G.

No-Strike Contract

New York, N.Y.
It is with horror that I read in today's *New York Times* [May 21] of the new contract between the Dunbar Furniture Corporation and the Upholsterers International Union of North America. The contract provides that production will not cease in the event of a strike or lockout; rather, that a certain

percentage of the workers' wages and a matching amount of company funds will be withheld until settlement, with part or all of the money reverting to charity in case of failure to settle after 12 weeks.

A company, faced with the prospect of putting up a sum equal to half that spent on wages for 12 weeks, is hardly going to suffer. They can always cut down on advertising or next year's shareholders' dividend. But a worker cannot manage this. A man earning \$80 per week cannot survive on \$40 a week for three months — and the percentage increases from week to week.

This provision is supposed to "take the consumer out of the middle in industrial disputes." Mr. Sprunger, company president, and Mr. Hoffman, union president, said that they expected to see many more contracts of this type in the future. Since the workers are as a group the largest consumer, a general acceptance of this clause would put the consumer, the worker, more heavily under fire than ever before.

Mr. Hoffman should be removed from office for negotiating this contract, and the Dunbar workers should be ashamed of themselves for voting (if indeed there was a fair vote) away their right to strike, the one effective peacetime weapon of labor against capitalist oppression.

Roderick D. Clayton

Letters-We-Love Dep't

Waltham, Mass.

Please send my *Militant* to my home address for the summer. I'm afraid I haven't written soon enough and that a couple of issues will arrive here after I've left but I'll try to get someone to rescue them for me.

I hate missing a single issue! When I was negligent about renewing I didn't get any *Militants* for two weeks and I felt so isolated from what was going on in the world.

Since I've become so accustomed to the full, honest coverage of U.S. and international news that you give, I can't be patient trying to sift news out of the regular press. So please send them to my home for the summer.

S.U.

Sold!

Philadelphia, Pa.
Congratulations! Your paper is very informative and pleasurable. I enjoy it tremendously. Please put me on your list of subscribers. I enclose \$1.

H.S.

Khanh Insecure

New York, N.Y.
South Vietnam dictator Khanh says he's against spreading the war into the North until his regime is secure. I hope Washington buys that.

H.R.

It Was Reported in the Press

Embarrassing Moment — "WASHINGTON, May 23 — Because someone forgot to throw a switch, the Atomic Energy Commission has lost \$1 million worth of lethal plutonium somewhere in space near Africa. The loss was at first concealed but it now has become a source of public embarrassment and concern to the commission. The exact fate of the radioactive material is not known. The commission hopes it is floating safely in the upper atmosphere." — *The New York Times*.

Persecuted — Anti-mental-health literature being circulated in Dallas charges that Communists have persuaded the government to build giant mental institutions in Alaska where all political prisoners could be incarcerated on grounds they are insane. They also insist that the mental-health movement is a Marxist effort to substitute Freud for God.

Soft But Simple — A House Military Appropriations subcommittee has queried expenditures for headquarters furnishings for Major General Alden K. Sibley who heads the Ordinance Tank Command in Warren, Mich. The committee noted expenditures of \$94,000 for such installations as an electric dumbwaiter, a walnut-paneled staircase, vinyl flooring and recessed light fixtures. But what really seemed to lift the probers' eyebrows was the silk wallpaper in the general's john. There was no report on paper. General Sibley says the silk wallpaper is really cheaper because it's waterproof and that his furnishings are "austere and economical in every sense."

Treacherous Tactics in Vietnam — The problem with the war in Vietnam, according to the May 18 *Wall Street Journal*, is that "Vietnam's guerrillas, by face and build, look like everybody else in the country."

Small Police Terror — Armed with a cinder block but without a search warrant police broke into a Los Angeles apartment in the dead of night not long ago, causing about \$265 damages. They arrested Timothy Morton, the apartment's resident, and took him to a police station where he was booked and held incommunicado for 12 hours before it was determined that he had no connection with an armed robbery the previous night. NAACP and ACLU lawyers are handling the case for the United Civil Right Committee.

Labor Statesmen — The May 16 *New York Times* reported that labor leaders were not impressed by revelations of payroll padding by Congressman Charles Buckley, the Bronx Democratic machine boss. The union officials claim they're supporting him because he allegedly votes right on labor issues in Congress. One source confided to the *Times*: "The labor leaders are just following Samuel Gompers' principle — reward your friends." This also seems to be Mr. Buckley's philosophy.

Tough-Situation Dep't — Maria Gallegria, a Cuban who chose "freedom" in Dallas, Texas, told the May 18 *Dallas Times Herald* that although she is grateful to the United States for allowing her to stay here, the change has not been easy. "In Cuba I had servants," she said. "Here I do my own work."

Deliberate-Speed Disciple — Students at Drew University have been picketing a Madison, N.J., barbershop that refuses to cut Negroes' hair. The Rev. Lawrence Callaghan, a local priest, suggested picketing be suspended pending legal disposition of the case. He assured that the church "abhors discrimination," but added with philosophical resignation, "for 2,000 years the Church has been trying to make people obey the Ten Commandments."

Advise to the Elderly — A variety of institutions are putting out booklets devoted to the problems of "senior citizens," reports the *Wall Street Journal*. The paper found some of "dubious" value. For example: "One retirement booklet suggests retired people economize by making their own greeting cards out of cut-up seed catalogs and observes that backyard dandelions, pokeweed, chicory and other weeds make 'delicious and nutritious eating.'"

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Thought for the Week

"The moral issue is a simple one. If we claim for ourselves the right to keep Cuba under air surveillance we can do no less than to concede to Cuba the right to maintain a similar surveillance over us. Is there anyone who would deny that the danger of an American invasion of Cuba is very much greater than a Cuban invasion of the United States? On the ground of need, therefore, it is the Cubans who have the stronger case." — Robert Bierstedt, chairman of Sociology and Anthropology Department of New York University, in a letter to the May 21 *New York Times*.

Malcolm X Back from Africa — Urges Black United Front

By David Herman

NEW YORK, May 22 — Malcolm X returned from Africa yesterday and held a press conference a few hours later at Harlem's Hotel Theresa. His very brief opening statement and his answers to the many questions asked by reporters showed that the trip had not changed his views about the situation of Negroes in America.

Malcolm X explained that on his trip to the Mideast and Africa he had lined up support in the countries he visited for bringing charges in the United Nations that the human rights of the Negro people in the U.S. were being denied.

He explained to African leaders that they looked hypocritical when they rose in the UN to denounce colonialism, but failed to denounce the neo-colonialism practiced in the U.S. against Negroes. He declined to give specific information on how the charges would be brought before the UN.

The black nationalist leader pointed out that the State Department had done a good job in fooling some African leaders about how much the government was doing to solve the problems of American Negroes. He also pointed out that the American government was trying to buy off African leaders with foreign aid and projects like the Peace Corps.

Many of the questions were directed to finding out whether his trip had changed Malcolm X's views about this country — whether he now thought that integration with whites was a possible solution. In reply he said, as he had before his trip, that 'integration' and 'separation' were not valid terms but that he was for the use of any tactic or strategy that would bring the Negroes freedom, justice and equality. At one point he said, "I, personally, don't believe that integration will solve the problem in this country."

Can't Define 'Integration'

At another point, he said that 'integration' can't even be defined. "They haven't even got integration in New York City."

In describing the warm welcome received all over Africa, he told how Africans stressed to him the need for a united front of the Negro people. He said that he would work for such a united front and had written to Bayard Rustin, Rev. Milton Galamison and other civil-rights leaders while on his trip.

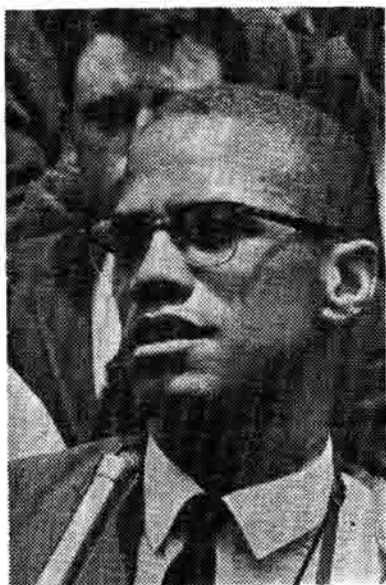
He said he would try to get all the civil-rights leaders together to discuss joint action privately. When asked if he thought they would agree to work with him, he said that since they preach turning the other cheek toward Birmingham's Bull Connor, he felt certain that they would be as forgiving toward him as he was trying to be toward them.

Commenting on the civil-rights bill, Malcolm X said that he did not think any of the politicians were really for civil rights and that they were being very hypocritical. He singled out President Johnson on this question and pointed out that his good friend, Richard Russell, was leading the Senate fight against the bill.

When challenged by a reporter about the connection between Johnson's friendship with Russell and his views on civil rights, Malcolm X replied:

"If you tell me you're against robbing banks and your best friend is Jesse James, I have grounds to doubt your sincerity."

Malcolm X was asked several times about the beard he was wearing; he said it had no religious or political significance. Each time he was asked about this



Malcolm X

he went on to say that Negroes suffered from cultural colonialism and that many new forms would be tried by Negroes as they overcame this.

When asked whether he thought Negroes should return to Africa, Malcolm X replied that after speaking to African leaders he was convinced that: "If black men become involved in a philosophical, cultural and psychological migration back to Africa, they will benefit greatly in this country."

He compared this to the benefits he said Jews had derived from their identification with Israel. He went on to say that many African countries would welcome American Negroes, but that he thought Negroes should stay and fight in the U.S. for what was rightfully theirs. "Those who want to go, should go," he continued. But they should help those who remained, he said; while those who stay, should help those who go back.

He was asked about the "Blood Brothers," and replied that he knew nothing about them, that he didn't know whether they even existed. He went on to say that whites should not be surprised if some Negroes reacted violently to their oppression. He declared unequivocally that if there were acts of violence, the oppressors were to blame, not the oppressed.

Minnesota Socialist Harassed

By William Bundy

MAY 26 — In a flagrant case of harassment and political persecution the U.S. Immigration Service is seeking to deport Joseph Johnson, the Minneapolis-St. Paul organizer of the Socialist Workers Party and the party's candidate for Congress from Minnesota's fifth district in the last election. Johnson, who has been ordered to report to a deportation hearing on July 14, is a native-born citizen of the United States.

The case involves some unprecedented and contradictory charges as well as a form of double jeopardy against Johnson. The Emergency Civil Liberties Union has agreed to assist the defense and has assigned the noted constitutional lawyer Leonard B. Boudin to the case.

The background is as follows: In July 1953, Johnson, then 22, left his home in Chippewa Falls, Wis., to live in Canada.

At the time, Johnson was not a supporter of any political party or movement. He left for Canada, he says, partly to get away from home and partly out of "vague and not very well directed feelings of rebellion against racism and mili-

CORE Activist Out on Bond; Plans to Appeal

By Jay Garnett

BROOKLYN, May 26 — Arnold Goldwag, the Community Relations Director of Brooklyn CORE, sentenced to 13 months in a trespassing case, is now out on \$500 appeal bond. He has served a month for "contempt of court" and will appeal the remaining year sentence which will come to court in several months. Beginning June 2, Goldwag will go on trial on four other charges arising from last summer's demonstrations at the Downstate Medical Center construction site.

Goldwag told reporters today that the savage 13-month sentence was regarded by civil-rights fighters as a warning by the city administration not to press the fight for an end to Jim Crow this summer. Speaking for the Goldwag Defense Committee, Mrs. Elaine Bibuld said that Brooklyn CORE, other CORE chapters, and a group of non-CORE people intended to campaign to halt the meting out of excessive sentences.

A representative of national CORE indicated its full support to Goldwag's defense. He said CORE would make available the best legal talent and provide funds to support the defense. (Individuals who wish to support the Goldwag defense can contact it through Brooklyn CORE, 319 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn; telephone — UL 7-9200.)

Goldwag had been sent to the penitentiary on Rikers Island. "It is a place where they send people to be forgotten," he said. "You're there and they don't care what happens to you."

Goldwag said he received some mail two weeks after it had been postmarked and that many letters, some with money enclosed, never reached him. None of the several letters CORE sent him were ever received.

He went on a hunger strike from the Morning of April 27 to the afternoon of May 1. Charging he was "paranoid," officials sent him to Kings County Hospital (not Bellevue, as was originally reported), where they complained that he was "unmanageable" as a prisoner. After consultation with his lawyer, he decided to resume eating to avoid a possible real breakdown under harassment.

Gov't Seeks to Deport Native American

tarism in the U.S." He severed all ties with his family and past, taking up residence in Canada under an assumed name — Peter Matheus.

In the second year of his stay in Canada, he became a socialist, joined the Socialist Educational League and became publicly active in socialist politics. In December 1959, he was informed by Canadian police that the FBI was looking for a Joseph Johnson on charges of draft evasion in the United States. He decided to return to the U.S. and face the charges. On the advice of a Toronto lawyer, he attempted to return to Chippewa Falls and turn himself in to his local draft board.

At Bus Station

He crossed the border at Buffalo, N. Y. on Jan. 7, 1959 and bought a ticket to Chippewa Falls, but was picked up by federal agents in the bus station. He was finally returned to Wisconsin to face the charge that, as a U.S. citizen subject to the draft laws, he had evaded the draft by failing to notify his local board of his whereabouts after leaving in 1953. On the advice of a lawyer, he

N.Y. Rights Groups Present Program on Police Brutality

NEW YORK, May 26 — A City Wide Committee on Fair Police Protection is now being organized by CORE, the NAACP and other community groups in order to combat police brutality.

The ad hoc committee is making the following demands:

1) Creation of an independent civilian complaint review board to investigate, hear and make recommendations concerning allegations of police brutality against private citizens.

2) That Mayor Robert F. Wagner take a stand on the creation of such a board, and the city council hold public hearings on the Theodore Weiss Bill (#498) as soon as possible. (The Weiss bill provides for a modified civilian review board.)

3) That the appointment of the members of the board be made by the mayor in conjunction with civil-rights, church and civic groups, and that this board include no members of the police department.

4) That the board have the following functions and powers: a) that this board have an independent investigative staff of its own with explicit subpoena power; b) that members of the board and its investigative staff have access to all police installations, including precinct basements, prison wards, and hospitals, 24 hours a

day; c) that public hearings be held as quickly as possible on complaints; d) that policemen under investigation by the board be suspended until such time as the board reaches a decision in the case; e) that the board have power to discipline officers found guilty, and to recommend the institution of a criminal prosecution if the facts warrant; f) that the board be empowered to request the police department to protect complainants, witnesses, and their families from harassment and intimidation and further be empowered to take any necessary step to see that these ends are secured.

The ad hoc committee is planning a public hearing at Community Church, 40 East 35th St., at 8 p.m. on June 4 to hear alleged cases of police brutality. Lawyers will present the cases for the complainants to a panel of nine civil-rights, civil-liberties, labor and community leaders.

Meanwhile, Mayor Wagner has increased the salary of Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy from \$25,000 to \$35,000 a year. "The increase," reports the May 27 *New York Times*, "was viewed as an expression of support by the mayor of the position Commissioner Murphy and the police have taken in civil-rights controversies." Murphy has repeatedly denounced the demand for a civilian review board on police brutality.

Federal Protection Demanded For Mississippi Vote Drive

ATLANTA, Ga. — A civil-rights leader in Mississippi has asked for the appointment of five extra federal judges in his state to protect voter-registration workers during the summer. Five U.S. marshals would be assigned to work under each of the extra judges.

The request was made in a petition by Lawrence Guyot to Elbert P. Tuttle, chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, who resides here. Guyot acted through Attorneys Joseph Jordan, Norfolk, Va., and Len W. Holt and Simon L. Cain, both of Washington, D.C.

Guyot, who lives in Hattiesburg, Miss., told Judge Tuttle that more

than 1,000 and possibly 2,000 students and other persons will come into Mississippi to conduct voter education and registration from June to September.

Guyot is employed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), both of which are trying to eliminate racial segregation in Mississippi and secure the vote for Negroes.

Continual Harassment

"It has been the experience of the petitioner, and his counsel, that all voter-registration and political-education programs in Mississippi are met with — official and unofficial — beatings, shootings, arrests on spurious charges, and other forms of harassment," Guyot's petition said.

"Experience has taught the petitioner that the only protection afforded, and it is minimal, under such circumstances as shall exist this summer, comes from being able to go into federal courts for relief from 'official' violence and intimidation."

Guyot declared that only three lawyers in the whole state of Mississippi are "willing to handle a racially controversial case and to assert the necessary constitutional defenses. In each instance when an integration worker is arrested the matter is racially controversial." He said that even the 50 lawyers being sent into the state by various groups will not be enough to cope with "massive and official repression certain to be inflicted" on the registration workers.

"Many of the local communities have acquired more weapons and are preparing or have prepared concentration centers for imprisoning voter-registration and political-education workers coming to these cities during the summer," Guyot added.

Last weekend in Atlanta, the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) called upon President Johnson to protect the workers in Mississippi with federal marshals, "augmented by federal troops if necessary."