

New Smears, Frame-Ups Levelled at Black Ghettos

2 Railroaded To Prison in Philadelphia

By Fred Halstead

In a continuing effort to duck their responsibility for the explosive situation in the black ghettos, police authorities are levelling new smear attacks and frame-ups against the ghetto dwellers and the Negro freedom movement.

In New York, Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy made a speech Jan. 10 blasting Negro leaders for pointing to the mood of bitter frustration in the ghettos and for predicting further outbreaks, pointedly implying that those who give the warning are thereby fomenting the trouble.

Meanwhile, the Philadelphia capitalist power structure has imposed stiff jail terms on two members of a small religious sect in an attempt to make them scapegoats for the social explosion in the North Philadelphia ghetto last August. Shaykh Muhammad Hassan, 33-year-old leader of the Muslim Improvement Association, was sentenced Jan. 11 to 18 months to three years in prison on trumped-up charges of inciting to riot.

In imposing sentence, Judge Charles L. Guerin made the fantastic assertion that Shaykh Muhammad was "the ringleader of all the rioting and disorder in that area." He blamed the defendant for having caused \$4 million in property damage. Raymond Hall, a member of the same religious group, was sent to jail Jan. 8 for three to nine months on similar charges.

Storm Warnings

In his New York speech, Murphy referred to warnings made "last week" of possible violence in 1965. Such warnings had been voiced on a New York TV panel program Jan. 5 by Rev. Wyatt T. Walker of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and by Malcolm X in a speech Jan. 7 at the Militant Labor Forum.

Murphy smeared the entire ghetto population when he declared that all those involved in last summer's street fighting were "hoodlums" who had "no connection or interest in civil rights." As is well known, it was the killing of a 15-year-old Negro student, James Powell, by one of Murphy's cops, that was responsible for touching off last summer's Harlem demonstrations against the police. Murphy himself bears a prime, direct responsibility for that violence because of his refusal to suspend the killer and because he ordered the cops to break up the demonstrations with gunfire.

It is the history of police bru-



VICTIM'S MOTHER. Mrs. Annie Powell, grief-stricken mother of 15-year-old James Powell who was shot to death by New York police officer James Gilligan. Killing proved last straw for Harlem residents long embittered by mounting police brutality. All serious observers of the Harlem scene had known it was just a matter of time before outbreak occurred.

talities in the ghettos, the terrible living and economic conditions, and the frustration with the broken promises of "liberal" politicians that are the real causes of the outbreaks. To blame them on Negro leaders who explain these facts is like blaming a storm on the weather forecaster.

In his speech to the Militant Labor Forum, Malcolm X voiced the following warning: "How are you going to have peace in 1965?... In 1964 we still had with us the slumlords... and these bad housing conditions that continue to exist keep our people the victims of health problems, high infant and adult mortality — higher in Harlem than in any other part of the city. They promised us jobs and gave us welfare checks instead. We're still jobless, we're

still unemployed. The welfare is taking care of us, making us beggars, robbing us of our dignity, our manhood..."

"So I point out that 1964 was not the pie-in-the-sky 'Year of Promise' as was promised in January of that year. Blood did flow in the streets... In 1965 even more blood will flow... It'll flow downtown as well as uptown. Why? Why will it flow? Have the causes that forced it to flow in '64 been removed? The causes are still there. How can you sit around in such a naive way and make yourself think that things are getting better when the causes that created the bad conditions still remain? The only one whose problem is solved is the leader — they get the peace prizes while the people have no peace."

PIER AND UNION BOSSES DUMBFOUNDED

Dock Strike Expresses Fear of Job Losses

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK — Rank-and-file members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), dumbfounded all the "experts" on Jan. 8 when they voted to reject a widely publicized "model" contract and resumed the East and Gulf coast strike.

Acceptance of the contract would have cut the work gang from 20 to 17 men in stages over the next three years and allowed stevedoring companies to introduce major technological changes in handling cargo, while leaving unanswered the crucial question of how many longshoremen — and exactly which longshoremen — would lose their jobs and established working conditions in the process.

Pact Terms

Although the proposed agreement offered increased wages, better pensions, and a guarantee of 1,600 hours work per year (or an annual wage of \$5,860), it failed to remove the justified suspicion of most workers that their jobs and conditions are in danger. One reason for this was a contract provision that would close the

registration of longshoremen at the number of those who have worked a minimum of 700 hours in "previous years." In other words, each worker who couldn't prove he had put in that number of hours would be eliminated.

This would wipe out jobs of those who hadn't been able to maintain steady jobs. This is hard to do for many longshoremen who lack "connections" because there is no system of rotary hiring, no port-wide seniority, and the shape-up system for hiring work gangs still prevails. Seniority is by dock, and if a man's dock shuts down or slacks off, he is subject to the whims of a dock boss he doesn't know in a shape-up among strangers.

Even those with solid "connections" are worried that the 1,600-hour guarantee might mean wages would be frozen at the \$5,860 level, when many of the more securely established workers are making up to twice that now with steady work and overtime.

Thus the corrupt shape-up system which nourished graft and inequality in wages and conditions has also given birth to much of the present opposition to the new

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Press Report Confirms Massacre by Tshombe

By Dick Roberts

Some of the brutal facts of the U.S.-Belgian paratroop attack on Stanleyville eight weeks ago have been belatedly revealed by the *New York Times*. Reporting eyewitness accounts, the Jan. 10 *Times* estimated that 3,000 Congolese had been killed in Stanleyville, alone, on Nov. 24 and 25.

This is over 20 times the number of whites reported killed in the entire course of the Congolese crisis. However, according to the article, the killing of Congolese did not come to an end after this first wholesale slaughter.

For weeks after the paratroop invasion, Tshombe's mercenaries conducted "trials" of those suspected of association or sympathy with the National Liberation Front. The *Times* acknowledged that at least 500 of those "convicted" in these kangaroo courts have been executed.

UN Official

"The bodies were left lying at the side of the road," the article continued. "Later they were buried in four mass graves under the direction of a United Nations sanitation official." (European papers have put the figure of those executed in the thousands.)

While Tshombe has been subjecting Congolese in and around Stanleyville to a bloodbath, his mercenaries are reported to be meeting stiff opposition from the Congolese freedom fighters in the region of Paulis.

In a Jan. 9 article, the *Times* reported an interview with one of the mercenary officers: "Somebody has been showing these boys a thing or two... They used to miss us by a good ten feet. Now they're missing by a few inches, and sometimes they aren't missing at all."

No Gratitude Among Killers?

Moise Tshombe has become so internationally hated that even his mentor, Paul-Henri Spaak, Foreign Minister of Belgium, has apparently disavowed him. According to the African journal *Young Africa*, Spaak is reported to have complained:

"We know very well, today, that he has not succeeded in the national reconciliation which we wanted... we see that he is now practically isolated on the African continent. It's true: It's not with a man like him that the vital interests of Belgium and the West are safeguarded."

That the period of almost unopposed butchery by the white mercenaries, which they themselves described as "rabbit hunts," preceding the capture of Stanleyville, has come to an end is indicated by the hired killers' complaints about the anti-Tshombe Congolese. One moaned: "They must be getting some sort of training because they aren't the hopeless rabble we used to see."

The mercenary unit, in fact, suffered more casualties in the last three weeks, according to one officer, than in the three previous months. Thus, despite one of the bloodiest repressions in history, the Congolese freedom fighters are continuing to battle their imperialist oppressors.



Roy Wilkins

Leaders of Civil-Rights Groups Debate Tactics in Miss. Congressional Fight

By William Bundy

Little publicity has been given to one interesting aspect of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge of the seating of the five racist congressmen from that state. That aspect is the serious differences which developed around that challenge in the civil-rights movement and among some of its advisers.

Originally, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had planned not only to challenge the seating of the five white racist congressmen, but also to demand the seating of the MFDP candidates who had won in the Freedom Election. This amounted to asserting that the Freedom Election — organized by the civil-rights forces because Negroes are barred from Mississippi's "regular" polls — was a legal election.

The more conservative civil-rights leaders and advisers reportedly balked at the revolutionary implication in the idea that the oppressed people of Mississippi should, on their own and through their own organizations, set up governmental machinery.

In his Dec. 31 syndicated column, Drew Pearson reports that national NAACP leaders as well as Mississippi NAACP leaders, Charles Evers and Dr. Aaron Henry, took issue with this idea. Dr. Henry, former MFDP chairman and the party's candidate for U.S. Senator in the Freedom Election, has withdrawn from the MFDP according to Pearson.

Others involved in civil-rights strategy sessions who were reportedly sharply opposed to asserting the legality of the Freedom Elections were former MFDP attorney Joseph L. Rauh, representatives of the National Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League, Americans for Democratic Action, and the AFL-CIO officialdom. CORE and Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference gave the idea at least some verbal support. SNCC fought for it in the sessions.

As it turned out, the MFDP decided not to make a central issue of this part of the challenge and concentrated on opposing seating of the five "regulars" when congress opened Jan. 4. They made the record, however, when three MFDP candidates, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mrs. Annie Devine and Mrs. Victoria Gray, appeared



Aaron Henry

at the door of the House, seeking entry on the ground that contestants of seats were normally accorded floor privileges. They were turned away.

In the other part of the challenge, the resolution not to seat the five "regulars" pending investigation lost by 276 to 148 on a roll call vote. The challenge now shifts to Mississippi where 100 volunteer civil-rights lawyers have the next 40 days to subpoena evidence of voter discrimination for presentation later to Congress.

Antioch College Red-Baited by Ku Klux Klan

By Arthur Maglin

YELLOW SPRINGS, O. — Antioch College has been the target of repeated red-baiting attacks in the past few months. On Jan. 4, Robert M. Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America Inc., joined the attack.

The Ku Kluxer, interviewed on a Cleveland television station, called Antioch a "massive center of Communism in Ohio." In attacking the liberal college, Shelton was climbing onto a bandwagon already occupied by the American Legion and the American Nazi Party.

At its national convention in Dallas last September, the American Legion passed a resolution calling for a Congressional investigation of Antioch because "known national leaders of the Communist Party" had been allowed to speak on its campus.

Defending freedom of speech on campus, Antioch's president, Dr. James P. Dixon, said at that time: "The current attack on Antioch by the American Legion is an attack on American education."

The Legion attack was initiated by that organization's Ohio Third District and was directed primarily at civil-rights activities organized by Antioch students. By the time the resolution was presented to the Legion's national convention, its anti-Negro aspects had been prudently covered over.

George Lincoln Rockwell, a fuhrer of the American Nazi Party, spoke on the campus here Oct. 14. He denounced Antioch as "the vilest" and "the most Communist race-mixing" college in the U.S.

He declared the Negro is "the pawn of the Communist movement" and that white civil-rights workers were the "second generation of known Communists." He also complained that the public-accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act will "eliminate the free-enterprise system," adding, "We don't go into Negro restaurants and expect them to serve us."

SEES STORMY YEAR AHEAD

Malcolm X at Militant Labor Forum

By David Herman

NEW YORK — Malcolm X addressed 600 people at the Militant Labor Forum on "1965 — Prospects for Freedom" at the Palm Gardens Ballroom Jan. 7. He based his discussion of perspectives for 1965 on a review of the history of black Americans' struggle for freedom since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision against school segregation.

The Black Muslim movement played one of the main roles in the struggle, he said. Their outspokenness and uncompromising stand forced Negro leaders to be more militant. These leaders' "primary purpose has always been to contain our struggle, not to lead our struggle," said Malcolm X, but the struggle got somewhat out of control.

One result of the Black Muslims' and black nationalists' militancy was to give acceptability to the civil-rights groups — like NAACP and CORE — which were called "irresponsible" ten years ago, the speaker said. Roy Wilkins became acceptable, honorable and responsible, he continued, and "sometimes I think he forgot what we did for him."

Despite the fact that the Black Muslim movement attracted the most militant young black people, it was "maneuvered into a vacuum," explained Malcolm X. For on the one hand, it claimed to be religious, but was not accepted by the world religion; while on the other hand, the government and press called it political, but it didn't take political action. It didn't participate in the civil-rights struggle. It said God would provide land, but had no plan of action, said Malcolm X. Lack of action led to dissension and eventually to a division of the movement.

Members of the new Muslim Mosque, Inc. practice the orthodox religion of Islam, the speaker explained. They want brotherhood and peace, he continued, but "we realized we were in a racist society — racist from the White House to City Hall." Seeing the need for a non-religious organization and seeing that their African brothers were winning freedom faster than they were, they looked to them for a model of how to conduct the struggle in America. The Organization of Afro-American Unity was formed, taking as its model the Organization of African Unity, the black nationalist leader explained.

In 1964 oppressed people all over the world made some progress, said Malcolm X. He listed some of the events: Zambia and Malawi gained independence. Zanzibar had a revolution and threw out the colonialists and their lack-

Paterson College Scored By ACLU for Attacks on Rights of Student Body

JAN. 10 — The New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union has accused the administration of Paterson State College at Wayne, N.J., of violating the "civil liberties of both the students and members of the faculty."

Terming the administration's actions an "incredible, almost Orwellian fantasy," the ACLU has called on the State Commissioner of Education to form a group of outstanding educators to study the events at the school since a student sit-in last spring.

The sit-in had been called to protest the administration's ruling barring political and social organizations on the campus. The demonstrators were photographed and the administration threatened to inform their future employers of their participation. In addition, the contracts of two professors, who had sided with the students, were not renewed.

Next Week:

Malcolm X Speech

Our next issue will feature major excerpts from the speech by Malcolm X at the New York Militant Labor Forum.

In addition to the speech, there will be included his answers to a number of interesting and important questions put to him from the audience.

Extra copies may be ordered from our business office at 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Oppressed people in South Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia were successful in fighting off imperialists. In the Congo the Peoples Republic whose headquarters were in Stanleyville fought for freedom against Tshombe and Western imperialism. China exploded an atom bomb and showed great scientific advance.

All these people realized "power was the magic word," he said. "Power recognizes only power," he continued.

He contrasted this with the situation in America. When you compare the two, you can realize the double-cross that's been experienced by black people, he said. This year is the year of the "Great Society" and last year was supposed to be the "Year of Promise," but instead of promises materializing, 1964 was a year of delusions and illusions.

The Civil Rights Act was only a safety valve — designed to lessen the explosion — but was not designed to solve the problems of black people; for they are still being murdered with impunity in the South after the bill was passed, he pointed out. The March on Washington of 1963 got no results, he said.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party got slapped down at the Democratic Party convention where Johnson was boss, Humphrey next boss and Mayor Wagner had much power — he recalled. Three civil-rights workers were murdered in Mississippi and the civil rights groups did nothing about it, he declared.

If we "go to Mississippi or any place else to help get our people

Memorial Meeting Set For Dr. Meiklejohn in New York by the ECLC

NEW YORK — The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has announced a memorial meeting here for the great fighter for civil liberties and freedom of expression, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn. The meeting will be held at the Community Church on Tuesday, Jan. 19, at 5 p.m.

Dr. Meiklejohn died Dec. 16 in Berkeley, Calif., at the age of 92. Throughout his life he was associated with the cause of freedom. He was a leader of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC and he worked closely with the ACLU and the ECLC. Dr. Meiklejohn was a sponsor of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students.

Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union; Seelye Bixler, president emeritus of Colby College; Leonard Boudin, general counsel of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Thomas I. Emerson, professor of law at Yale; Carey McWilliams, editor of the *Nation*, and Peter Weiss, a former student of Dr. Meiklejohn, will speak briefly on his role as man, educator and fighter for liberty. Corliss Lamont, chairman of ECLC, will preside.

registered to vote, we intend to go prepared," he said, explaining that he didn't mean to break the law, but to prevent illegal acts.

Malcolm X mentioned that he had been invited to go to Mississippi and other Southern states and intends to go.

He referred to attacks on the people of Harlem by the police last summer as a pogrom. "The real miracle of the Harlem explosion was the restraint exercised by the people of Harlem . . . who are qualified and equipped . . . to protect themselves when they are being illegally and immorally and unjustly attacked," he said.

"They promised us jobs and gave us welfare checks instead . . . robbing us of our dignity," he said, continuing the list of broken promises, abuses and frustrations of black people that make 1965 explosive.

In 1965 more blood will flow — downtown as well as uptown — he predicted. None of the problems had been solved, except those of the Negro leaders, he asserted. He cited the frustration of the Mississippi FDP delegates, who thought they were going to be included in this society but got nothing from Johnson, for whom 97 per cent of the Negro voters had voted.

In 1965 we will see much action, predicted Malcolm X, and since the old methods had failed, new ones would be tried.

Ky. Appeal Slated In Frame-Up Case

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — An important case involving freedom of speech and press will be heard by the Kentucky Court of Appeals in Frankfort on Jan. 22. The case is that of Stephen Ashton, 21, a student who went to Hazard, Ky., to try to help jobless miners in that community. He was there at the time of the "roving-picket" movement.

He wrote an eight-page report entitled "Notes on a Mountain Strike" but did not have time to distribute it. Instead, Ashton and the document were seized by Hazard police and he was charged with criminal libel. The charge was based on his criticism of public officials and a newspaper editor in Hazard.

Ashton was sentenced to six months in jail and fined \$3,000. He is free under \$3,000 bail pending the outcome of his appeal to the high court in Frankfort.

His appeal is being pressed with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union.

March Trials Set For 3 HUAC Victims

Trial dates in March have been set for Dagmar Wilson and Donna Allen of the Women Strike for Peace and Russ Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*. The three have been charged with contempt of Congress because they refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee behind closed doors.

HUAC had sought to question the three about visits they made to the State Department over a year ago seeking permission for Prof. Kaoru Yasui, dean of the Faculty of Law of Hosei University and a founder of the Japanese peace movement, to make a speaking tour of the U.S.

Arraigned in the U.S. District Court in Washington on Jan. 8, Nixon was released on \$100 bond and his trial was scheduled for the week of March 1. Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Allen were released on their own recognizance and their trials were set for the week of March 8 and 15 respectively.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

A STUDY IN BLACK HISTORY. Two lectures left in a series by Ernest Holmes and Joseph Simms of the black nationalist movement of Roxbury. Jan. 22, Slave-Trade to Slavery; Jan. 29, Black Reconstruction to Black Nationalism. Fridays, 8:00 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.) Rm 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

THE BERKELEY DEMONSTRATIONS: report of a participant. Speaker, John Belisle, University of California student. Fri., Jan. 22, 8:00 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE BERKELEY DEMONSTRATIONS: report of a participant. Speaker, John Belisle, University of California student. Sat., Jan. 23, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

FRANK DONNER, author of THE UN-AMERICANS, the first fully documented account of the notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities, speaks on "ANTI-SEMITISM: The Ideology of the Ultra-Right." Fri., Jan. 22, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PUBLICATIONS

UNION AND LABOUR SPEAKERS' HANDBOOK, for more pay, better conditions, and full employment. \$2 each (bound copies \$2.50). Order from Bala Press, Bala, North Wales, United Kingdom.

REVIEWS and REPORTS



FREEDOM ON THEIR MIND. Danville, Va., rights fighters sing out.

THE POLICE ROLE IN RACIAL CONFLICTS. By Captain Juby E. Towler, Commanding Officer of Detective Bureau, Police Department, Danville, Virginia. Charles C. Thomas Co., Springfield, Ill., 1964, 119 pp.

The Danville police captain pens a professional monograph, for policemen who seek to increase their professional effectiveness. The book is full of the grammatical barbarities and misspellings characterizing books of this type, and is therefore authentic. The good captain shares his ample experience in maintaining law and order in Danville, Virginia, and gives useful pointers on how to handle arrests who go limp, arrests who unco-operatively give their names as "Freedom Now" and "Demonstrator," what to do and what not to do in making arrests and cinching up a good case for prosecution and conviction. On-the-job photographs illustrate the points.

Civil-rights demonstrators may be interested in reading how they look through the eyes of the lawman. They will be interested to learn, in case they didn't know, that law officers on either side of the Mason-Dixon line are very much alike. They may chuckle (grimly) on reading that the boys in the darkroom at the station house, fond of horseplay and real jokers at that, can blank out posters on photographs and insert other writings to their fancy.

"It would not be impossible for pictures to be found plastered on the police locker-room bulletin board, showing a line of marching demonstrators with the heads of policemen deftly showing on the marching individuals. . . . A good cameraman with a little imagination can really create some interesting photos. They should be cautioned to exercise extreme care with any of their creations. The danger should be pointed out that if any doctored pictures get into the hands of troublemakers the results could be used against good police work. . . ."

The book has other educational values to the layman reader. " . . . An informer should be placed in their midst. An informer will be more valuable if he has some

leadership abilities. He should be encouraged to be a familiar figure in the movement so he will be included in all of the group planning. He will get more inside information if he gains their confidence enough to be let in on the top level plans. The earlier this contact with the informer the better his chances of getting into a good position for his work. After the movement starts, the task of securing a good informer gets almost impossible. This type of work in this particular field will probably cost more than other general work of a similar nature. . . . He must exercise great secrecy in reporting his information and in getting his pay for his services. His pay should never be in the form of a check, for obvious reasons. . . . It should be strictly cash."

The author is not prejudiced. He doth protest so most eloquently, otherwise one might jump to hasty conclusions on reading: ". . . the Negro race may or may not have an inherent weakness for being easily incited to action. The pattern is obvious. They gather, work themselves into a frenzy, march with a purpose to break the law, resist arrest or control by going limp. . . . The field representatives or floating leaders sometimes live right in the church and sleep on the floor. Under some of these conditions it is difficult to understand how moral inhibitions are maintained. . . ."

"Remove those who have a criminal record, those who are juveniles, and the outside agitators from the civil-rights demonstrators, and very few would be left. The mass of Negro populations are good citizens who do not want to see the communities torn and oppressed by racial conflict. . . . they know the solution is not by breaking laws. They cannot negotiate, because the power-hungry, publicity-seeking, self-appointed spokesmen for the demonstrating groups insist that any negotiating must include them. . . . Lawless acts do not represent the Negro race any more than the residents of the state penitentiary represents [sic] the officer's friends and neighbors."

—Robert Vernon

DIDN'T LIKE NEWS FROM VIETNAM

Kennedy Sought Removal of Reporter

By Ed Atwood

President Kennedy, shortly before his death, intervened directly with the publisher of the *New York Times*, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, in an attempt to censor that paper's news coverage of the U.S. war in Vietnam.

This disclosure appears in an article in the current issue of *Commentary* magazine by *N.Y. Times* reporter David Halberstam. It was he who had offended White House and Pentagon sensibilities by not writing only what he was told by U.S. officials and their puppet rulers in Saigon.

Halberstam had been in South Vietnam for a little more than a year when, according to the *Commentary* story, Kennedy "suggested" to Sulzberger, during a visit to the White House, that perhaps his paper's young man in Saigon "was too close to the story, too involved." The late president is said to have "asked if perhaps Mr. Sulzberger had been thinking of transferring me (Halberstam) to another assignment."

Sulzberger reportedly resisted this pressure. However, following the "normal" course of the paper's assignment policy, Halberstam was "rotated" out of Vietnam after a decently short interval.

The enterprising reporter claims that most Saigon press corps members were well aware by 1963 that the U.S. was losing its war and that the crumbling Diem dictatorship was isolated, ineffective and corrupt. But Washington wanted a different kind of "news" fed to the American people. That was, to report "positive," though untruthful, news from Saigon to the effect that Diem and Nhu headed a popular government which was successfully defeating the "Communists" with U.S. military aid and advice.

Any reporter who sent back facts exploding this official myth, or any editor back home who let such facts slip into print, was in for trouble. Pressure and veiled threats emanated from every government level, from the U.S. embassy in Saigon to the White



John F. Kennedy

House, from on-the-scene military "advisers" to the Pentagon. Final punishment could be the reporter's expulsion from South Vietnam by the puppet regime.

"This meant that each man had to censor himself to a certain extent," Halberstam says, "and to decide whether a particular story was important enough to be worth the risk of expulsion."

Apparently the big lies about Vietnam never bothered the young reporter, nor other American newspaper employees in Saigon, for that matter. Like the rest, Halberstam was fully prepared to repeat without "checking the sources" propaganda charges that the guerrilla movement was sponsored, led and supplied by North Vietnam as part of an alien and evil Communist conspiracy to enslave the planet. He wanted the U.S. to win the war.

The smaller lies, however, were more transparent and therefore more perplexing and annoying. — lies about Diem, Madam Nhu, the morale of government troops, progress of the war, etc. Halberstam was also upset by the bureaucratic slavishness of the lower echelons in the military and diplomatic missions which reported to higher-ups only what they want-

ed to hear. No one dared to say the Emperor wore no clothes.

So, Halberstam relates, he finally decided in the spring of 1963 to risk expulsion by accurately reporting the events which were rapidly leading to Diem's departure from this world. He (and some others) began to file stories showing the utter failure of U.S. policy and the decomposition of the puppet government. After Diem was deposed and Halberstam had been called back to New York, he and *Associated Press* correspondent Malcolm Browne shared a Pulitzer Prize for their reporting from Vietnam.

During the latter part of 1963, however, all was not peaches and cream. Browne, who has written an article for the *Columbia Journalism Review*, reports on the cruder side of news management, the spying, tailing, beatings, threats of death and phone tapping by Vietnamese authorities and their goons. Halberstam relates the more refined side of the process.

According to the *Time*'s reporter, someone arranged it so that "better trained" (or tamed) correspondents visited Saigon, got the official "briefing" treatment and wrote the right kind of stories. The well-known Washington columnist, Joseph Alsop, for example, wrote an attack on "a group of young crusaders" in the Saigon press corps." Pierre Salinger, Kennedy's press secretary, hinted to reporters that "we in Vietnam never went on operations." At the Pentagon derogatory stories about Halberstam were manufactured and circulated. And Hearst's *N.Y. Journal-American* declared he was "soft on Communism."

If pressure on reporters does not do the job, there are still editors and publishers to whom heat can be applied. The *Commentary* article describes how the editors of *Time* magazine simply scrapped a story from Saigon and told the writer to do another containing their version of what was happening there, much as a Hollywood movie mogul might outline a story plot for a hack script writer.

ACLU Challenges Ariz. Teacher Oath

The Arizona Civil Liberties Union is challenging the constitutionality of that state's loyalty oath for public employees. Its vagueness of language threatens freedom of speech and thought, the Arizona CLU charges in a friend-of-the-court brief to the state Supreme Court.

The loyalty oath was enacted as part of the state's Communist Control Act of 1961. It requires that all public employees swear allegiance to the Constitutions of the U.S. and Arizona, and provides that members of the Communist Party and like organizations shall be subject to a fine up to \$20,000 and/or imprisonment for 20 years, and shall be disqualified from state or local office.

The friend-of-the-court brief was filed in support of Mrs. Barbara Elfbrandt, a Quaker and a junior-high-school teacher in Tucson, who unsuccessfully challenged the validity of the loyalty oath in a lower court.

Mrs. Elfbrandt, and her husband, Vernon, who also refuses to take the oath, have continued in their teaching jobs for almost four and two-and-a-half years respectively, without pay. Donations for their legal expenses and living costs are needed; also loans, whose repayment is conditional on the court's awarding them back wages. Contributions should be sent to Richard Gorby, 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tucson, Arizona. He is treasurer of the Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employees.

Student Group Maps Capital March To Demand Withdrawal from Vietnam

NEW YORK — The Students for a Democratic Society, following a meeting of their National Council here the last week of December, announced it is sponsoring a "Student March on Washington to call for the end of American intervention in the Vietnamese civil war."

The march is set for Saturday, April 17. It will coincide with student Easter vacations, which is a traditional time for peace-oriented activity. The SDS announcement said:

"In calling the march SDS wishes to stress in particular the underlying and basic questions involved in the American government's current activities. Hence the preparations for the march will emphasize the facts that the war is producing untold injury to the Vietnamese people, that our participation in the war injures Americans at home by creating an atmosphere in which the government continually deceives the public and decision making becomes further removed from public control, and that men of good will must stand up against these injuries to both ourselves and to Vietnam."

"SDS is actively soliciting endorsements of the march from all interested organizations and individuals and welcomes the co-operation of all who subscribe to the purposes of the march."

Jack Barnes, national Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, communicated the YSA's support

of the proposed march to the SDS national office. "The Student March on Washington, proposed by the Students for a Democratic Society, in opposition to the U.S. intervention in the Vietnam civil war should be given the whole-hearted endorsement and support of every organization and individual on campus who is against the U.S. war in Vietnam," Barnes said. "The YSA will do everything it can to make the march a powerful demonstration for the ending of U.S. intervention in Vietnam."

The march is being organized by the SDS from their national office in New York. For more information, write: Students for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Avenue, Room 308, New York 10003.

Penna. SWP Vote

Official Pennsylvania returns credited the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket with 10,456 votes. The Socialist Labor Party was credited with 5,092. In 1960 the SWP received 2,678 votes in the state and the SLP chalked up 7,185.

Officials returns still have not been received from all states where socialist tickets appeared on the ballot. As soon as they are we will publish the complete vote.

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 29 - No. 3

345

Monday, January 18, 1965

Senator Russell on Vietnam

After a lengthy secret briefing of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Defense Appropriations subcommittee by the CIA, Senator Richard Russell, who chairs both committees, said there could be no victory in South Vietnam unless "a more stable government" was established there. "Up to now we have been losing ground instead of gaining it," he declared.

While he was talking, general strikes demanding the ouster of the present government gripped the cities of Hue, Quangtri and Danang. The people of South Vietnam have demonstrated their hatred of each and every regime the U.S. has set up there. The peasants show it by their support of the guerrilla movement, the people in the cities indicate it by their strikes and demonstrations.

The only "stable" government the U.S. was able to impose on South Vietnam was the Diem dictatorship. But since the people brought that corrupt and bloody despotism down, the U.S. has not been able to re-establish the same kind of "stability." Nor will it be able to.

The Vietnamese people have made it clear through their unceasing agitation that they will not tolerate any turning back of the clock to the time of Diem. The only stable regime that can exist in South Vietnam is one that reflects the will of the Vietnamese themselves. Washington is opposed to such a democratic and representative government in South Vietnam, however, because the U.S. rulers know that in a free election the Liberation forces would probably win, and any other democratically elected government would, at the very least, stop the war, and ask the U.S. "advisers" to leave.

Washington has lost its dirty war and should withdraw U.S. troops immediately. There is no question that the American people, who were never consulted about sending GIs to kill and be killed in Vietnam, would rejoice over such a withdrawal.

"He's Not a Saint"

President Johnson has picked his man to guide the program for the "great society" through the Senate. That man is none other than the offspring of boss Huey Long, the new Democratic whip in the Senate, racist Russell Long of Louisiana.

To explain this particular feature of his "great society" program to the liberals would seem to be quite a job. But Johnson is credited with ability in pulling off this kind of job and some liberals have already given him a helping hand. James Wechsler, for instance, in the Jan. 6 *New York Post* explains that he was a little disturbed at first by Long's selection for the job.

So Wechsler telephoned Senator Paul Douglas, whose "liberal credentials require no elaboration," and asked him why he, Douglas, had been the key man behind the scenes pushing for Long. The "tall, incorruptible figure" answered Wechsler: "I think you will find him a progressive fellow. He's not a saint . . . But he has always been for the underdog, and has a deep desire to redeem the reputation of his father — who, with all his faults, had the same instincts."

Wechsler goes on quoting Douglas' praise of Long — "with all his faults" — careful not to take a position himself, but with the intent of sugar-coating the bitter pill of this Southern racist reactionary's appointment by the leaders of the "great society."

The pill has not been swallowed by all, however — even Roy Wilkins of the NAACP could not take it. He called Long's selection a "real travesty." A real travesty it certainly is, but it is more than that. It is part and parcel of the same old game the so-called liberals in the Democratic Party always play after the election noise is over, and that's the deadly serious game of maintaining the racist capitalist power structure in this country, including the Southern wing of that power structure.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1

to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 651, Main Post Office, Oakland 12, Calif. Phone 562-4667.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books. Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N. E. Library, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

REPLY TO 'LEFT-WING' SMEAR OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS

IN DEFENSE OF T

By Ernest Germain

(*World Outlook*) — The imperialist attack on Stanleyville, which led to temporary loss of the city to the Congo freedom fighters, has divided the world into two camps. Pro-imperialists, labor fakers, hypocrites and racists of all stripes have banded together, shedding crocodile tears over the "white women and children" held hostage by the Gbenye government — while maintaining the most shameful silence over the slaughter of Congolese women and children, butchered in the thousands by Tshombe's gangs, the white mercenaries, Cuban counter-revolutionists flying American bombers, and the Belgian paratroopers. In this unholy front of foul reactionaries, British Prime Minister Wilson and his cabinet took their rightful place along with Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak. Against all of them a completely different kind of front came spontaneously into being. It includes the African, Asian and Latin-American masses, the colonial students in the world's capitals, beginning in Brussels where they faced the worst reprisals, and — happily — thousands of workers and students in the imperialist countries, in Belgium and Western Germany, in Italy and the U.S., who have spoken out angrily against the imperialist aggression and its phony "humanitarian" cover.

Even King

Even such docile figures as the official liberal leaders of the American Negro movement, including Nobel Prize-winner Rev. Martin Luther King, who are completely integrated into White House politics and the ruling Democratic party of the U.S., had to take a stand. For the first time, they openly challenged the imperialist foreign policy of the rulers of their country, demanding that Washington stop helping the neo-colonialist stooge Tshombe.

But there was a tiny, if shrill, voice of dissent in this mighty chorus of disapproval. The *Newsletter*, published in London by the Socialist Labour League, whose leaders call themselves "Trotskyists," had this to say about the Stanleyville events (in an article signed by P. Desai in the Dec. 5 issue):

"Facts to the contrary have proved that the Chinese Stalinists, true to their teachings of the 'storm centre of world revolution' being in the colonies, have indulged in military adventurism.

"It is thought that they have supported the Congolese rebels. Their action over the support of Indonesian paratroops being dropped in Malaysia is an open flouting of the Marxist-Leninist line of developing a revolutionary workers' vanguard in Malaysia in preparation for socialist rule.

"The Chinese tactics have led to misadventure for the Indonesians and open race conflict in the Congo.

Gory Carnage?

"The shooting of helpless white and coloured women and children in the past week in the Congo cannot be condoned.

"Firstly, the avarice of world capitalism is held responsible.

"Secondly, Stalinist tactics stain the hands of the Peking clique, gory with the carnage of helpless children."

That's the entire analysis proffered by the *Newsletter* outside of some broader references to the Congo, plus the following brief reference further on:

"Sections of the world proletariat [!] are in danger of being consumed [!] in an imbroglia of racist madness."

This position on the Stanleyville

events is presented in a context of fine-sounding generalities about imperialist exploitation and the murder of Lumumba which are, of course, true (if you leave out the factual inaccuracies). How should such an outrageous analysis be characterized? If we were to follow the example set by the *Newsletter* in its usual diatribes against the "Pabloites," i.e., the world Trotskyist movement (in which the faction headed by Pablo represents only a small minority today), we would have to say that it has been proved once again that sectarianism often ends up in the same bed with opportunism and that in this very serious test of international politics, the self-styled "Trotskyists" of the Socialist Labour League betrayed; and, under pressure of the racist hysteria whipped up by the imperialist press in their own country, sold out the Congolese revolution.

Wrong School

Such an infantile, sterile method of polemics, which teaches nothing at all to anybody, belongs to a different school than the one represented by Trotskyism. To understand the nature and meaning of the *Newsletter's* position, we must proceed patiently despite our anger over the insulting epithets thrown at the Congolese revolutionists at the very moment when the united front of world reaction placed them under intense fire.

In the first place, when and where have "helpless white and coloured women and children" been shot by the Congo freedom fighters?

Two leaders of the Stanleyville regime, Christophe Gbenye and Gaston Soumialot, have publicly stated that not a single white person was killed up to the time of the air drop of the imperialist paratroops at Stanleyville. And the chief plotter of the imperialist aggression, Belgian Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak, has been forced to admit the truth of this statement. Spaak sought only to wriggle out by claiming that the Belgian and U.S. governments had "reason to believe" that the lives of the hostages were in such danger that it was necessary to send the paratroops on a "humanitarian rescue operation."

Russian Experience

In the second place, is it the position of the *Newsletter* that taking hostages is wrong and immoral? Don't the editors know that the Bolsheviks took hostages during the civil war in Russia although there the counter-revolutionists were, if anything, less savage than the practitioners of genocide in the Congo under American and Belgian auspices? Don't the editors know that this has been a perennial theme in attacks against Lenin and Trotsky, the bourgeois and centrist "moralists" pointing with the greatest indignation to the "crime" of taking hostages (in order to save thousands of innocent lives)? Don't they know that Tshombe's killers, using arms provided by the Americans and Belgians, have been ruthlessly bombing defenseless villages and towns? Don't they know that the white hostages were taken in hope of preventing the bombing of Stanleyville and that this proved successful, saving the lives of both white and colored inhabitants from indiscriminate slaughter up to the moment of the paratroop operation?

In the third place, while the killing of a hundred or more white men, women and children out of vengeance "cannot be condoned," an attempt can at least be made to understand it. Many of the Congo freedom fighters are in their early teens and even younger. During negotiations over the hostages, they were suddenly and



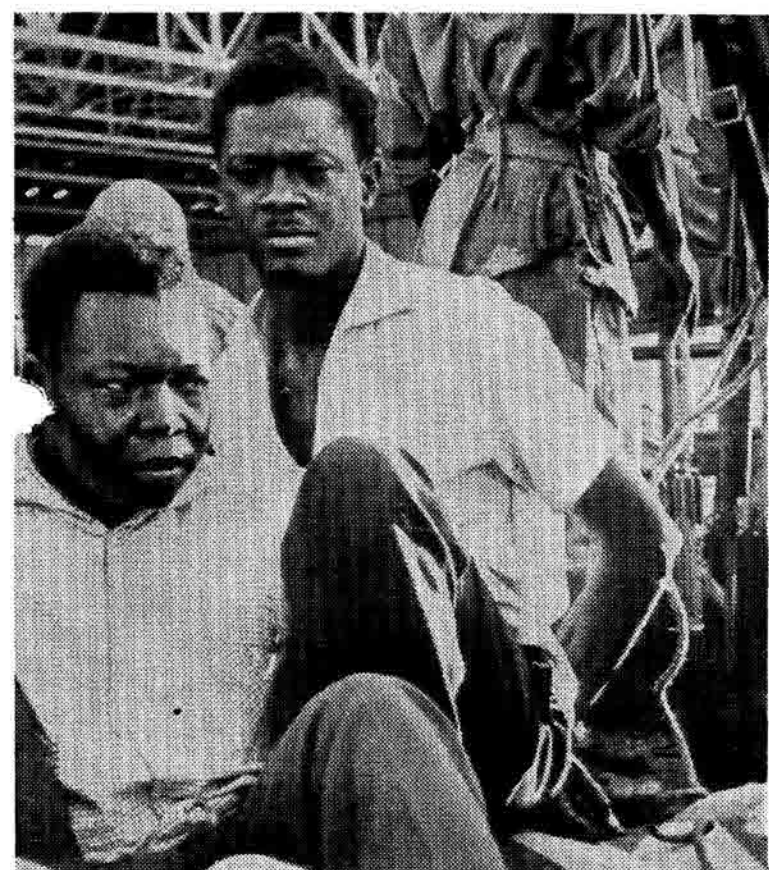
MARTYRED CONGOLESE LEA cabinet, Maurice Mpolo, left, and by Tshombe.

treacherously attacked by a combination of mighty foreign powers, against whom they had nothing to throw but their bare bodies and weapons of the stone age. With bow and arrow they had to face tanks and planes. How should they be expected to react when they saw their parents and closest relatives and friends killed in the most barbarous way, when they saw their own comrades, who should have been treated as prisoners of war under the Hague Convention, summarily executed, "bound together in groups of 40 or 60, thrown into the crocodile-infested river and used as targets by the Tshombe soldiers"? (A French bourgeois journalist described such a scene immediately after the capture of Stanleyville.) Shouldn't one at least understand (although, of course, without "condoning") the fury, the despair, the raging grief of the young Congolese who were submitted to such an experience? Cannot it be understood why they turned on the whites? And cannot it be understood that such a reaction was in all likelihood anticipated by the imperialist plotters and coolly calculated as being rather to their own advantage since the "moralists" could certainly be counted on to indignantly argue that the killing of hostages "cannot be condoned"?

I certainly don't "condone" taking revenge on helpless women and children. But on the other hand — and let the editors of the *Newsletter* make the most of it — I feel a thousand times closer to the Stanleyville *stmbas* even when they have done things in despair and fury which they would never do otherwise (only imperialists and imperialist agents butcher in cold blood!) than to the disgusting "moralists" who see no difference between the violence of the exploiters, the oppressors, the slaveholders, and the violence of rebellious slaves, fighting desperately for their freedom and their lives.

The *Newsletter's* sudden abhorrence of "violence" is all the stranger in view of the way this newspaper took the Socialist Workers party in the United States to task for condemning the act of violence in the assassination of President Kennedy. Look at the spectacle the *Newsletter* makes of itself: In the United States, to

THE CONGOLESE REVOLUTION!



DEERS. The late Patrice Lumumba, right, and two members of his Joseph Okito, in last known picture before they were murdered

believe the editors, it is unprincipled to refuse to condone an act of individual terror which to this day remains mysterious, with the smell of foulest racist provocation against the labor movement and its entire radical wing. But in Britain it is held to be principled Marxism-Leninism to condemn the violence in the Congo whether it emanates from the imperialist and neo-colonialist counter-revolution or from a revolutionary mass uprising of tens if not hundreds of thousands of colonial slaves.*

In the fourth place, it is pure nonsense to counterpose, as Desai does, the task of forming "a revolutionary socialist base among the workers" and the strategy of armed uprising. A party does not appear full-fledged; it develops out of the struggles of the masses. In a colonial country the primary task is national liberation from imperialism. To imagine that a revolutionary socialist party can be built by refusing to participate in the national liberation struggle if it takes the form of armed uprising is as nonsensical as imagining that a revolutionary socialist party can be built in an industrialized country by refusing to participate in militant strike action. The truth is that the road of armed uprising against colonialism and its stooges can provide one of the main opportunities (if not the most important one!) for building a revolutionary socialist party in a backward country. The examples of Cuba and Vietnam offer eloquent evidence to this. And whatever one's position may be about the present stage of the Algerian revolution, it is quite illusory to dream about building a revolutionary socialist party there in any way except through the militants who showed their revolutionary qualities by making a revolution!

In the fifth place, it is not only nonsensical but criminal to assert that it was the "Chinese tactics" that "led to . . . open race conflict in the Congo." The fact is — if

*In fairness to the Newsletter, it must be said that before the issues were posed at Stanleyville with extraordinary sharpness, a good, although quite short, article was published on the civil war in the Congo (in the Nov. 21 issue), in which the lying propaganda about the "savagery" of the "rebel forces" was correctly and sharply denounced. All the more scandalous was the capitulation two issues later in face of the hue and cry in the British imperialist press over the fate of "white women and children."

the editors of the Newsletter don't mind our pointing to raw facts — that it was the imperialist counter-revolutionary aggression that led to the "open race conflict" (if one is to be so careless as to call it that). We again remind the Newsletter — not a single white person was killed in Stanleyville before the air drop of Belgian paratroops! In the face of this fact, to claim that the "race conflict" was the consequence of "Chinese tactics" (i.e., guerrilla warfare) is to do nothing less than cover up for an imperialist crime, using nothing less than the current propaganda of the imperialist butchers themselves. (Tshombe has held one press conference after another in which he asserts that the "rebels" were armed by China.)

It is unworthy of anyone claiming to adhere to revolutionary Marxism to reprove the People's Republic of China for sending arms in response to the appeals of the Congolese freedom fighters. In fact, the very opposite accusation should be levelled against the Chinese and Soviet governments; namely, that although the "rebels" held Stanleyville, with an airfield equipped for jet landings, for many months, only a trickle of material aid was sent them, and most of it came from Algeria.

A legitimate criticism can be made about that. But this, again, is just the reverse of Desai's drivel about "military adventurism." How can one honestly or intelligently compare the dropping of a few dozen paratroops over Malaysia and an armed insurrection which, at its height, covered and administered nearly one-third of the Congo; that is, three times the area of the British Isles, an insurrection, moreover, that has been enthusiastically supported by the entire population? (Even the imperialist "witnesses" confirm this in order to justify the wholesale slaughter of town and villages because every one there "supported the bandits!")

In the sixth place, it takes immense ignorance, arrogance, or hypocrisy (or a combination of them) to advise the Congolese that they should organize unions and parties instead of indulging in "military adventurism." Doesn't Desai know that anybody trying to organize a free trade union or a strike is immediately jailed? That military terror, worse even

than in South Africa, reigns in the Tshombe-controlled territories, people being shot on sight without the least pretense at any kind of trial? Doesn't he know that genocide is being committed on a big scale there? Doesn't he know that the generic name for regimes like the one headed by Tshombe is fascism? Does he really think that a fascist dictatorship can be effectively fought by organizing a — trade union? Does he think that the tortured Jewish, Polish, Yugoslav and Russian peoples in the Nazi-held territories during World War II made a "mistake," engaging in "military adventurism" inspired by "Stalinist tactics," when they heroically defended their lives with bare hands against the butchers instead of letting themselves be slaughtered without defending themselves? Shouldn't they instead have built trade unions — in the gas chambers?

Real Difference?

Do the editors of the Newsletter hold that there is a qualitative difference between the way the Jews, the Poles and the Yugoslavs were treated by the Nazis, the way the Algerians were treated by the French imperialists (more than 1,000,000 Algerians were killed), and the way the Congolese people are being treated today by Tshombe (whole tribes have become infected with "Mulelism" and must be exterminated, declares the imperialist press in Belgium)?

And when this mixture of ignorance, arrogance and hypocrisy is advanced under the label of a "Marxist-Leninist line," the great founders of the revolutionary working-class movement are slandered most unconsciously! For they, especially Lenin, who lived to see the first uprisings of the colonial peoples against the imperialist yoke, had a different concept of the duty of a Marxist in face of the colonial revolution. Here is what Lenin wrote explicitly in the *Theses on the National and Colonial Question*, adopted at the Second World Congress of the Communist International:

"The Communist parties must . . . support by actions [my emphasis] the revolutionary movement in the dependent nations or those that do not enjoy equal rights (e.g., in Ireland, among the American Negroes, etc.) as well as in the colonies.

"Without this latter, especially important condition, the struggle against the oppression of independent nations and colonies and for recognition of their right to form a separate state, remains unreal, as is evident among the parties of the Second International."

Lenin's Stand

And here is what Lenin wrote, even more emphatically, in the "Twenty-One Conditions for Admission into the Communist International," also taken up at the Second World Congress of the Comintern:

"Any party wishing to belong to the Third International, is obliged to denounce without reservation the machinations of 'its own' imperialism in the colonies, to support every liberation movement in the colonies not only by words but by actions [my emphasis], to demand that its own imperialists be chased out of these colonies, to create in the hearts of the workers of its country really fraternal sentiments towards the toiling population of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and to conduct systematic agitation among the troops of its country against any suppression of colonial peoples."

To talk about "Chinese tactics" that have led to "open race conflict" and to hands "gory with the carnage of helpless children"; to talk about "military adventurism"

and all the rest, is not designed to create "really fraternal sentiments" in the hearts of the British workers towards the Congolese freedom fighters. The Newsletter does not even point out how the freedom fighters are seeking to "chase out" the British imperialist interests in the Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. It does not even mention the collaboration of the British government in permitting Ascension Island to be used as a springboard for the attack by Belgian paratroops. Far from calling for action to support the Congolese freedom fighters, the Newsletter did not even support them verbally — it injured their cause.

On the evidence of this article at a decisive moment in the history of the Congolese freedom struggle, no other conclusion is possible: the Socialist Labour League would not have been eligible for admission to the Comintern under the rules proposed by Lenin.

Of course the SLL makes a special claim to being "Trotskyist." But there was no difference between Lenin and Trotsky on this question. In the last important political document which he wrote before his assassination, the *Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International*, Trotsky said the following:

"The perspective of the Permanent Revolution by no means implies that backward countries must await the signal of advanced countries, or that colonial peoples must patiently wait till the proletariat of the metropolitan centres frees them. Help comes to him who helps himself. The workers must develop the revolutionary struggle in each colonial or imperialist country, where favorable conditions exist, and thereby give an example to the workers of other countries. Only initiative and activity, resolution and temerity, can really materialize the slogan: Workers of the world, unite!"

Socialist Tradition

In that sense the July 26 movement of Fidel Castro, the heroic fighters of the Algerian revolution, the followers of Pierre Mulele in the Congo, of the Trotskyist Hugo Blanco in Peru, and the Bolivian Trotskyists at Sora-Sora, are much closer to the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, at least so far as their understanding of the colonial revolution goes, than the editors of the Newsletter.

On the level of theory, the source of the Newsletter's grossly incorrect position on the imperialist attempt to smash the regime of the freedom fighters by the assault on Stanleyville lies in utter lack of understanding of the colonial revolution. This has shown up in all the major policies of the Socialist Labour League for more than five years — in relation to Algeria, to Cuba and now the Congo.

To be a genuine Trotskyist, it is not enough to offer lip service to the theory of the permanent revolution; the theory must be applied concretely to the present world situation. Those who are incapable of doing this are incapable of understanding what's going on in the biggest part of the globe today. Worse than that, those who try to "prove" from the theory of the permanent revolution that victory for the colonial masses is impossible "as long as the proletariat in the metropolitan countries has not arisen," greatly injure the Trotskyist movement and the image of Trotsky personally. They reduce the theory of the permanent revolution to the sterile caricature which the Stalinists at one time "refuted" year in and year out in view of their incapacity to refute Trotsky's real ideas.

On the political and organizational level we see in the gross

blunder committed by the Newsletter an example of what comes from the illusion that Trotskyism can be built "in one country" no matter what happens elsewhere. It is materially impossible for a group of revolutionists, whether in Britain, France, Germany, or any country in the world — however talented and devoted they may be — to reach a correct analysis of the social and political development and struggles of all countries in the world. It was still possible to achieve this when only a couple of dozen countries in the world played a "significant" role in international politics. This period has forever ended. Today "world politics" is shaped by 120 countries, including such tiny dots on the map as Zanzibar.* No genius or group of geniuses can completely appreciate developments in all these countries simply by reading the newspapers and books available in London, excellent as these may be. A much surer way, one in accordance with the Marxist method of knowledge, is to participate in a world-wide organization of revolutionists who learn the reality in their countries through co-ordinated revolutionary activity.

Cut Ties

It is because the leadership of the Socialist Labour League has deliberately refused to participate in the reunification of the world Trotskyist movement, taking the opposite course of cutting their ties with the majority of the International Committee, and rationalizing their withdrawal into isolation with the fantastic theory that this was a step toward "re-organizing" the Fourth International, that the SLL is today unable to understand the colonial revolution, the real world situation as a whole, and much else that occurs outside the British Isles. "Trotskyism in one country" then periodically shows where its logic leads as in the position of the Newsletter on the Stanleyville events.

The Socialist Labour League has young and devoted members who sincerely and honestly want to build a revolutionary organization. They suppose that it is sufficient to be as active as possible and to learn theory, primarily as it is presented by the Newsletter or taught by the leaders of the SLL. They are denied the immensely fruitful experience of participating in a revolutionary-socialist International, without which it is impossible to build an effective party under present world conditions, particularly in an imperialist country. Experience will show them again and again that it is impossible to develop, or even retain, revolutionary theory, revolutionary Marxism, outside of a world movement. Experience will teach them again and again that a real revolutionary party can be built only by turning away from the blind alley of "Trotskyism in one country" and linking up with the ranks of the world Trotskyist movement.

Dec. 15, 1964

*Incidentally the Newsletter first sneered in arrogant fashion at the revolutionists there. "Rag-bag nationalists take over Zanzibar," a three-column headline proclaimed. "The comic-opera militancy of the coup's 'initiator' John Okello," said the Newsletter (January 18, 1964), "is no more than a cover-up for the fact that the new government has no policy for the solution of Zanzibar's acute economic crisis and for the alleviation of poverty amongst its working and peasant classes." Some four months later, in the May 2 issue, the Newsletter returned to the subject. A headline informs us that the union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika constitutes nothing less than formation of "a new bloc against Communism." It is insinuated that the Zanzibar revolutionists sold out; Babu, for instance, being "conveniently out of the country whilst negotiations for unity were going on." These "rag-bag nationalists" and "comic-opera" militants have singular powers! As clowns they amuse the editors of the Newsletter; as betrayers they furnish them with a convenient text for moral sermons. Unfortunately such rag-bag, comic-opera analyses of events in the colonial revolution appear with dreary frequency in the Newsletter.

New York Memorial Meeting for Art Preis

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting for Art Preis, the long-time labor editor of *The Militant* who died Dec. 26, was held here Jan. 8 at the Militant Labor Forum hall. Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was chairman. Speakers included William F. Warde and Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Dobbs extended the sympathy of the gathering to Art's wife, Ethel, and members of the family who were present. He gave a brief sketch of Art's life from student days through his leadership role in unemployed and industrial union struggles of the 1930's and his activity as a Socialist Workers Party leader and labor journalist. This activity, said Dobbs, made Art Preis "not only a national, but an international figure of great stature."

"Being a complete man, and being thorough in everything he did," said Dobbs, it was characteristic that Art Preis climaxed his career by finishing, in spite of painful illness, his history of the CIO, *Labor's Giant Step*. Dobbs described this work as "a history, an evaluation, lessons and a guide to the future of the great struggles of the American working class."

William F. Warde recalled that he and Art had entered "the ranks of radicalism" at about the same time after the capitalist crisis of 1929, but that each came by different routes. Warde continued:

"Art served his apprenticeship as a mass leader in the turbulent actions of the unemployed and auto workers in Ohio-Michigan and helped form the American Workers Party under A. J. Muste.

"At that same period I was involved in the ideological searchings, organizational arguments and labor-defense activities characteristic of the vanguard intellectuals of New York. By 1933 a group of these was propelled toward the Communist League of America [Trotskyists] which was considering merger with the Musteites. Their fusion early in 1935 brought Art and me into a common organization.

"The necessity, value and durability of that unification has been certified by the fact that the vital core of the fresh forces recruited by both have stayed together as fellow-fighters for socialism in the 30 years since. Among them were Art and I."

"I was most intimately associated with Art in the last 20 years of his political career, especially through our work on *The Militant* staff. We became the closest

collaborators after I assumed editorship of the paper when most of the SWP leaders were railroaded to prison under the Smith Act in 1944-45."

"One of Art's most gratifying achievements during our joint tenure on the paper was the development of Laura Gray, our star cartoonist... Vivid in my memory are those post-editorial sessions when we would cudgel our wits for the next cartoon theme. Art's imagination would whirl like a pinwheel shooting out sparks of suggestion. Sometimes he would rise from his chair and half act out the situation to be depicted."

The payoff came a few days later when Laura would glide through the door, bearing her big black portfolio, unfold it on the table and hesitatingly display the drawing she had agonized over. Art's eyes would gleam as he inspected and judged it. "Right on the nose," was his highest compliment. And so it usually was — a pictorial punch on the nose or the paunch of some enemy of mankind.

"Laura was only one of Art's contributions to *The Militant*. I shall say no more about these because the essence of his accomplishments over the years has been extracted and incorporated in his monumental history of the CIO. As he acknowledges, I, with Anne and Bob Chester, helped edit the manuscript. This was not only a labor of love. I took it as a high tribute that Art would entrust his dearly-beloved brain-child to my hands and permit me to cut its hair before it was presented to the public.

"That sealed and — alas! — concluded our 20-year literary and political partnership in the cause of socialism. How many a night — and early in the morning too — have I wearily turned to Art and said: 'Well, we've put the paper to bed. Now let's go home and get some rest.' Now we've had to put Art to bed. To the last issue he was the finest militant of all."

Example for Youth

Jack Barnes declared that while most members of the Young Socialist Alliance today did not know Art Preis personally, "to us Art was the finest example of a serious young intellectual who unconditionally dedicates his entire life to the cause of labor and the fight for socialism."

Barnes continued: "Both in his personal example and in his history of the CIO, *Labor's Giant Step*, Art Preis built a bridge between his generation of the '30s and our generation of the '60s. But it was in his role as a member and leader of the Socialist Workers Party that he left us our greatest legacy. It was through that means that all the rest became possible."

"In many ways Art was not different from the thousands of other revolutionary-minded students in the 1930s. Like him they threw themselves into the struggles of the working people around them, struggles that were leading to the giant step of the CIO. In so doing they turned their back on careers, personal comforts and all the rest that was included in throwing in one's lot with the status quo. Those young students gave whatever they had to the working class — journalistic ability, organizational ability, the seemingly inexhaustible energies of youth — and they gave it unstintingly.

"But a bigger challenge than they expected was awaiting Art's generation. Due to many things beyond their control, their sacrifices and their work were not enough, in that short period of time, to bring about the goal for which they were all fighting — the goal of socialism."

"As the pressures of the war and witch-hunt and the temptations of American capitalist society



Art Preis

closed in on his generation, many succumbed and many who started on the same path that Art did, either decided to sit it out, or even became part and parcel of the very system against which they had fought during the best years of their lives.

"Art was different from these. He found his way as a young student not only to the working class and their immediate struggles, but to the highest organized expression of the working-class cause — the revolutionary party. It was in this way that Art, the student from Ohio State, became proletarianized and a soldier for

the duration..."

"The young students and workers, who today fight for the same goals Art did, face many of the same problems, difficulties, and temptations as his generation. And the path to the goal for which we strive, the way through the pitfalls and around the detours which we face, is not only the path Art Preis, the uncompromising socialist journalist and Marxist historian took, but the path Art Preis, the party leader and builder, took..."

"No one that knew Art Preis ever considered him an older person. His articles, his book, his interests and his spirit remained young over decades of struggle and physical pain to the very day he left us. Much deeper than the hatred he held for all that was corrupt and cruel in today's world was the love he gave to the entire human race and the vision of its future which sustained him and which he passed along.

"We, the young people, will meet the challenge that Art's life presents to our generation by drawing nourishment from his work and example, and by doing the thing he wanted most — that is by leading an entire generation in his footsteps to the creation of the kind of society that he gave his life to build."

Farrell Dobbs read messages to the meeting from many of Art's colleagues across the country and abroad, touching on his contributions to their own lives and work. Dobbs commented:

"Here, in a large sense, is caught the essence of Art — his consciousness, his capacity to understand the relation between necessity and freedom — the necessities imposed upon an individual because the individual life span can only be of a given duration, the freedom to make that the richest and fullest life if the individual realizes that he is part of the continuing story of the human race.

"If he recognizes that in the last analysis, how long an individual lives is not what is decisive. What is most decisive of all is: What did he contribute to the human race while he was here? Is the world a better place for his having been here, or did he look narrowly to the service of self? Was he one who adapted to the status quo or was he a complete political person, a revolutionary who knew how to use human intellect, human will, man's capacity to do greater good, to leave the world a better place than it was when he came into it? And that is the testament of every individual, that is the measure of their life."

Dobbs closed the meeting by reading the final passages from Preis's book, and from his last speech, passages which he characterized as "a political testament by Art, and a message to us — be of good cheer, carry on the struggle for the emancipation of man and let the richness and fullness of life for all flow from that."

World Events

Postpone Kerala Elections

India's Congress Party government apparently still fears a Communist victory in the Kerala state elections, even after arresting hundreds of Left Communist leaders on Dec. 30. It has put off the elections from Feb. 15 to Mar. 1, saying that time was needed to restore a "calmer atmosphere." Fear was expressed that "violence" might result from the Congress Party's obvious attempt to rig the elections by arresting its chief opponents and the likely winners.

Trials of 'Retirement'

Where and how ousted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev is living was the theme of an exclusive *United Press International* report on Jan. 9. Besides telling us that Khrushchev feels "bitter" at his "ungrateful" friends and comrades, the report tells us that the ousted leader now lives in his country home on \$330 a month, the largest amount allowed a "retired" government official. "Even though this is much more than the \$80 average monthly wage of a Soviet worker," said the report, additional government-authorized benefits have been granted to maintain him in the style to which he is accustomed. "These include a rent-free country house, a staff of five persons and a chauffeur-driven Chaika limousine."

Freedom Gun for Vietnam

Cuba has presented a rifle used in the Sierra Maestra mountains during the struggle against Batista to be awarded to the "best South Vietnam freedom fighter." It was given to a delegation of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (the so-called Vietcong) that was visiting Havana.

Say 'No' to Sunday Work

British employers have begun a campaign to make longshoremen work Sundays, a campaign joined by the Labor government and some union heads. But the English dock workers haven't been stampeded. On Sunday, Jan. 10, only 350 out of 25,000 longshoremen went to work. Rank-and-file mili-

itants helped keep a solid front against Sunday work. One was quoted at a meeting on the docks in the rain: "We know from bitter experience that when there has been overtime and weekend work, there have been at times thousands of men unemployed." The dockers have refused to work Sundays ever since last August when they finally won the 40-hour week.

Cuba Greet Congo Rebels

Havana radio announced on Jan. 26 the arrival in Cuba of a delegation of the insurgent National Council for the Liberation of the Congo. Revolutionary Cuba has been one of the most outspoken defenders of the self-determination of the Congolese against U.S., Belgian, and other imperialist attempts to rule and rob the country.

Why They Held Binh Gia

U.S. "advisers" in South Vietnam were full of speculations about recent guerrilla tactics of the National Liberation Front forces. Did the longer battles by larger groups signify a transition to Mao Tse-tung's "third phase" of guerrilla war, they wondered. But what guerrillas told the villagers of Binh Gia, during their recent occupation of the town, may well explain why fighting has been intensified. "The majority of Communist troops were youths aged 14 to 19," reported the *New York Times* Jan. 10. "They said they were sick of taking a town or a hamlet for a night and then withdrawing the next day." This could mean that the young militants are now full of confidence and ready for showdown battles.

Soviets Back Chinese Call

The Soviet government has published a statement supporting Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's call for a world conference on nuclear disarmament, a call issued in connection with China's first nuclear test. The Soviet action followed approval of the Peking proposal by such countries as Algeria, Rumania, and Poland.

How Stalin Met Nazi Attack

That former "great leader," Joseph Stalin, actually went into hiding for the first four days of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union! This startling new testimony about the bloody bureaucrat-dictator was revealed in the Soviet press by Ivan M. Maisky, the wartime Soviet ambassador to London, in memoirs published Jan. 6. Writing in the literary monthly *Novy Mir*, Maisky said Stalin refused to see anyone or make any decisions on the conduct of the war during those crucial first four days. Maisky also repeated criticisms that have been published in the Soviet Union before — that Stalin ignored authoritative warnings of an imminent attack by Hitler and failed to prepare the USSR for the invasion.

Revive Guerrilla Activity?

The Philippine government, claiming a revival of the Hukbalahap guerrilla movement — which was supposedly wiped out years ago — has moved 3,000 troops into a province of Luzon, north of Manila. The government said a People's Liberation Army had been formed and that the peasant-based guerrillas controlled at least 80 villages in central Luzon.

Alliance But No Progress

The "Alliance for Progress" is not doing so well. That was the general conclusion of the third annual conference to review the Alliance, held in Lima, Peru, late in 1964. The Alliance was supposed to be the Kennedy-Johnson answer to the Cuban solution for oppressive social and economic conditions in Latin America. The economic goal of the ten-year program was an annual rise of 2.5 per cent in the gross national product of all Latin American countries. "This has not been achieved since the program [now nearly one-third over] began in 1961," one press report delicately noted, "but experts are hopeful that it will be reached" in 1965. Meanwhile, Cuba attained a yearly growth rate averaging 9 per cent in 1962-1963, according to UN statistics.

Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO

By Art Preis

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Letters From Our Readers

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

Nazis in the Congo

Philadelphia, Pa.

The Militant has well and timely analyzed the situation in the Congo, including the infamous counter-revolutionary role played by the U.S., Belgium and the mercenaries. Every revolutionary socialist and other well-informed people know that the mercenaries are comprised of South African

racists and of Cuban exiles (piloting U.S. planes), who having failed in their unsuccessful CIA-planned invasion of Cuba, now help Tshombe quell the Congolese revolution.

We all know, too, that the money being used to finance the mercenaries is supplied by the U.S. government.

There is also another element, however, that makes up the mercenary force — the Nazis. The *Liberator*, a nationalist Negro publication, in its January 1965 issue, published a photograph of the commander of the 52nd Battalion of the mercenaries in Stanleyville. The commander's name is Siegfried Muller, and on his breast he proudly wears the Iron Cross presented to him personally by Hitler.

Obviously these Nazis — these savages — these cannibals — feel that six million Jews were not enough, so they now aim their guns at innocent and defenseless Negroes!

Long live the Congolese Revolution! Long live the African Revolution!

Louis Davis

Query on Death Penalty

Ithaca, N. Y.

I have just finished reading the article in your issue of Jan. 4 entitled, "High Time to Abolish the Death Penalty." I do not disagree with the article. In fact, I agree with almost every point that you make.

There is one thing, however, that bothers me on this issue. What punishment would you recommend for Ku Klux Klan murderers of civil-rights workers? How about punishment for certain Southern whites who have taken part in the lynching of Negroes for "kicks?"

Granted, these people are mentally sick, but I cannot help but associate them with animals as crude as those existing in Nazi Germany. I have always been opposed to capital punishment for much the same reason as you have pointed out. However, murders such as those of civil-rights workers and Negroes in the South (where — let's face it — the guilty parties are often known) are so abhorrent to me that I don't know where I stand.

I am not disagreeing with you in any way. I would just like to know what you would do with the civil-rights workers' murderers.

I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know how you feel on this subject, for it may help me solve my personal dilemma.

J.P.

[The states where these racist murders have taken place have capital punishment. But these laws have not served in the least to deter these murderers. In this society capital punishment is used mainly against the poor and oppressed, not against defendants with wealth or influence in high places.

The racist murderers in the Deep South are simply not subject to any punishment at all, let alone capital punishment. If those who commit racist violence were promptly tried, convicted and put in jail for life, or in institutions for the criminally insane, this would be a deterrent, but they are not.

It is precisely because there is no effective government action to stop racist attacks that the exercise of the constitutional right of self-defense by Negroes and the civil-rights forces is necessary. The greatest deterrent to these Klan attacks is serious, effective self-defense — with arms if nec-

essary — such as was recently organized by the Laurel, Mississippi, local of the International Woodworkers of America, AFL-CIO.

As socialists, we seek a society of brotherhood in which such abominations as capital punishment will not exist. Once a workers' and farmers' government were established, it would move to abolish capital punishment as quickly as possible. And it would certainly not let racist murderers run around loose.—EDITOR.]

Against Malcolm X

Detroit, Mich.

The Militant is perhaps the only newspaper of importance that carries a full report of the Freedom Now movement. Although I am white I do feel that the Negro has legitimate grievances and has been more than patient in seeking redress of said grievances.

The prime tragedy in securing full rights for the Negro is that union among the many integration and civil-rights groups is seemingly impossible. It appears that each of these organizations wants "all the glory" and is unwilling to work as a united team.

The NAACP is reportedly ready to drop out of COFO, stating that while the NAACP contributes large sums of money it does not have enough voice in determining policy. This situation does not prevail among the racist organizations for they willingly unite into

any cabal to promote their hatreds.

I do not doubt for one second the dedication of *The Militant* to ending discrimination; but I do question the value of promoting the hatreds of Malcolm X and any faction of the Black Muslims. The civil-rights struggle is for all men regardless of color. In fact, it falls more upon the white man to redeem himself than upon his Negro brother.

The racism of Malcolm X is the same as that of George Wallace, the only difference, of course, is one of color.

The "Mau Mau" approach of black racism is just as odious as that of the Klan. The war to end all manifestations of race hatred requires the efforts of all men and the glory of none. Malcolm X is just as color conscious as George Wallace and I for one will never believe that the vast bulk of Negroes will ever follow such hatred.

I will be among the first to give any segment of the white power structure hell, but I will not overthrow one form of bigotry to support another. I prefer an American that is oblivious to color. Each person should be treated as an equal with no thought to his race, creed or national origin.

No; I cannot accept Malcolm X and what he stands for as a legitimate part of the civil-rights movement. Much of what he says does have the ring of truth; but he is so obsessed with the mote in his brother's eye that he cannot see

the beam in his own eye.

The hard work and dedication of groups like the NAACP and SNCC have accomplished more than the rantings of the reverse bigots. The quiet and determined dignity of Ralph Bunche, Roy Wilkins, Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph means more to the struggle than all the rantings of Malcolm X and Elijah (Muhammad) Poole!

Richard M. Woodruff

[We are working for a society that will be oblivious of color. But we are also convinced that the Negro people, today, who are the victims of constant discrimination cannot be anything but conscious of their color. We are further convinced that Negroes must organize independently of the power structure to smash the walls of segregation. We believe that whites can and must support such a struggle but that the Negro people must organize and lead their own fight. We regard black nationalism as progressive because, essentially, we think it means these things.

We sharply reject the claim that Malcolm X is a "reverse" racist. We believe he is trying to educate his people to the need for militancy in the struggle and that his ideas go in the direction we have indicated above. For Malcolm X's own views on how he regards whites, please read the excerpts from his speech at the New York Militant Labor Forum which will appear in our next issue.—EDITOR.]

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"The dictatorial procedure of jailing people in the U.S. merely for the political ideas they express was reinforced Jan. 12 when the government shipped 12 more leaders of the Communist Party to prison. The sentences took effect after the Supreme Court refused 7-to-1 even to review their cases.

"The 12 are the second-line leaders convicted two years ago of 'conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence.' A thirteenth defendant in the trial, Louis Weinstock, is currently undergoing the ordeal of yet another trial in Washington, D.C., on a trumped-up perjury charge.

"The 12 Stalinist leaders will have to serve sentences ranging from one to three years and pay fines ranging from \$2,000 to \$6,000 . . .

"During the trial of the 13, as in all other Smith Act trials, the government based its case on the testimony of perjured witnesses and doctored excerpts from the literature of Marxism.

"Contesting the convictions in the courts, civil-liberties attorneys showed that the Smith Act and the convictions obtained under it violated the First Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment declares that 'Congress shall make no laws . . . abridging the freedom of speech.' . . .

"All told, there have been 79 individuals convicted under the Smith Act since its passage in 1940."—Jan. 17, 1955

20 Years Ago

"Under cover of the bitter unprincipled factionalism and power politics among the leadership [of the UAW], Reuther has posed as a 'militant.' But on every key issue in the struggle of the militant ranks against the bureaucratic officials, Reuther has always wound up in an embrace with his 'opponents' and voted with them in support of sell-out policies.

"The latest struggle in the UAW over the no-strike pledge proves to be no exception . . .

"He lined up with the entire top leadership and called on the auto workers to vote 'Yes' on the referendum motion to reaffirm the no-strike pledge.

"Together with UAW President R. J. Thomas, Addes and Richard Frankenstein, another vice-president, Reuther last week spoke over a Michigan radio hook-up and told the autoworkers to vote for the no-strike pledge. This radio program was sponsored by the Stalinist-organized and dominated UAW Committee for Retention of the No-Strike Pledge."—Jan. 20, 1945.

It Was Reported in the Press

Whom Are They Kidding? — The Jan. 9 *Saturday Review* noted that in December "we saw where the Congressional Medal of Honor was awarded to Army Special Forces Captain Roger Donlon. Captain Donlon was the hero of a five-hour pitched battle against a full-scale Viet Cong attack and was wounded four times. Yet the official White House Announcement stated, and we quote, 'This is the first Medal of Honor awarded to an individual who distinguished himself while serving with a friendly force engaged in an armed conflict in which the United States is not a belligerent party.'"

In Remembrance — Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, wife of Senator Robert Kennedy of New York, arranged to have a toy company contribute toys to children of veterans of the 1961 invasion of Cuba. The *New York Times* offers this explanatory note: "As Attorney General in 1961, Mr. Kennedy was connected with the invasion plans and has kept up friendly contacts with invasion veterans since then."

Need a Perspective — Dr. Graham B. Blaine, psychiatrist to the Harvard and Radcliffe Health Service, offered his view of why affluent youth become narcotics addicts. He said it is an unconscious hunt "for danger — playing with fire. Never having been tested, they are distasteful of themselves and are trying to alter with drugs their personalities. They are trying to change an unconscious *weltschmerz* — world of pain — which is more than apathy . . . They have a lack of hope with the world at large and themselves in it."

Wrong State — Last week we reported that four Negro students from South Africa were charged with "trespassing" after seeking service in a Maryland tavern and that state officials dropped the

charges on grounds of "broad general public interest." This week three Negroes who sought service in a Maryland tavern were arrested on the same charge. But they only came from Pennsylvania so they were fined \$50 each.

How Stupidly Reactionary Can You Get? — A Prof. William Shockley of Stanford University (a Nobel prize winner in physics, no less) gravely opines that "the possibility of human deterioration resulting from overbreeding among the lower classes" is as big a danger to the world as the H-bomb. For some reason this particular piece of idiocy, reminds us of the old wheeze about the queen who experienced sex for the first time and, after learning on enquiry that common people also indulged in the practice, commented: "It's really far too good for them."

Popejoy or Hooverboy? — President Popejoy of the University of New Mexico has announced that no organization which the FBI has branded "Communist-tinged" will be given campus recognition. He referred to the W. E. B. DuBois Club recently formed in Albuquerque. J. Edgar Hoover had branded the national youth group a "Communist-spawned Marxist youth organization."

Our Home Town — By way of the *Chicago Tribune*, we learned that New York astrologers petitioned the city to crack down on "less learned soothsayers." The City Commissioner of Markets vowed he would investigate "these phonies claiming to be astrologers."

Think You've Heard Everything? — The Cleveland Civil Liberties Union has entered a friend-of-the-court brief on behalf of a woman appealing her conviction for contributing to the delinquency of a minor. She was convicted for advising her young daughter to use birth control. The daughter, unmarried, had given birth to children three years in a row, beginning when she was 14. The mother, who had taken in and cared for the babies, had urged the daughter to abstain from sexual activity or, failing that, to use protection.

Progress Report — No electronic bugging devices will be built into the rooms reserved for interviews between prisoners and counsel and chaplains in the new jail — known as the Public Safety Building — in Syracuse. The planned bugging installation was protested by local civil-rights groups.

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Thought for the Week

"Don't you know that when your friends, the puppets, start talking back to the puppeteer, the puppeteer's in bad shape?" — Malcolm X commenting on the situation in Vietnam during his speech at the New York Militant Labor Forum.

Freedom Day a Triumph In Indianola, Mississippi

INDIANOLA, Miss. — A demonstration of unprecedented size occurred here on Freedom Day, Jan. 4, which was a triumph for the Negro community, a triumph over the climate of oppression and fear that is the lot of the county's Negroes. "This is the beginning of a new day in Sunflower County," said Charles MacLaurin, 23-year-old field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He spoke before 275 people assembled around the Sunflower County Courthouse.

The gathering of Negroes was the first demonstration of its kind in the history of this cotton-rich Delta county and the first county-wide Freedom Day since the movement for voting rights here began. The unexpectedly large and increasingly exuberant throng had just concluded a six-hour picketing of the courthouse, singing freedom songs and resting on the grass and on the courthouse steps. Over 400 people had walked in the picket line at some time during the day.

Sunflower County is the birthplace of the White Citizens Councils and the home of U. S. Senator James O. Eastland. It is also the home of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Freedom Democratic Party candidate for the contested congressional seat of Jamie Whitten, representative from Mississippi's second district.

Big Demonstration

The Freedom Day demonstration here was the largest of seven held Jan. 4 in other towns in the state to demand the right to vote and to support the Freedom Democratic Party's congressional challenge of the regular Mississippi congressmen.

There were no arrests here, even though Mississippi law prohibits picketing. About 30 local police, wearing riot helmets, and sheriff's deputies witnessed the proceedings.

The picket line began at 10:30 a.m. with 70 pickets who were prepared to go to jail. Slogans carried included: "One Man — One Vote," "Abolish Taxation Without Representation," "Support the Freedom Democratic Party Challenge," "We Want Mrs. Hamer, Not Jamie Whitten" and "Mr. Eastland, My Father Wants to Vote."

The picket line grew steadily as the first group was joined by those who had come to try to register to vote but were turned away by Registrar C. C. Cambell.

During the last hour the line swelled to 275 when pickets joined hands in a swaying human chain extending around three sides of the courthouse square to sing "We Shall Overcome." Then they walked single file, singing, down the main street of the Negro ghetto to the COFO Freedom School. Through it all the picket line was led by two serious-faced young Negroes, one carrying the American flag and the other a sign with the word "Uhuru," which is Swahili for freedom.

Officials Watch

In his speech on the courthouse lawn SNCC Field Secretary MacLaurin said, "Sunflower County will never be the same because of what happened here today." White county employees and officials watched from the courthouse steps in the waning afternoon sun as MacLaurin spoke of the day when "Negroes will again elect black men to Congress, the state legislature and county offices, men who will pass legislation in the interests of all the people, black and white."

Freedom Day had a special significance for MacLaurin, a native of Jackson, Miss. In 1960, under

conditions of constant police harassment, he had spearheaded voter-registration work in Sunflower County. Since then over 1,000 Negroes have braved intimidation and have tried to register in the county. Despite the registration drive and a federal suit against the county registrar, fewer than 200 out of 13,500 eligible Negroes are on the voting rolls because of the discriminatory registration test. There are 31,000 Negroes in the county.

The unexpectedly large Freedom Day turnout occurred in the face of widespread and well-founded fear of economic reprisal and physical violence. Countless Negroes have lost their jobs or have been driven off plantations or removed from welfare rolls for trying to register or for participating in the Freedom Movement. The record of this area is one of the most notorious in the state.

New Unity

But the people came. When police did not arrest anyone in the first group of pickets, others were encouraged to join. Still they face the possibility of losing their jobs or being expelled from school. Several policemen spent most of the day taking people's pictures, and many of the white onlookers — who sat in their cars with the windows closed — came to find out if their maids or farm workers were there.

But the maids and farm workers and unemployed workers and students and school drop-outs sang about not being moved, and shouted "Uhuru!" and were answered with shouts of "Freedom Now!" by others on the line. They seemed not to care who was watching them exercise their constitutional rights at the county courthouse. That sense of unity and strength is new for Sunflower County.

REVOLT BREWING ON MINNESOTA RESERVATIONS

Indians Fed Up With Brutal Treatment

By Everett E. Luoma

MINNEAPOLIS — The persecution of the Indians of the Cass Lake and Red Lake Reservations in Northern Minnesota has almost reached a crisis. After police shot a 22-year-old Indian in the leg, "while trying to escape," last summer, an observer in the town of Cass Lake analyzed the situation more correctly than he probably realized. He said the Indians were "close to taking things into their own hands."

This statement's accuracy was borne out in December when, at the last minute, the Indians of Cass Lake decided to run a write-in candidate for municipal judge. Their candidate was Sam Gokey, who had been arrested and beaten by police last summer after he threatened to circulate a petition for removal of Municipal Judge G. F. Rowlette.

Gokey came within 43 votes out of 409 cast of defeating Rowlette. Cass Lake has a population of 1,586 and the polls were open from 8 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. The Indians are now challenging the election results because of gross violations of accepted balloting procedure. They charge:

- Rowlette sat observing the balloting, which took place in the courtroom, in violation of a law requiring voters to leave the polling place after voting.

- The election judge (not Rowlette) did not deposit the ballots in the ballot box immediately after they were marked.

- On Dec. 5 and 7, shortly before the election, Rowlette released at least ten prisoners from jail in an effort to gain favor.

- The town constable stopped Indians from distributing literature although they were well beyond the legal distance from the polling place.



Minneapolis Star Photo

ONE AMERICAN'S HOME. This tarpaper shack on a reservation in Minnesota is typical of the way the government compels its Indian "wards" to live.

An interesting point is that if Sam Gokey had won the election he could not have been seated because he is not an attorney. Neither is Rowlette, the 80-year-old incumbent. But because he has held the office since before the requirement was enacted, it doesn't apply to him.

Judge Rowlette's attitude toward the Indians is typified by an incident that occurred last summer. He accused a young Indian defendant in the court room of engaging in illicit sex relations and said he was as "lowdown as the dung of a whale."

When reminded of the incident some time later, the judge said, "I would like to apologize. I should have said he is lower down than the dung of a whale."

Judge Rowlette believes the benefits the government gives the Indians are a "pot of gold" which rob him of his spunk to work for himself. He is critical of all reservations and especially of the Red Lake reservation, which he said was a place "founded on Marxism."

Rowlette also speaks bitterly of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for perpetrating the "fraud" that Indians were entitled to the proceeds from lands and minerals taken from them over the years. Instead, the judge said, the bureau should "teach these people to stop drinking liquor and abusing their families and go to work." (Unemployment is between 40 and 50 per cent on all reservations and the average family income is \$1,500 annually.)

Violations of Rights

Actually the Bureau of Indian Affairs is doing little to remedy the situation and permits gross violations of the Indians' rights. The Court of Indian Offenses on the Red Lake Indian Reservation is based on the Code of Federal Regulations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Olaf R. Vinje, a special officer for the Indian Bureau, is a white federal employee who oversees both the well-equipped Indian police force at Red Lake and the Indian Court.

The following are violations suffered by the Indians of courtroom rights possessed by other U.S. citizens:

- No attorneys are allowed.
- In the selection of juries, only three prospective jurors can be challenged by either side.
- A majority of a six-man jury can convict.
- The trial judge takes part in deciding appeals from his own decisions.

The federal code now does permit licensed attorneys to practice in Indian courts, Vinje explained, but the Red Lake tribal council decided to continue to exclude them because they "would put the judge at a disadvantage."

The weekly *Cass Lake Times* reacted bitterly to the interest created by the new fighting spirit of the Indians.

"The so-called Civil Rights Law," it said, "has given newcomers to this area an opportunity 'to cash in' by creating a problem that did not exist before. The ignorance of some of these so-called experts is abysmal..."

"Is Cass Lake and the other 'Indian towns' in Minnesota going to be told by Washington or by St. Paul whom they can arrest and whom they can't arrest?"

SETBACK FOR STRIKE-BREAKING IN NEW YORK

Social Workers Defy Legal Threats

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 — As the strike of over 8,000 city welfare workers here enters its second week, rank-and-file militancy is increasing in the face of City Hall's strikebreaking moves.

Many workers who had expected a strike of only a few days have been hardened for a serious struggle by the suspension of over 7,500 strikers under the notorious Condon-Wadlin Act.

This state law was designed to prohibit strikes by public employees. It provides for mass firings of strikers and penalties — loss of two days' pay for every day on strike — for those strikers rehired. The law's dismissal provisions have been invoked for the first time since its passage in 1947 by the liberal Democratic admin-

istration of Mayor Wagner in the present strike.

On Jan. 7, State Supreme Court Justice Irving Saypol — who became notorious as the prosecutor who sent Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the electric chair — issued a temporary injunction under the act which officially "ended" the strike. The strikers interpret this as a refusal by the city to negotiate unless they first return to work and suffer the penalties of the act. But the strikebreaking attempt has so far only hardened their resolve.

As one picket put it: "I'm almost broke but I'll get a \$30 per week job before they'll force me back like this." Another said: "We won't go back at all if they don't pay us what we're worth. They think they can demoralize us and make us accept anything but we're staying out until we get a decent contract. They don't have enough scabs to run the department."

The strike was called Jan. 4 by two unions, the Social Service Employees, a newly-formed independent union and Local 371 of the AFL-CIO State, County and Municipal Workers. The SSE bargains for the social investigators, mostly young college graduates, and Local 371 represents clerks and supervisory employees.

Both unions are asking higher pay and better working conditions so they can do a better job for the city's half million welfare cases. A key grievance is the huge case load that must be handled by each of the 6,000 social investigators. Under federal stipulation, no investigator should handle more

than 60 cases, but the case load often goes up to 100. Conditions are so bad there is a yearly turnover of 40 per cent among the social workers. Thirty-five per cent of the present staff has been on the job less than a year, according to the SSE.

The strike is most solid among the social investigators. Although about half the clerks and some of the supervisors are crossing the picket lines, fewer are reporting to work each day. So far, at least ten of the 25 welfare centers are shut down completely. The rest, operating with skeleton staffs, are handling only cases involving serious emergencies and child care.

Among slogans carried by the strikers are: "City Unfair to Welfare Clients," "Social Work Not Paper Work," and "Lower Case Loads, Higher Pay."

Since the injunction, the unions have been officially referring to the walkout as a "demonstration" rather than as a "strike."

The city's latest offer of a "fact-finding board" to make "recommendations" after the strikers return to work was unanimously rejected by a joint membership meeting of the two unions attended by some 5,000 strikers Jan. 8. As the audience chanted "No Contract No Work," SSE President Joseph Tepedino declared that "no one will be penalized for striking." Paul Hall, president of the AFL-CIO Seafarers International Union, announced that the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council had pledged \$5,000 toward support of the strike.



Mayor Wagner