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Ala. Rights Party Has Deep Roots

By John Benson

John Benson recently spent a number of days in Lowndes County, Ala., to report on the Black Panther party for The Militant.

MAY 1 — When I arrived in Lowndes County I didn't know what I would find. I knew that the Black Panther party had been formed in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties, and, with Negroes outnumbering whites in the county four to one, it might be able to win — assuming the elections were fair. I had heard of one SNCC worker, Stokely Carmichael, who was in the county.

But I was totally unprepared for what I actually found. The determination and confidence of Negroes here is something I had never seen before. This movement is rooted in the most oppressed people of the county, and has brought to the fore a strong local leadership that is aware of its goals and determined to reach them. There is a core of local Negroes who work full time, with the SNCC workers, building the party.

My first experience in Lowndes was at the regular Sunday evening mass meeting, attended by about 250 Negroes. I had expected that SNCC would play a dominant role, but the whole meeting was run by local people. Almost every speaker was an activist who had lived, in Lowndes most of his or her life. The meeting was run in a very businesslike and serious manner.

It was a special meeting. The candidates seeking the nomination of the Freedom Organization (which has become known as the Black Panther party because of its symbol), spoke. Most of the offices up for election in November are being contested within the new party. On May 3, at a mass nominating meeting the party membership will choose their can-

didates from among these people, in a kind of primary of their own.

Having so many people competing for the nominations has increased interest in the party. Each candidate is a party builder. The only way he or she can win the party's nomination is to get people to join the party, come to the nominating meeting and vote.

All of the candidates stressed the need to build the mass nominating meeting. Everyone is running on the same platform, the goals of the Freedom Organization. The decision revolves around who will be the most competent to fill the posts.

A Contrast

Several features of the meeting reflected the attitude of the people building the new party. Capitalist politics has made even the word "politics" sound like something dirty, underhanded and dishonest. But the fairness, honesty and frankness of this meeting stood out in sharp contrast. Competing candidates never made personal attacks upon one another — they simply told why they wanted to fill the post in question. The candidate for coroner, who is unopposed as yet, appealed for someone to run against him.

The attitude of the candidates and why they are running was expressed by one of the candidates for tax collector. She began, "It would be useless for me to say I'm experienced because we've never had a colored tax collector."

"Do you have a colored sheriff?" asked one of the speakers. "Not yet!" came the enthusiastic reply from the audience.

Met Candidates

Several days after this meeting, I had a chance to meet one of the candidates for tax collector, Frank Miles, Jr., who is also an officer of the Black Panther party. He explained why he had decided to run. "The only reason I had been in that office before was to pay some money. They didn't want anybody in that office for anything else. I wanted to change that. They just didn't want Negroes in the courthouse, period. I thought I'd go and be over there."

He also explained why he wanted an independent party. "I don't want to be in the other man's party, and he doesn't want me there either. If he did want me, he wouldn't let me control it. I don't see what the Democratic Party has to offer."

Mr. Miles also asked me to explain that anyone can join the Freedom Organization, including whites. "But we're not going looking for the white man. We're not going to wait. We're not going to leave any posts open waiting for him." He was confident the new party would win because so many places in the county were like the area he lives in: "Everyone follows the Panther."

I also traveled around the county with John Hullet, chairman of the party. I gained an appreciation of the Negroes' demand for paving the roads. After a day of driving on dust roads, I could run my tongue over my teeth and taste

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MAY DAY, SAIGON. Workers, women and youth marched through downtown Saigon on the International workers' holiday. The banners denounced U.S. bombing of countryside and use of poison chemicals; and demanded an end to the war and withdrawal of U.S. troops. While some U.S. press reports said a few thousand participated, the UPI dispatch from Saigon accompanying this radio photograph placed the number at 100,000.

S. Vietnamese Cry for Peace, U. S. Maps New Escalation

By Dick Roberts

MAY 3 — With cynical disregard for the overwhelming sentiment for the withdrawal of U.S. troops demonstrated by the south Vietnamese people, Defense Secretary McNamara promised yesterday that more troops would be sent to Vietnam to counter "increasing infiltration" from the north. McNamara's bellicose speech was delivered to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

From 181,000 at the beginning of the year, the U.S. troop strength in south Vietnam has already grown to 255,000 not including the troops in Thailand and in the off-shore navy fleet, possibly numbering an additional 85,000.

Fake Claim

However, this huge troop increase and the one McNamara "predicted" yesterday have very little to do with the so-called infiltration from north Vietnam. Every time Washington has shouted "outside subversion," actual information released weeks or months later has shown the claims to be false, or at best, exaggerated.

For instance, McNamara cited the figure of a monthly infiltration rate of 4,500 in the Chamber of Commerce speech. This is not a new figure for the glib secretary. He has been using it since last December. But the Mansfield Report, which was prepared in December,

claimed a total north Vietnamese troop strength of 14,000 in south Vietnam.

Over three months later, on April 4, the *New York Times* carried an AP dispatch datelined Saigon, which estimated that of a total of 75,000 troops in the main force of the NLF, about 15,000 were said to be from north Vietnam. That is an increase of only 1,000 in three months — and it happened to cover the period during which McNamara used precisely the same phony story to excuse the resumption of bombing of north Vietnam Jan. 31.

But the fact of the matter is the

Vietnamese people, north or south, have every right to fight against Washington's invasion of their country.

Even in the speech to the Chamber of Commerce, McNamara admitted that the political crisis in south Vietnam for the last six weeks had upset U.S. military efforts. It is well known that U.S. puppet dictator Nguyen Cao Ky had to call his crack troops off the battlefields in order to restore stability to Saigon. Striking south Vietnamese soldiers and workers have tied up the airbase and seaport in Danang.

(Continued on Page 6)

Mexican Students Target of 'Red' Hunt

The Justice Department of the Mexican government told the press April 28 that it had uncovered a "plot" to install a "red regime." Eight arrests had been made in a raid on the Revolutionary Workers party, a "Trotskyist" group headed by "J. Posadas."

In an obvious smear attempt, the police said the party fomented the current student demonstrations at the University of Mexico. However these were not led by the small ultraleft Posadas group although its members participated.

Among those arrested was Adolfo Gilly, who is known to American socialists through his articles in the *Monthly Review* on the Cuban and Guatemalan revolutions. (See next week's issue for a full account of the witch-hunt.)



Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

Installment 26

MILITANT WHITES AND BLACKS

Malcolm: The brother wanted to know what practical steps could be taken to confront this unjust situation that exists here in New York and get some meaningful results. The one mistake that has been made in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor is that it's been factionalized too much — too many factions. You've got downtown factions, uptown factions, crosstown factions and some basement factions. Instead of them having any degree of coordination toward a common objective, usually they are divided and spend a lot of time either being suspicious of each other, or knocking at each other, or even outright fighting each other.

Whereas you have black people in Harlem who are militant, they don't go for white people downtown too much, no matter how militant they are. Now the blacks who come downtown and mix with the whites who are militant, usually don't even know how to talk to the blacks who are still uptown. I had to bring this out. I've noticed it from observation.

You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up, you have blacks who are fed up. The whites who are fed up can't come uptown too easily because people uptown are more fed up than anybody else, and they are so fed up that it's not so easy to come uptown.

Whereas the blacks uptown who

come downtown usually are the type, you know, who almost lose their identity — they lose their soul, so to speak — so that they are not in a position to serve as a bridge between the militant whites and the militant blacks; that type can't do it. I hate to hit him like that, but it's true. He has lost his identity, he has lost his feeling, and usually — play it cool, please — he usually has actually lost his contact with Harlem himself. So that he serves no purpose, he's almost rootless, he's not uptown and he's not fully downtown.

So when the day comes when the whites who are really fed up — I don't mean these jive whites, who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what is going on — when they learn how to really establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up, and they get some coordinated action going, you'll get some changes. You'll get some changes. And it will take both, it will take everything that you've got, it will take that.

But how many sitting here right now feel that they could truly identify with a struggle that was designed to eliminate the basic causes that create the conditions that exist? Not very many. They can jive; but when it comes to identifying yourself with a struggle that is not endorsed by the power structure, that is not acceptable, where the ground rules are not laid down by the society which you live in and which you're struggling against — you can't identify with that, you step back.

Oh, when things get bad enough, everybody gets into the act. And that's what is coming — in 1965. (Militant Labor Forum, Jan. 7, 1965)

Marlene Nadle noted that Malcolm "considers all militant whites possible allies. He qualifies the possibility. And woven into the qualifications are the threads of the emotions running through Harlem."

Malcolm: If we are going to work together, the blacks must take the lead in their own fight. In phase one, the white led. We're going into phase two now.

This phase will be full of rebellion and hostility. Blacks will fight whites for the right to make decisions that affect the struggle in order to arrive at their manhood and self-respect.

The hostility is good. It's been bottled up too long. When we stop always saying yes to Mr. Charlie and turning the hate against ourselves, we will begin to be free.

Miss Nadle asked how he planned to get white militants to work with him when he was sending out slings and arrows at them.

Malcolm: We'll have to try to rectify that.

It would be difficult to get militant whites and blacks together. The whites can't come uptown too easily because the people aren't feeling too friendly. The black who goes downtown loses his identity, loses his soul. He's in no position to be a bridge because he has lost contact with Harlem. Our Negro leaders never had contact, so they can't do it.

The only person who could be someone who is completely trusted by the black community. If I were to try, I would have to be very diplomatic, because there are parts of Harlem where you don't dare mention the idea. (From Marlene Nadle, *Village Voice*, Feb. 25, 1965)

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. — **Abraham Lincoln**

...Ala. Freedom Party

(Continued from Page 1)
the dust. At night there was a layer of dust on the bed.

The dust roads are in the Negro section — the roads in front of the whites' homes are paved. A white family lives on one of the dirt roads going through the Negro area. The only stretch of that road which is paved is in front and a short distance on either side of that one house.

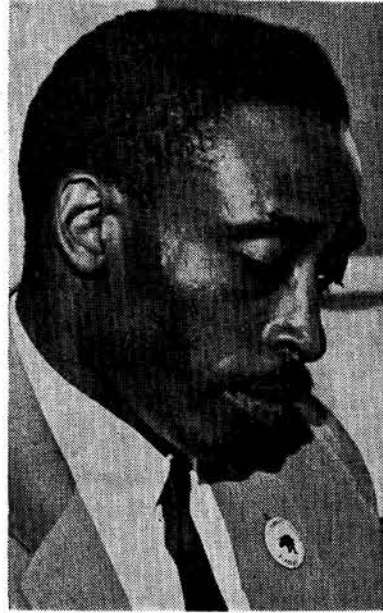
Because of the rural nature of Lowndes, organizing is done by driving from home to home. Mr. Hullet has been doing this for one year now, leaving his home early in the morning and generally not returning until at least 10 p.m.

We stopped at a number of homes. The first question he asks is whether the eligible adults in the family are registered to vote. Then he explains what the Freedom Organization is, and explains the importance of the May 3 nominating meeting. "In Lowndes County," he told one woman, "we will have three parties — the Republicans, the Democrats, and our party."

Then he explained that she couldn't both come to the Black Panther nominating meeting and vote in the Democratic primary, and asked her what she thought of the primary. She said she sort of liked Flowers, the present state Attorney General. Martin Luther King has been stumping the state, urging Negroes to vote for Flowers. Mr. Hullet asked her, "What's he ever done, not said, that indicates he's for Negroes?"

The answer was, "Nothing."
"Isn't Flowers just making a lot of promises to Negroes that he won't carry out?" he asked.

Since this area had not been canvassed for a long time, Mr. Hullet arranged to hold a community meeting in her home at which the candidates would speak and local organizers would be chosen.



John Hullet

Mr. Hullet lived outside the county a few years, and was active in the Birmingham civil rights movement. Many of the other leaders were active in the Montgomery bus boycott in 1956. Some people in Lowndes work in Montgomery, which is only thirty miles away, and were part of the car pool which made the boycott a success.

The first big test for the Black Panther party will take place at the May 3 mass nominating meeting. During one of the meetings of the executive committee of the party I attended, there was a discussion of how to get the largest turnout possible. A suggestion was made to have a sound truck go across the county on May 2. Few people have cars, so transportation had to be organized. It was decided to hold the meeting at 3 p.m. so people would not have to miss a whole day's work.

Socialist Education Fund

The General Falls Behind

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

We have conducted campaigns to raise funds to support socialist activities for some years now. Most of the money collected for these funds comes from organized groups of socialists and their friends throughout the country.

The Fund Scoreboard on this page lists the cities where groups have pledged to reach a certain goal, listed in the Quota column, for the current Socialist Education Fund.

The contributions of our readers who are not acquainted with any of the groups are listed in the last item of the Scoreboard, called General. This time we hope to receive \$600 from them.

I'd like to ask our unaffiliated readers to take the responsibility to see that the \$600 quota is filled. There are many new readers of *The Militant*, especially among

those who have become active in the movement to stop the war in Vietnam. Many independent socialists are among our readers as well.

I would urge all of them who support the cause of socialism and all of those who believe that people should be given an opportunity to hear socialist ideas to become regular contributors to these socialist funds. And please start by making some contribution — no matter how small — to the current fund.

The fund-drive period is just a little more than half over, 57 percent over to be exact, but only 37 percent of the \$600 needed from individual contributors has been sent in thus far. So send your contribution now, to Socialist Education Fund, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent	
Boston	\$1,200	\$ 962	80	
San Diego	200	125	63	
Detroit	1,400	852	58	
Chicago	1,800	1,020	57	
St. Louis	150	86	57	
Philadelphia	300	169	56	
Cleveland	1,000	555	55	
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	503	50	
New York	5,800	2,166	37	
Allentown	175	55	32	
Newark	150	46	31	
San Francisco	900	282	31	
Oakland	900	250	28	
Milwaukee	400	81	20	
Los Angeles	4,400	663	15	
Denver	125	5	4	
Seattle	500	0	0	
General	600	220	37	
Totals through May 2		\$21,000	8,040	38

Vietnam Teach-In Held at Bay Area Junior College

SAN FRANCISCO — The College of Marin, a small junior college in the suburbs of San Francisco, held its second Vietnam teach-in on April 28. Seventy students turned out to hear speakers from San Francisco State College discuss the war and the antiwar movement.

Kipp Dawson, former Chairman of the San Francisco State College Vietnam Day Committee and a representative of the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*, discussed the history of foreign aggression in Vietnam. She pointed out that the only non-Vietnamese soldiers fighting there now are Americans and allies of the U.S. She discussed the connection between the current anti-U.S. demonstrations in Vietnam and the growth of the antiwar movement in the U.S.

Lucille Birnbaum, Professor of History at San Francisco State College, said that the hope of ending the war lies with the young people who "have not become indifferent to the idea of killing."

Second Thoughts

The final speaker was Herb Williams, Professor of Anthropology at San Francisco State. After he mentioned that he fought in World War II, a student asked Dr. Williams if he felt differently about the two wars.

He answered: "That's hard to say. When I first began to think about it I felt that World War II was a just war, compared to the war in Vietnam. When I think back, though, I begin to realize that we were lied to then, too. We were told we were bombing strategic areas when in reality we were killing only grandmothers, babies and old men. There are similarities between the two wars."

Lincoln Brigade Vets Win Long SACB Fight

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee announced a victory on April 28 in a case it has been fighting for over a decade. The Subversive Activities Control Board has finally dropped its attempt to force the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to register as a "Communist front" organization.

The ECLC said that it would now seek the removal of the VALB's name from the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations.

The recent victory maintains a perfect record: every organization which has fought in the courts against the federal government's efforts to force it to register as a "Communist front" has won.

WATTS AND HARLEM

The Rising Revolt
In the Black Ghettos

by Robert Vernon
and George Novack

25c

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Weekly Calendar

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CHICAGO

SOCIALISM AND THE NEW RADICALS. How this generation can change society. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of the *Young Socialist*. Fri., May 13, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

INVITATION TO AN INQUEST. A discussion of revelations in book about frame-up of Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell. Speakers: Max Corner of the Sobell Committee, Max Goldman and Sheavy Goldman of the SWP. Fri., May 13, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NOTE TIME CHANGE. SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE NEWS. A bi-weekly commentary by SWP spokesman Theodore Edwards. Mon., May 16, 6 p.m. Re-broadcast Thurs., May 19, 1 p.m. KPFK-FM (90.7 on dial).

NEW YORK

HOW EFFECTIVE IS THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT? Speaker: Judy White, chairman, Cambridge Committee to End the War in Vietnam, editor of *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*. Fri., May 13, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

JOSEPH JOHNSON: "A MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY." The Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party will speak about the efforts of the government to deprive him of citizenship and banish him. Fri., May 13, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 204. Minneapolis. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW DISCLOSURES ON CIA

World-Wide Subversive Network

By Alex Harte

The *New York Times* recently ran a series of five large articles on the CIA. Four of the *Times'* leading reporters and many other members of its staff gathered information and opinions on the sinister agency from "informed Americans throughout the world."

It "obtained reports from 20 foreign correspondents and editors with recent service in more than 35 countries and from reporters in Washington who interviewed more than 50 present and former government officials, members of Congress and military officers."

The *Times* report amounts to an official admission — even if incomplete and probably toned-down — of what the CIA has done in the past few years. While radicals and many governments have charged that the CIA intervenes directly and violently in the political life of many nations in Latin America, Asia and Africa, this time the information comes from the horse's mouth.

The *Times* reports in the most bland and nonchalant way a series of horrible crimes carried out by this agency of the ruling class. This liberal paper takes for granted these crimes are necessary.

It also fails to draw the obvious conclusion that it documents: The report demolishes the most cherished myth of U.S. foreign policy, that the aim of that policy is to protect and spread democracy and freedom in the world. What the report shows is a brutal and cynical agency working with any means to preserve, protect and extend the system of American imperialism.

A summary of some of the work of this agency, which puts to shame the past machinations of former imperialisms, follows:

Burma: In the early 1950's, the CIA gathered remnants of Chiang-Kai-shek's defeated armies in the jungles of northeast Burma, supplied them with gold and arms, and encouraged them to raid Com-



munist China. With the help of General Phao Sriyanod, the police chief of Thailand and a leading narcotics dealer, the Nationalist mercenaries, with U.S. planes and gold, went into the opium trade. They are still doing business in that area.

Cambodia: In 1958, the CIA mounted an operation involving south Vietnamese agents and native rebels to overthrow Prince Sihanouk because of his neutralist leanings. This effort failed.

Indonesia: That same year, the CIA flew in supplies from Taiwan and the Philippines to aid army officers in revolt against President Sukarno in Sumatra and Java. An American pilot, shot down on a bombing mission in connection with this venture, was released only at the urgent insistence of the Kennedy administration in 1962.

In 1965, the CIA chalked up greater success in Indonesia. Here is how the *Times* delicately describes this imperialist agency's part in the bloody Army takeover last October. "In Southeast Asia over the last decade, the CIA has been so active that the agency in

some countries has been the principal arm of American policy.

"It is said, for instance, to have been so successful at infiltrating the top of the Indonesian government and army that the United States was reluctant to disrupt CIA covering operations by withdrawing aid and information programs in 1964 and 1965. What was presented officially in Washington as toleration of President Sukarno's insults and provocations was in much larger measure a desire to keep the CIA fronts in business as long as possible.

"Though it is not thought to have been involved in any of the maneuvering that has curbed President Sukarno's power in recent months, the agency was well poised to follow events and to predict the emergence of anti-Communist forces."

Laos: On orders from Eisenhower and Dulles in 1960, CIA agents, disguised as "military advisers," stuffed ballot boxes and engineered local uprisings to help a hand-picked strongman, General Phoumi Nosavan, set up a "pro-American government." Later, the Kennedy administration changed this policy and negotiated with the Soviet Union and other powers to substitute the neutralist regime now in office.

Iran: In 1953, the CIA masterminded the overthrow of the radical bourgeois nationalist Premier Mohammed Mossadegh who threatened the interests of the oil companies. This piece of subversion was directed by Kermit Roosevelt who afterwards boasted of his success in bribing mobs to act against the Premier and restore the Shah to his throne.

South Vietnam: The CIA built up Diem as its prize puppet and its support sustained his tyranny until 1962. The *Times* says nothing about its more recent activities there.

Philippines: CIA money went to elect Ramon Magsaysay president in 1953.

China: A major part of the CIA's intelligence effort is of course aimed at Communist China. Among other enterprises, it sends U-2 spy planes over its territory, dispatches agents to stir unrest in Tibet, obtains information on China's nuclear capability and installations and organizes attacks on China's offshore islands.

Africa: The CIA network covers the entire continent from Cape-town to Cairo. The best known and most flagrant example of its intervention is in the heart of Africa.

Congo: After the Congo gained independence in 1960, says the *Times*, "a modest little CIA office in Leopoldville mushroomed overnight into a virtual embassy and miniature war department . . . The CIA dispersed its agents to learn Congolese politics from the bush on up, to recruit likely leaders and to finance their bids for power.

"The CIA soon found Joseph Mobutu, Victor Nendaka and Albert Ndele. Their eventual emergence as President of the country, Minister of Transportation and head of the national bank, respectively, proved a tribute to the Americans' judgment and tactics," as well as to the power of their purse.

The *Times* absolves the CIA of Lumumba's assassination, while admitting that it did play a major role in making Adoula his successor.

The present government is bought and paid for by the U.S., even though an American agent did complain at one juncture: "Purchased? You can't even rent this group for the afternoon."

In 1964, the CIA recruited and paid for "an instant air force" to help crush the Congolese rebels. This was staffed by anti-Castro Cubans, left over from the Bay of

THE MILITANT

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Pigs invasion three years before, who were enrolled in Miami. Their planes were serviced by 20 British mechanics. They strafed the rebel fighters who had ambushed a column of 600 government troops and 100 South African and Rhodesian white mercenary killers.

Algeria: The agency, writes the *Times*, "gathers special dossiers on the activities of various nationalist and liberation movements and befriends opposition leaders in such countries as Algeria and the United Arab Republic, in the hope that it can predict upheavals or at least be familiar with new rulers if their bids for power are successful.

"The CIA, long in advance, had information on the plan by which Algerian Army officers overthrew Ahmed Ben Bella last June — but it did not know the month in which the officers would make their move, and it had nothing to do with plotting or carrying out the coup."

Egypt: "Thanks to contacts with Gamal Abdel Nasser before he seized power in Egypt, the CIA had almost intimate dealings with the Nasser government before the United States drew his ire by reneging on its promised aid to build the Aswan Dam.

Ghana: The *Times* gives no information on the recent military coup against Nkrumah, although it has been widely rumored that both the CIA and British intelligence had a hand in the conspiracy that brought about his overthrow while on a trip to the Communist countries in East Asia.

Latin America swarms with CIA agents, as the *Times* indicates. "CIA analysts, reading the punchcards of their computers in Virginia can determine that a new youth group in Bogotá appears to have fallen under the control of suspected Communists, but it takes an agent on the spot to trade information with the local police, collect photographs and telephone taps of those involved, organize and finance a countermovement of, say, young Christians or democratic labor youth, and help them erect billboards and turn mimeograph machines at the next election."

The CIA has conducted two counterrevolutionary wars in Latin America so far.

Guatemala: In 1954, it engineered the coup against the reformist government of Arbenz who was not sufficiently subservient to the United Fruit Company and other American interests. One incident during this operation shows how little consideration the CIA gives to national sovereignty and international legality, not only of its opponents but of its allies. A P-38 fighter, piloted by an American, bombarded a British ship which was believed to be carrying aircraft to the legal Arbenz government.

Cuba: Seven years later, the CIA sponsored the expedition which took off from secret training camps in Guatemala and Nicaragua to invade Cuba.

Less well-known was the contamination of the cargo of Cuban sugar aboard a British freighter which had to put in for repairs in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in August 1962. When this stroke was brought to President Kennedy's attention, he was "furious, because the operation had taken place on American territory, because it would, if discovered, provide the Soviet Union with a propaganda field day, and because it would set a terrible precedent for chemical sabotage in the undeclared 'back-alley' struggle that rages constantly between the West and the Communist countries."

"Not so melodramatically," the *Times* sums up, "the agency runs dozens of other operations throughout the hemisphere.

"It provides 'technical assistance' to most Latin nations by helping them establish anti-Communist police forces. It promotes anti-Communist front organizations for students, workers, professional and business men, farmers and political parties. It arranges for contact between these groups and American labor organizations, institutes and foundations.

"It has poured money into Latin-American election campaigns in support of moderate candidates and against leftist leaders such as Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana."

Union Protests Firing Of S.F. DuBois Member

By Jim Kendrick

SAN FRANCISCO — Three hundred social workers and staff personnel of Local 400, city and county employes union, demonstrated here April 21. They were protesting the firing of Harold Supriano, 32, a senior social worker. Supriano, together with Mike Myerson, traveled to north Vietnam in the fall of 1965. Both are members of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America.

On April 14, Supriano was called into a meeting of the Social Services Commission, which has jurisdiction over the welfare department. He was given two weeks' notice and told he was discharged as of April 29.

The vote of the commission to fire Supriano was three to two. Commissioner John Riordan, representing the minority opinion of the commission, stated that the ruling was "resurgent McCarthyism." "The real issue," said Riordan, "is do we agree with the political and social matters of someone in our department."

Commissioner Douglas, representing the majority of the commission, remarked that because of Riordan's statements, "the commission system and closed personnel records have been betrayed in San Francisco."

Riordan replied, "I simply could not stomach the action being taken."

In an interview with me, Supriano said the charges against

him were for "misrepresenting the facts in 1963 concerning your trip to Mississippi," and with "misrepresenting the facts in 1965 when you resigned from the agency because of family illness." He was also told that his "activities in general were incompatible with the agency."

The agency is denying that the firing is politically inspired. However, several days after Supriano was notified of his discharge, the director circulated to every employe a bulletin attempting to quell the commotion created by the commission's action. Attached to the bulletin was a xerox copy of a leaflet issued by the Fillmore W.E.B. DuBois Club with Supriano's name on it.

On April 15, a press conference was called by Local 400 of the city and county employes union at which the firing was condemned and branded as persecution of an individual's political, social and economic views. Local 400 declared its intent to defend Supriano to the very end and to oppose his firing. John Jeffrey, executive secretary of the union, declared that the union will seek sanction from the Labor Council of San Francisco to strike in protest of the firing.

Letters supporting Supriano and demanding his reinstatement should be sent to: Mrs. M. Douglas, Social Services Commission, 585 Bush Street, San Francisco, Calif.



DR. MOHAMMED MOSSADEGH. CIA overthrew government of nationalist Premier Mossadegh of Iran when interests of oil companies were threatened by nationalization in 1953.

Gus Hall Argues Against a Social

By Joseph Hansen

In the April issue of the *Monthly Review*, Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, the editors of this internationally circulated independent socialist magazine, took sharp issue with the way Fidel Castro criticized a wing of the Guatemalan guerrilla movement. In a speech Jan. 15, Castro said that "Trotskyites" had infiltrated the movement and that Trotskyism was "a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction." The charge, said the editors of the *Monthly Review*, was "ugly and perhaps ominous." It was "precisely this accusation," they pointed out, "which provided the rationalization for the Soviet purge trials of the 1930's."

"If anything has been proved—and not least by the Soviet government itself," they continued, "—it is that the trials were a shameless frame-up; and no evidence has ever been produced to restore credibility to the accusation."

They ascribed Castro's use of "Trotskyism" in this way to either ignorance or malice. "For our part," they said, "we prefer to believe that in this matter Fidel himself is ignorant and that the malice comes from advisers who never abandoned the attitudes and methods which underlay the trials." They suggested that Fidel Castro, as a "latecomer" to the history of the movement ("for reasons which do him no discredit"), should take time out for some serious study and that "he could do worse than begin with Isaac Deutscher's brilliant three-volume study of Trotsky which is much more than a personal biography."

In addition, the editors of the *Monthly Review* called Fidel Castro's attention to the damage that was being done the Cuban Revolution by the continued silence on Che Guevara. Does Castro realize, they asked, "that every day's delay in clearing up the mystery brings anxiety and doubt to honest revolutionaries everywhere and joy to their enemies?"

They also pointed to the positive achievements of the Tricontinental Conference, disagreeing with Adolfo Gilly, who in the same issue of the *Monthly Review* declared that it was "a conference without glory and without program."

To strengthen Cuba's independent position, they called for diversification of the economy instead of relying mainly on sugar.

Finally, they reiterated their position favoring the perspective of "socialist" as opposed to "bourgeois" revolutions in Latin America.

The forthright stand taken by the *Monthly Review* on these issues appears to have dismayed the leaders of the Communist Party, USA. In the April 24 issue of *The Worker*, Gus Hall, the leading spokesman of the pro-Moscow, anti-Peking party, tried his hand at replying in an article entitled "Gus Hall Answers a Question on Revolutions."

Receives Question

Hall's answer is not exactly straightforward. It is couched as a response to a question from an unidentified "reader" of *The Worker*. As reported by the editor, the question was as follows:

"Mr. Hall, would you please explain to me what is the meaning of the following sentence in an editorial in the April issue of the *Monthly Review*?"

"... In our opinion, the only kind of revolution that has any chance of succeeding in Latin America today is a socialist revolution. We were, we believe, among the first to say that the Cuban Revolution would be forced to advance rapidly to socialism... in 1963 we stated our opinion in these pages that there is no such thing as feudalism in Latin America and that it therefore makes no sense to talk about a bourgeois revolution."

This question, if we are to believe the editor of *The Worker*, inspired Mr. Hall to take up his pen and put down his views so as to satisfy the curiosity of the inquiring reader. The correspondent who reposes such confidence in the theoretical capacities of the leading spokesman of the American Communist Party was no doubt elated at his success in eliciting this fresh example of Mr. Hall's thought. While we, too, feel a certain admiration for the audacity of the reply, we are forced to admit that we did not find it free of faults. We may as well list the main ones at once to get them out of the way.

Masterful Evasion of the Issues

(1) Mr. Hall failed to mention by a single word the repetition by Fidel Castro of the most notorious charge in the infamous Moscow purge trials of the thirties, a charge that was long ago conclusively proved to be a shameless frame-up cooked up by Stalin.

(2) Mr. Hall failed to mention by a single word the pertinence of the program of Trotskyism to the question of socialist revolutions in Latin America.

(3) Mr. Hall failed to mention by a single word the damaging silence in Cuba on Che Guevara.

(4) Mr. Hall failed to mention by a single word the strong stress placed by the Tricontinental Conference on the need for armed struggle in Latin America in view of the suppression of democratic rights throughout the continent.

(5) In place of taking up the key points raised by the *Monthly Review* editorial and considering them with reasoned argument, Mr. Hall engaged in name calling. "Among other things," he said of the editorial, "it is an ill-tempered, slanderous, personal attack on Fidel Castro and the leaders of the Cuban Revolution in general. The editorial slanders Castro as 'ignorant' and a 'latecomer,' and calls his concluding speech to the Tricontinental Conference 'ugly and perhaps ominous,' and states that Castro's 'malice comes from his advisers.'"

As to the content of this alleged "ill-tempered slander," Mr. Hall preserves a most discreet silence.

Instead of considering these important issues raised by the editors of the *Monthly Review*, Mr. Hall juggles with a single quotation torn from the editorial by the curious reader of *The Worker*. The correct label for this way of replying to the *Monthly Review* is sophistry. However, the leading spokesman of the Communist

Party does deserve praise for his dexterity in converting a multi-issue problem into a single issue.

But why this particular issue? Could it be that Mr. Hall's real aim is not so much to defend Fidel Castro as to come to the rescue of those advisers of the Cuban leader who never abandoned the attitudes and methods which underlay the Moscow frame-up trials? Perhaps Mr. Hall received an SOS.

However, let us follow Mr. Hall in his evasion of the issues and see where he comes out.

The Theory of Two Stages

He divides the Latin American revolutionary process into two distinct stages. First a bourgeois revolution, then a socialist revolution.

So obvious does this seem to him, that he immediately proceeds to illustrate his thesis by finding "obvious contradictions even in the lines that you quote." For how could the editors of the *Monthly Review* say that the "Cuban Revolution would be forced to advance rapidly to socialism" (Hall's emphasis) unless a bourgeois revolution had already occurred? "Advance rapidly" are the key words," Hall tells us. "Because if the Cuban Revolution started as a so-

"... in the conditions of Chile if a revolution was desired, it would necessarily have to be a socialist revolution." — Fidel Castro

cialist revolution it would not have had the task of advancing to it."

To clinch his argument, he cites the example of the Cuban Revolution:

"The first stage of the Cuban Revolution was anti-imperialist, was for national independence. The fascist Batista regime was a puppet of U.S. imperialism. It had to be overthrown. This was correctly placed by the Cuban revolutionaries as the first task of the revolution. After this was successfully concluded, then it 'rapidly advanced to' a socialist reorganization of society."

We note, in passing, several not unimportant omissions. Mr. Hall fails to explain why the Communist Party in Cuba supported Batista for a number of years, even accepting posts in his regime. He fails to explain why the Communist Party opposed the struggle led by Castro, considering it adventurism until the victory was in sight. He fails to explain why the Communist Party was so sluggish in recognizing the socialist character of the revolution in Cuba even long after the socialist victory of the movement led by Fidel Castro. Can the theory of the two-stage revolution which he clings to have had something to do with all that?

Mr. Hall expresses his basic thought as follows: "The error of MR is in the attempt to ignore the nature of the struggle against imperialism and to replace it with a socialist revolution. In practice such a policy would not result in a successful struggle against imperialism, and it would not set the stage for a socialist revolution."

Pursuing this idea, Mr. Hall asserts, "Most Latin American societies are a mixture of capitalism and feudalism." In addition, "the overriding dominant phenomenon facing most, if not all, of the Latin American countries... is that they are all victims of imperialist oppression."

From this it follows that the first stage of the revolution in Latin America is not socialist but bourgeois. While Mr. Hall does not state it that flatly, he does quote with approval Eduardo Val-

verde, a member of the Secretariat of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica: "Needless to say, our Party as well as the other Latin American Communist parties, unlike some 'ultra-revolutionary' groups... do not consider the winning of power by the working class and the full realization of the program of the socialist revolution to be the immediate task. The immediate prospect in our countries, as we see it, is the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution..." (Emphasis added.)

What class does face the immediate task of winning power? Mr. Hall indicates that by quoting from the program of the Communist Party, USA, which, he says, also places the question of revolution by stages "in a correct and clear manner." In the quotation provided by Mr. Hall from the program, we read:

"The anti-colonial revolutions aim to destroy imperialist domination, feudal bondage and political tyranny. In the struggle for such aims a broad national unity is attainable, including capitalist elements who chafe under the oppressive restrictions of foreign monopoly." (Emphasis added.)

The program of the American Communist Party agrees that there is a "close relation between the socialist and colonial revolutions" but insists on separating them into two "distinct" kinds of revolution.

In brief, Mr. Hall contends that due to "feudalism" and the oppressive rule of imperialism, progressive capitalist elements exist in Latin America who can be trusted to lead a bourgeois or "democratic" revolution; after which will come a new stage when it will be possible for the working class to advance its own leadership charged with the "immediate task" of winning power and carrying out a socialist revolution.

Example of the Russian Revolution

The question as to whether or not it is correct to call certain archaic social structures in Latin America "feudalism" — on which Hall challenges the *Monthly Review* — is somewhat beside the point. Engels long ago asked whether feudalism ever corresponded to its concept (in a letter to Conrad Schmidt dated March 12, 1895). The key political question — whether the owners of the latifundia are called feudalistic or oligarchical — remains the need for a radical agrarian reform.

Fortunately it is not necessary to hinge our analysis on Latin American social and political forces and the probable course of coming revolutions in that continent. We have at hand an example in which the struggle was most certainly directed against "feudalism" and which should in all respects satisfy Mr. Hall's stringent requirement that policies must be tested "in practice." This is the 1917 Russian Revolution, an example that remains very much apropos today.

Before the October victory, three main theories were projected as to the course and perspectives of the Russian Revolution. Let us note them if only in barest outline.

(1) The Populists had raised the possibility of Russia by-passing capitalist development and going directly to socialism. Plekhanov, standing on the grounds of scientific socialism, contended that Russia was not privileged and could not avoid capitalism. The coming revolution would therefore be bourgeois in character whether this was or was not in conformity with anyone's wishes.

The logical conclusion appeared to be that liberal capitalists would head this revolution under the banner of democracy. Only later would the workers be able to come forward as a class with the program of socialist revolution. This was the source of the Menshevik



That Gus Hall is surprising about socialism in Latin An

view that the Russian Revolution would have two distinct phases, would consist of two kinds of revolution separated in time and in leadership, and that the immediate task was to back the liberal bourgeoisie as the logical leadership of the first stage or first kind of revolution.

Lenin's View

(2) Lenin agreed on the scientific definition of the coming revolution as "bourgeois" in character; but he held that the bourgeoisie could not be trusted to carry out their own revolution in view of the specific alignment of class forces in Czarist Russia and the decay of the capitalist system internationally. The bourgeois revolution would have to be led by the workers.

This meant that in competition with the bourgeoisie, the working class must appeal to the peasantry, promising to give them what the bourgeoisie would not give — a radical agrarian reform. In turn, this would become the basis for an alliance with the peasantry. As to the kind of government that would emerge from the revolution, Lenin did not go beyond abstract formulas, holding that one, of the main results would be to give a big impulsion to the world socialist revolution, particularly in Europe.

(3) Trotsky agreed with Plekhanov and Lenin that the coming revolution faced bourgeois tasks. He agreed with Lenin that the only class capable of carrying the revolution through to the end was the working class and that therefore the immediate task was for the workers to seek political power, forging an alliance with the peasantry in the process by means of a program of radical agrarian reform. But once in power, what would the working class do next? It had to carry out bourgeois tasks with its own methods and its own goals and these are socialist in character! The world would witness a spectacular case of the law of combined development, in which the most advanced political, social and economic forms would be used to carry out historically superseded tasks.

Therefore, he argued, the coming revolution will begin with bourgeois goals. The proletariat will have an opportunity to take power under revolutionary-socialist leadership. In power the proletariat will transcend the bourgeois character of the revolution by establishing a proletarian dictatorship with socialist aims. Such a government cannot exist indefinitely in isolation. It will give a big impulsion to the world socialist

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revolution, particularly in Europe, and will in turn be rescued by that revolution from defeat at the hands of Russian reaction.

Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution," which he developed in 1905-07, was, of course, confirmed in life. By accepting its general prognosis in time and formulating the prospects for a Soviet republic in his famous April 1917 "theses," Lenin assured the first victory of socialist revolution and the establishment of the first workers' state in history. He rigorously corrected the Kamenevs and Stalins who initially followed the Mensheviks in supporting the liberal bourgeoisie and Kerensky's "democratic" government as against going ahead with a socialist revolution.

And in Lenin's time, the theory of "permanent revolution" was viewed as a great achievement of Marxism, for it made it possible to understand the revolutions of our time as a continuous, unfolding process rather than as isolated, disconnected, arbitrarily separated stages or "kinds." Above all, Trotsky's contribution to Marxist theory enabled revolutionists to better see the central political role that falls to the working class in the underdeveloped countries in leading society forward out of the historical impasse in which the capitalist system has landed humanity.

It was only after Stalin usurped power that the old Menshevik theory of revolution by stages and the "progressive" role of liberal capitalism was resuscitated and repeatedly offered to the world as the latest thought of the various Gus Halls trained in the school of Stalinism.

Why Did the Mensheviks Fail?

Naturally, one cannot oppose the Menshevik two-stage theory and practice simply because of its age or its unfortunate resemblance to the antiquated two-cylinder automobiles of the day. We are entitled, however, to an explanation from Gus Hall for its lack of success in 1917 and an explanation as to why, in the light of the record, it should be considered today as more likely to win in places like Latin America than the theory and practice of Lenin and Trotsky.

Mr. Hall also owes us an explanation as to just why Menshevik theory should prove superior to the theory of victorious Bolshevism in understanding the Cuban Revolution. Our own impression has been that developments in Cuba offer rather striking confirmation of the theory of the permanent revolution. To avoid swift defeat, the leaders of the

Cuban Revolution had no choice but to carry their revolution forward, passing beyond the limits of "bourgeois" goals. If they did not foresee the socialist outcome, the theory is not thereby invalidated. On the contrary, it is confirmed by the costly method of trial and error. Yet the Cuban leaders did not proceed altogether blindly. They learned something from revolutionary experience in China, Bolivia, Guatemala, previous struggles in Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America. The Russian Revolution itself was a source of inspiration to them. It remains to be told how well they studied it.

Thus we find that it requires little serious examination of the theory offered to us by Mr. Hall to find ourselves confronted by that very Trotskyism which the main spokesman of the Communist Party USA so sedulously sought to avoid even mentioning. Instead of the abstract statement in the editorial of the *Monthly Review* which the curiosity-driven reader of *The Worker* dug up, Mr. Hall might just as well have selected the following quotation from the same editorial:

Prospects Improved

"But if Fidel Castro and the Latin American Communist parties duck the question of socialism, and still more if they attack as Trotskyites all those who openly struggle for a specifically socialist revolution, then the prospects for Latin American Trotskyism will be vastly improved."

After all, that is what is really bothering the readers of *The Worker* and the circuitous Mr. Hall, isn't it?

But what about the problem of getting isolated through advancing such an "ultra-revolutionary" program as the working class to power? Or as Gus Hall puts it: "Why are these concepts so important? Because the locomotive of social revolutions are people. And people will fight for what objective processes have placed on the order of the day. Therefore, if socialism is not on the order of this day, but in spite of that, the advanced forces present it as if it is, this can only result in isolation for such forces."

We learned from Marx and Engels that "people" are divided into classes and that it is class interests that provide both the locomotive and braking power in revolutions. However, let us hear a word from Fidel Castro on this subject.

"I told them also," said Castro, referring to a Chilean delegation of Christian Democrats who came

to the Tricontinental Conference, "that I did not think that conditions in Chile permitted a revolution of that type [a bourgeois-democratic revolution], and that in the conditions of Chile if a revolution was desired, it would necessarily have to be a socialist revolution, and I explained why. Because an underdeveloped country, burdened with debts as Chile is, a country where large masses of the population live in the worst conditions, would necessarily have to strike a blow against the interests of imperialism, of the oligarchy, of big industry, of the import-export trade and of the Bank if something was to be done, to give something to the peasant masses and to the masses of workers in the country."

"And, also that to wage a battle against the oligarchy and against imperialism, the support of the worker and peasant masses was necessary and that the masses of workers and peasants would not lend support to any bourgeois revolution, because the workers and the peasants would not be willing to collaborate to serve the interests of an exploiting class."

These remarks were made by Fidel Castro in a speech given at the University of Havana March 13. Gus Hall's article appeared April 24. Since the chief spokesman of the Communist Party, USA, must read and ponder over Fidel Castro's speeches (although you would never know it to read *The Worker*), it can only be wondered why Gus Hall chose this occasion to come out so strongly against the perspective of socialist revolutions in Latin America. Was he really aiming his barbs at Fidel Castro despite the guff about rising to Castro's defense against "ill-tempered slander"?

Of course, the possibility exists that Mr. Hall might not have read Fidel Castro's March 13 speech. In that case, when he finally gets around to it, as a man of principle he will undoubtedly take on Fidel Castro in a polemic equal in vigor to his polemic against the "fundamental errors in the editorial policies of the *Monthly Review*." We look forward to seeing that. How long will we have to wait?

It should be added that the view expressed by Fidel Castro does not appear to be an isolated instance. Thus at the recently concluded twenty-third congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Armando Hart Davalos, the head of the Cuban delegation, said on this point:

"Cuba proves unmistakably that under present conditions in Latin America, a genuine revolution rapidly leads to socialism. Cuba palpably demonstrates that the struggle for national liberation, in our continent, forms an inseparable part of the struggle for socialism. Cuba makes it clear that in the Latin-American continent, the question of the working class taking power and the Socialist Revolution triumphing depends in great measure on subjective factors, on the determination of the vanguard, on willingness to win or die." (My translation from the April 8 issue of *Bohemia*.)

Mr. Hall, it appears, has considerable work piling up on his desk. We wish him luck in handling the flood of inquiries from puzzled readers of *The Worker*.

The Problem of Political Leadership

It is completely false to argue that "isolation" is certain if you take a firm stand on the Leninist principle of seeking to establish a working-class government, whatever alliances are made along the road. The masses are won through slogans appealing to their own class interests. These include democratic slogans which from a rigorously scientific point of view are "bourgeois" in character: free

speech, the right to assemble, free elections, and so on.

The truth is that nowhere in the world today can the bourgeoisie, no matter what their pretensions to liberalism, be trusted to uphold and defend democratic rights. The erosion of democratic rights in the United States is proof enough of that, as the American Communist Party and other sectors of the American radical movement have good reason to know. Leadership in the defense of these rights today falls to the working class and its vanguard parties. This increases the opportunities for them to gain a wide popular following. The political wheel is turning in their direction.

A great deal follows from the historic political bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie. If no political confidence whatsoever can be placed in the bourgeoisie anywhere on earth in defending simple democratic rights, what confidence can be placed in them in a revolutionary struggle involving economic and social structural changes that signify their doom as a class?

"Logical" Argument

It could be argued that "logically" it is up to the bourgeoisie to defend the democratic rights associated with the bourgeois revolutions that overthrew feudalism; the workers have other, more advanced historical tasks, such as initiating a planned economy and eventually a classless society. And, in fact, such an argument would be logically consistent with the position held by Gus Hall.

But class-conscious workers would only laugh at such an argument. They would be right, for the working class includes as its heritage all the gains of previous revolutions and defends them as its own. By the same right — the right of the class representing historic progress — they are not only entitled but duty-bound to strive to take power even in a country with strong feudal hangovers. They cannot trust the liberal bourgeoisie to carry out bourgeois-democratic tasks. They must project doing this themselves by their own methods and in consonance with their own socialist goals.

This lesson is particularly important in the underdeveloped countries where the bourgeoisie has emerged on the political scene too late to do anything except play a reactionary or diversionary role; but it is also not without bearing in more advanced countries where the bourgeoisie are prepared to resort to fascism.

Does vigorous application of the policy of seeking proletarian power frighten the liberal bourgeoisie? Of course. This was one of the considerations advanced by the Menshevik leaders. On the other hand, a firm revolutionary policy has the merit of attracting the best minds from the upper classes and wide sectors of the petty bourgeoisie. Many of them are capable, under competent proletarian leadership, of transcending their narrow class outlook and joining in the great forward march of humanity represented by socialism. That has been one of the teachings of Marxism since the *Communist Manifesto*.

It is not at all a matter of splitting doctrinal hairs. The question is crucial for our epoch. On this the evidence is overwhelming for all who care to open their eyes to see. We will confine ourselves to citing but two recent examples.

In Brazil, the Communist Party under the leadership of Luis Carlos Prestes followed precisely the concept explained to such perfection by Gus Hall. Everything was staked on avoiding "isolation" by leaving leadership in the hands of Goulart and Brizzola, representatives of the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, the "capitalist

elements who chafe under the oppressive restrictions of foreign monopoly." Everything was done to reject taking as an "immediate task" the "winning of power by the working class." And "in practice," what happened?

On April 1, 1964, these capitalist elements proved utterly impotent in face of a military coup d'état engineered by the Brazilian oligarchy, Brazilian business interests and American imperialism. They proved impotent because their own intimate connections with these circles paralyzed them. The result was a crushing defeat that dealt a terrible setback to the Latin-American revolution as a whole.

In Indonesia, the Stalinist (or Menshevik) concept of revolution "by stages" has just received a most fearful test in practice. The bodies of 300,000 Communists — if we accept the conservative estimate of one embassy — testify to the thoroughness of the experiment. The concept, followed by D. N. Aidit, the head of the Indonesian Communist Party, was that in the approaching revolution "first" would come a stage headed by the liberal bourgeoisie represented by Sukarno; and "then" a socialist revolution at a later stage sometime in the future.

The Communist Party had 3,000,000 members, a youth movement of another 3,000,000 members and headed an organized labor force of some 20,000,000 members. The swift rise of the Communist Party in Indonesia was due to the revolutionary aspirations of workers and peasants who took its name to mean it stood for a communist program and not the program of serving as a left cover for the liberal bourgeoisie.

What more was required for victory except clear consciousness in the Communist Party of the mortal danger of a political alliance with the bourgeoisie under Sukarno's leadership, plus firm determination to put the working class in power? D. N. Aidit, the Indonesian Gus Hall, lacked both requisites. When the reactionary generals under Nasution and Suharto decided that the time had come to strike, the Indonesian Communist Party was reduced to a shambles within a few days; the revolutionary-minded workers and peasants, caught unawares, were butchered like sheep; and D. N. Aidit himself, from all accounts, lost his life.

The historic lesson was all the clearer in that the Kremlin, which stresses "peaceful coexistence" — meaning class collaboration — was not alone in responsibility for the disaster. The Mao leadership was directly involved since Aidit stood on their side in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Like Khrushchev and Brezhnev-Kosygin, the Mao leadership approved Aidit's concept of revolution by stages. All the celebrated omniscience of Mao's thought did not lessen by one jot the catastrophic consequences of this baneful theory.

It would seem high time for the Gus Halls — or at least their followers — to consider the results of the concepts that were put into practice in Brazil and Indonesia. Those concepts spelled doom for the workers' movement in both countries. Instead they continue to peddle nostrums that have proved in practice, again and again in the past half-century, to contain a deadly poison.

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THE DODD REVELATIONS

Another Paytriotic Hustler

By Ed Smith

Next to Senator Eastland of Mississippi, there is probably no one presently in the U.S. Congress with a longer record of witch-hunting and red-baiting to his name than Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut. For 12 years in the House and Senate, Dodd has literally seen red wherever and whenever there is a movement for social progress in the country.

He smeared the peace movement at every turn, most recently during the Oct. 15-16 International Days of Protest. In 1961-62, he led the attack on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He is one of the foremost opponents of admission of China into the United Nations.

And — he is just one more petty crook, differing from many of his colleagues only in the fact he got caught.

Since 1961, nationally-syndicated columnist Drew Pearson discovered, Dodd has been putting money raised at campaign tectonics dinners in his own pocket, and at the same time, not paying income tax on it. The take? From the 1961 dinner in Hartford, \$54,455.58; \$47,000 from a gathering in 1963; \$10,000 one evening in 1964; and at a \$100-a-plate dinner last year, a grand total of \$100,000.

A former FBI agent, Dodd is no small-time politician. With J. Edgar Hoover and Lyndon B. Johnson as close friends, Dodd



Helped Needy Friend

has become a powerful figure in Washington, with positions on the Judiciary, Foreign Affairs and Space Science committees. In fact, LBJ was the featured speaker at the 1961 dinner.

Not only this, but Dodd also turns out to be the highly-valued American promoter of a group of West German business firms, according to further Pearson revelations. Dodd's link to the German firms is retired Army Major General Julius Klein, who is the \$150,000-a-year registered foreign agent

for the "Society for German-American Cooperation."

Part of the cooperation, Pearson discovered, was contributing large sums to Dodd's election campaign fund.

Reaction to the Pearson exposé was not completely one-sided in Washington. According to *Newsweek* magazine, May 2, one Dodd friend argued that Dodd, after all, "gave up a \$60,000-a-year law practice to come to Washington." In fact the considered opinion is that the Senate ethics committee will leave Dodd's campaign practices alone and stick to the Klein business.

Just in case, however, Dodd has not been entirely on the defensive. Drew Pearson reported on April 25 that the people who had helped him get the information on Dodd were under attack by the FBI, had lost their jobs and were unable to get new ones.

Unfortunately, Pearson reports, his own assistant Jack Anderson had given the names of the informants to the FBI. These were six former Dodd employees whom Pearson had taken weeks to persuade to help him with the investigation of Dodd's activities. "The G-men called on the witnesses all right," Pearson writes, "but didn't ask a single question about Dodd, his conduct, whether he had diverted funds from testimonial dinners . . .

"Instead, the FBI cross-examined these young people about the alleged theft of Dodd's documents . . . one woman, seven months pregnant, was grilled by the agents for three hours."

Pearson apologized for Anderson's mistake of giving the names to the FBI. "Not having been around Washington as long as I," Pearson writes, Anderson "labors under the impression that the FBI is anxious to rout out and suppress wrongdoing wherever it may be — even in high places."

New Issue of ISR Features 4th International Documents

The documents of the 1965 World Congress of the Fourth International have now been made available in their entirety in English translation. These are published in the special Spring 1966 *International Socialist Review*, which also contains a brief description of the congress itself. (This oversized issue of the *ISR* sells for \$1. A one-year subscription to the quarterly costs \$1.50, and may be ordered from: International Socialist Review, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.)

Held in Paris last December, the congress marked the second world congress since the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963. It brought together more than sixty delegates and observers, representing revolutionary Marxist organizations from almost all the countries of Western Europe, from many countries in Africa and Asia, as well as from North America and Latin America.

The world-wide representation at the congress is thoroughly reflected in the four resolutions published by the *International Socialist Review*. These include resolutions on the international situation, the "progress and problems" of the African revolution, the present political and economic situation in Western Europe and the Sino-Soviet conflict.

The main topics of interest of the day are those which carry the most emphasis in these resolutions. Above all others, the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam is seen as the focal point of world revolutionary activity and as the central arena of work for revolutionary Marxists.

Thus the political resolution concludes with the first task of revolutionaries being to do "everything possible to extend demonstrations upholding the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own fate and demanding the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of imperialist troops from Vietnam."

The document on Africa devotes special attention to those

countries which have undergone major transformations in the past two years: There are detailed analyses of the Algerian developments leading to the June 19 Boumedienne coup; the political and economic character of the Nkrumah regime in Ghana; sections on Mali, Guinea and Egypt; and assessments of the progress of the liberation struggles against imperialism in central and southern Africa.

Two themes are fully developed in the document on Western Europe that will be of particular interest to American revolutionaries. First is the theme that in spite of more sophisticated attitudes towards government intervention in the national and combined economies of the European states, the European capitalist class has been unable to overcome its basic internal conflicts.

And second, which is a result of the first, the uneven and contradictory developments of the European nations inevitably lead to crises with deep revolutionary implications for the working class. Far from seeing the European working class as being thoroughly integrated into the neo-capitalist schemes of the European bourgeoisie, the document points to the immense revolutionary potential of the working class, which comes to a head at various moments of history.

It is at such points, the document contends, that an experienced revolutionary leadership can play a key role in furthering the struggle to build mass revolutionary socialist movements.

The document on the Sino-Soviet conflict pays closest attention to the crisis which this debate has stirred in the international Communist movement — taking account of the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking tendencies which have developed throughout the world. There is a detailed explanation of the recent disaster of the Indonesian Communist Party at the hands of the right-wing military junta in that country.

Rhodesian Repressions Spark Guerrilla Efforts

By Dick Roberts

The following dispatch from Dar-es-Salaam was carried on the first page of the British *Sunday Times*, May 1: "At the headquarters of the Zimbabwe African National Union, one of Rhodesia's banned African nationalist parties, it was claimed that 25 white police and troops were killed and 30 wounded in battle in Rhodesia. Seven members were killed. The fight took place near Sinoia, 85 miles north of the capital, Salisbury."

This incident, we may be sure, gives only a bare inkling of the black African resistance to Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's regime. How many Africans are in open guerrilla revolt against the white supremacists, how many others have been slaughtered or imprisoned since Rhodesia parted ways with Britain Nov. 11, is impossible to determine.

However, we can be certain such repression is being carried out and possibly on a very wide scale: The usually authoritative British weekly, *The Economist*, stated April 9: "Arbitrary detention without trial has become as general a means of intimidation in Rhodesia as in South Africa itself. The silencing of protest has been carried as far by Mr. Smith as by Dr. Verwoerd, in regard to both parliament and press."

Heavy Indictment

Without intending to by any means, *The Economist* thus delivers a heavy indictment of the British Labor Party, which in essence has paved the way for the existence of a new South Africa on the "dark" continent — a new bastion of white dictatorship in an overwhelmingly black nation.

The economic sanctions which British Prime Minister Harold Wilson imposed on Rhodesia have

proved totally insufficient to bring Rhodesia into line so far, and for a very simple reason. By and large, they have been ignored by Verwoerd's South Africa, and to nobody's surprise. Verwoerd's interest in stabilizing white supremacy far outweighs the risks that might be involved in not "cooperating" with the British boycott.

Thus, while Britain finally stopped oil shipments to Rhodesia via the seaport of Beira, South Africa trucked the needed oil in from the south — a much costlier and less efficient solution, but one showing the extremes to which Verwoerd will go to protect his "master race."

Strong Pressure

But the pressure of the independent African nations on Great Britain to intervene in Rhodesia is still strong. Wilson is attempting to bring Smith to the bargaining table to work out some face-saving deal.

It is guaranteed, of course, that anything cooked up by mutual agreement between Smith and Wilson will fall far short of giving the black majority real power.

Plans that have been suggested so far reveal the true character of what kind of "concessions" Wilson is "forcing": advisory power to African tribal chiefs; one-third representation for Africans in parliament — giving the tiny white minority the two-thirds majority of votes; full African franchise in twenty years, etc., etc.

And it is likely these kinds of schemes will not meet the approval of the African masses. The outlawed parties long ago rejected the path of "compromise" governments, and the dispatch from Dar-es-Salaam may signal the opening of an important new stage in the Rhodesian Africans' struggle for independence.

30,000 Belgians . . . U.S. Escalation in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

And much against Washington's wishes, the military junta was finally forced to agree to popular elections for August 15. If these elections are conducted honestly, even within the restriction that no "Communist or neutralist" candidates are allowed to run, it is guaranteed that the Buddhist forces will win overwhelmingly.

It would then be entirely probable that the new government would seek some sort of settlement with the NLF; and fear-of-fears, a new Buddhist government might even ask the U.S. to get out.

The aerial escalation of the war in the last few weeks is directly related to these matters. Johnson and his cohorts hope that they can distract world attention from the developments in south Vietnam, inflicting new horrible damages on north Vietnam, as though this were nothing more than a game of chess.

Lay Ground

In the meantime, they will build up the U.S. troop level in preparation for a re-opening of the ground war in south Vietnam. And they will take steps toward preventing the elections from taking place, if they are not already doing so. This was clearly indicated in an analytical article by *New York Times* correspondent R. W. Apple, written from Saigon May 2.

After pointing out that the U.S. government alone has the power of deciding whether the elections take place, Apple argues that "it is imperative that Washington, as well as the American embassy here, makes it unmistakably clear that the United States favors elec-

tions . . ." If this is not done, Apple thinks, the military will feel free to stop the elections.

But, Apple declares, "To date, in the opinion of most observers, the [U.S.] embassy has not conveyed to the South Vietnamese government or to the people as a whole any great enthusiasm for the elections. The impression often given is one of grudging acquiescence."

Scaring People

What is causing some fears, even in U.S. ruling circles, is that LBJ is escalating the war in south Vietnam, coupled with serious intensification of the bombing of north Vietnam at the risk of a war with China and/or the Soviet Union.

On top of this, LBJ is taking this risk at a time when it is absolutely clear that the majority of American people are for ending the war in the shortest time possible.

This fact was categorically stated in the main editorial of the May 1 *New York Times*: "There is broad agreement about Vietnam," the *Times* declared, "as every public opinion poll shows; the country wants out . . ."

Most outspoken against the dangerous path the Democratic administration is undertaking, was Senator J. W. Fulbright in a speech delivered to the American Newspaper Publishers Association April 28.

"America is showing some signs of that fatal presumption," Fulbright declared, "that overextension of power and mission, which brought ruin to ancient Athens, to Napoleonic France and to Nazi Germany. The process has hardly begun, but the war which we are now fighting can only accelerate it."

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.]

A Correction

New York, N. Y.
I read with interest your article on the Tricontinental Conference (April 18) in which you discuss the approach of *Monthly Review* and the articles by Cedric Belfrage in the *National Guardian*.

For the record, Belfrage was not in Havana for the conference. His article on Jan. 22 was dated Mexico City. Had he been present and not had to rely on second-hand reports, I believe the first article would have been quite different in its conclusions.

The long lapse between the first article and the second on

April 2 was due to his serious illness from which he has fortunately recovered.

Aside from this correction, I thought Harry Ring's article was eminently fair.

James Aronson
Editor,
National Guardian

Uncle Lyndon's Liniment

Austin, Texas
Some weeks ago I mailed you the original censored "Mother Baines Snake Oil" cover of the *Texas Ranger*. At the time, I mentioned that a campus fraternity (yes, a real Greek organization) was planning to use the cover design for a label for facsimile medicine. Now they have done it.

Enclosed is one of the labels from their "Uncle Lyndon's Lemon Liniment," which sold out during the Varsity Carnival, a Greek Affair held annually here.

Members of the fraternity tell me that Linda Bird Johnson came by their booth, accompanied by a date who bought six bottles of the stuff — while she blushed!

At any rate, I have on hand some of the labels, which in the name of our SDS unit, I will gladly turn over to anyone kind enough to help us defray mailing expenses.

The labels are gummed on back, and may be stuck almost anywhere. Someone, I suggest, should affix them to napalm bombs. They seem to be his favorite medicine.

Dick J. Reavis
SDS, Box 7076
University Station
Austin, Texas 78712

Question on Vietnam

Los Angeles, Calif.
I find it very difficult to believe that a Soviet or Chinese version of "Redeye," the hand-held, guided anti-aircraft rocket for infantrymen, could not have been provided the Liberation forces of Vietnam a long time ago.

The relatively simple homing device has been known for many years. The need for a Liberation "Redeye" for defense against U.S. fascist copters and planes has been apparent for a long time. They could be used against tanks, trucks and boats too.

Why were they not provided?
E.Z.

Stumped by Terminology

New York, N. Y.
In the May 2 issue, the "It Was Reported in the Press" column refers to the fact that people are starting to grow "victory gardens" again. The use of this term is baffling to me, having never heard it mentioned in either the Marxist classics or New Left jargon. Please explain.

T.R.
[Our apologies to the post-war generation. The term is neither old or new left but old war. During World War II the government encouraged people to cope with the vegetable shortage with a do-it-yourself program in the back

yard. You were expected to call your cluster of beans a "victory garden." EDITOR.]

Fan Mail Dep't

Beach Haven, N. J.
Please renew my subscription to your wonderful paper.

After reading my introductory subscription for four months my husband and I would not be without it. We especially enjoyed your coverage of the International Days of Protest.

Lauren L. Gleim

Will Do

Los Angeles, Calif.
I received your letter notifying me my subscription is expiring. I am one of the victims of the imperialist-engineered overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. I am not in a position to pay to renew my subscription but I shall be pleased if you would continue sending the paper.

I shall pay in June when I start working for the summer. I am a socialist and shall keep up my obligation. I quite know *The Militant* is the only source of information I want.

R.B.

On Socialism

Santa Cruz, Calif.
There has been so much derog-

Thought for the Week

"I believe the concept that we cannot abandon Asia to communism is false, because by inference it implies that Asia is ours to abandon."
— From a speech to the Indianapolis Young Democrats by Robert Vaughn, the TV "Man from U.N.C.L.E."

atory garbage peddled by the brain trust of the power structure that the schools need to know more about socialism — how people would live under it and what it takes to get it, etc.

Since the ruling class would be hurt by socialism, one can't condemn them for lying about the "Red menace." They are organized to perpetuate their profits — they are organized, and we are not. Anyhow they control the educational institutions and cannot be expected to agitate for socialism. But when the U.S. imperialists can no longer meet the needs of Americans they will not be able to resist the demands of our people for change.

We will have to set up committees or councils of progress with a congress of delegates constituting a democratic centralized body responsible to the working class with penalties for betrayal. This would develop into a cooperative commonwealth, with a socialized economy as its objective, and people would, as fast as possible, work

at the thing they are best suited until a transition period adjusts workers to the needs of society as a whole — production for use and not for profit.

Automation under private ownership is bad for society now, but under collective ownership it would be good. As machines do the work of man, the hours of daily labor would shorten to the least possible time and workers would at last have leisure for the finer things of life — art, science, literature, travel, abundance and security.

Many customs would change. Household drudgery would be allotted through a division of labor, family style. Wages and conditions of employment would be settled by the councils of workers and farmers, who are better equipped to know and deal with them than politicians or bankers.

Wars would no longer be fought, since the spoils of war would have no appeal for the people already well taken care of.

H.C.B.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

WHY STALINISTS BACKED SMITH ACT AGAINST SWP — Without blowing any trumpets or even devoting an article in the *Daily Worker* to it, the American Communist Party has nonetheless declared that it was wrong in supporting the first use of the Smith Act in the celebrated Minneapolis Labor Trial of the Socialist Workers Party leaders . . .

The April 22 issue of the *Worker* carries a report of a lecture by John Gates, the paper's editor, in which the following passage is found: "Among mistakes of the American Communist Party, Gates cited its failure to carry on a fight against the indictment of the Trotskyites under the Smith Act. 'For while we despise the political views of the Trotskyites, that does not justify us in our failure to take a forthright position on their arrest and conviction.'"

Gate's description of the Stalinist line as a "failure to take a forthright position" is not the understatement of the year, but a deliberate falsification. The American CP was very forthright. In fact it was brazen. It was for the prosecution! And it fought with every dirty means available the movement to defend the civil liberties of the first Smith Act victims. — May 7, 1956.

20 Years Ago

As the power of the 400,000 soft coal miners in the fifth week of their national strike made itself increasingly felt throughout American industry, the Big-Business government last week launched an open drive to intimidate the miners. It aims to force them back to work without securing their demands for safety conditions and a union health-and-welfare fund.

President Truman on May 4 took the lead in an intensified strikebreaking pressure campaign when he issued a statement which claimed that the mine strike constitutes a "national disaster." The statement embodied a report of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

This scare-head report was clearly designed to throw responsibility for the strike and its economic consequences on the miners. Truman has remained silent, however, about the criminal disregard of safety rules and measures by the coal operators. He has tacitly upheld their arrogant refusal to consider the just demands of the miners. — May 11, 1946.

It Was Reported in the Press

Ky? Never Heard of Him! — "The President resents much of the criticism leveled at him and his Vietnamese policy, particularly the charge that by 'embracing' South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Cao Ky at the Honolulu conference he contributed to the political unrest that nearly unseated Marshal Ky . . . As he sees it, it was not Premier Ky but the needs of the south Vietnamese people that he 'embraced' at Honolulu." — The April 27 *New York Times*.

Tricky Business — The *New York Times* series on the CIA says: "If the CIA has 'bought the madam,' as one official put it, of a house of ill-fame patronized by influential citizens or officials of a host country, the Ambassador doesn't know it and probably doesn't want to." But suppose he's a steady customer?

Free World Weapon — Navy scientists have trained porpoises, carrying explosives in body harnesses, to ram enemy submarines.

Prize - Winner — "STENNE-BOSCH, South Africa (*Reuters*)— This year's Hendrik Verwoerd Award is to go to Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. The Verwoerd Trust Fund, set up to honor the prime minister and recognize exceptional service, announced the award today."

Tough-Situation Dep't — The chief of *Life's* Saigon bureau complained about the use of tear gas against demonstrators there. He said it made it difficult to take pictures.

Note to LBJ — A subcommittee of the California State Legislature apparently hasn't heard about the 3.2 percent wage increase "guideline." The committee favors a state referendum to hike the pay of members of the legislature from \$6,000 to \$18,000.

Freedom Fighter Detained — Esteban Ventura, former Batista secret police chief who fled to freedom in Miami, was booked with six associates on charges of operating a \$15,000-a-week numbers racket.

A Famous Victory — Nobody has figured out what Johnson's "war on poverty" will do for the poor, but it has been established that it will provide a definitive victory over poverty for the 6,484 jobholders who will carry on the war. They will draw total salaries of \$53 million. Three hundred and ten of them will knock down between \$17,000 and \$30,000 per annum.

Status — A group of 27 business and public figures from San Francisco were slated to fly to the USSR April 27. One was Al Maisin, longshoreman and home-

builder. Members of the group wanted to improve his image by listing him in the official brochure as "Specialist in Freight Handling." He insisted on being listed as "Member of Local 10, ILWU." However, a Harold Treskunoff was listed as a "Food Service Specialist." He's a waiter.

Rising Prosperity — The Internal Revenue Service reports that a recently concluded survey of 1963 tax returns showed 371 taxpayers reporting incomes of more than \$1 million, as against 355 the year previous.

A Suggestion — We were interested to note that the so-called civilian police review board established by New York's Mayor Lindsay will use cops to investigate citizens' complaints of police brutality. The explanation is that this will save the cost of hiring civilian investigators. We have a better suggestion. Assign each investigation to the cop charged with the act of brutality. Already acquainted with the facts of the case, he'll be able to dispose of it in record time.

—Harry Ring

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Deportation Board Hears 'Man Without a Country' Wins Ouster of Principal

By Paul Eidsvik

APRIL 29 — The case of Joseph Johnson, the Minnesota socialist declared "man without a country" and ordered deported from the United States, was argued last week before the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C. The Appeals hearing, which was the latest legal step in Johnson's long fight to regain the American citizenship stripped from him in May 1964, resulted in a significant legal advance in Johnson's defense.

His case was brought before the three-man board by Leonard Boudin, the eminent constitutional attorney provided by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and by Douglas Hall, a well known Minneapolis labor and civil liberties attorney.

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service charges Johnson lost his American citizenship by allegedly participating in Canadian municipal elections in 1958. The INS claims that he took an oath of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth II as part of the election process, nullifying his American nationality.

Their case was recently weakened when they dropped parts of the charge against Johnson, and referred in the deportation order only to the alleged oath of allegiance and the sections of the 1952 Immigration and Nationalities Act pertaining to it.

Douglas Hall argued in his presentation that the oath referred only vaguely to any national loyalty, that it contained nothing about renunciation of American citizenship and that it was not the type of oath specified in the Act as grounds for the stripping of citizenship. He further argued that the only evidence connecting Johnson with the oath he purportedly took was a statement taken from him at the time of his re-entry into the U.S., when he knew nothing of the charges against him and had no access to an attorney.

Leonard Boudin then presented the constitutional issues in the Johnson case. He pointed to the consequences of making a precedent by stripping a native-born American citizen of his nationality and making him a "stateless" person.

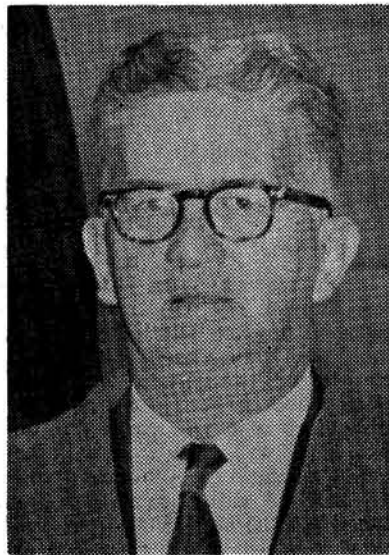
Boudin stated that while the Board of Appeals could not challenge the law itself, it should in

making its decision take note of the constitutional issues and recognize that the Immigration Act itself was in a new and unclear field of constitutional law.

The Immigration Service attorney's rebuttle of the defense arguments was based on a review of the relationship of the King and Queen of England to the country, dating back to the 15th century. His claim that the disputed statement wasn't the only evidence connecting Johnson with the oath of allegiance resulted in Douglas Hall asking pointedly where this evidence was and why it hadn't been introduced. The INS attorney was unable to answer.

In other developments in the case, the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, the defense committee formed to publicize the case and to raise the funds necessary for the defense, announced the opening of a new national office in New York. The new address of the committee is: Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, P.O. Box 434, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, N. Y. 10009.

Johnson himself is now on the final leg of a 17,000-mile national tour sponsored by the committee. It has brought him, so far, to nearly twenty major cities across the United States, which has recently resulted in the gaining of a number of prominent new sponsors, including Dorothy Day, Carl and Anne Braden, and Dr. Howard Zinn.



Carl Braden

Watts Negro Wins Acquittal On Charge of Shooting Cop

WATTS, Calif. — Philip Bently Brooks, Negro father of four, was freed April 26, after a jury declared him innocent in the shooting death of a deputy sheriff during the Watts uprising of last August.

Deputy Ronald Ludlow was killed during the disorders when the shotgun of his partner Deputy William Lauer discharged, striking him in the stomach. He was the only white person killed in the Watts revolt.

Brooks, Joseph Lavine, Jr., and Harold Potts, were driving in Watts when approached by the armed deputies. After one deputy shot the other, the three Negroes were dragged from their car, beaten, carted off to the jail section of the county hospital and charged with murder, although none had a weapon or had touched the trigger that fired the fatal shot.

Potts and Lavine were held without bail for four months and then released following a court decision. Brooks, held for nearly seven months before he was freed

on bail, was finally brought to trial on the murder charge that ended in his acquittal. He was represented by Attorneys Kenneth R. Thomas and Ben Wyatt.

In freeing Brooks, the jury rejected the claim by Deputy Lauer that the defendant had grabbed at his shotgun, causing the gun to go off. Brooks testified that the gun discharged when Lauer struck him on the elbow with the gun stock.

Several local groups came to Brooks' aid to raise funds for the legal defense and to publicize the case. These included: Brooks Defense Committee, Southside Citizens Defense Committee and Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights.

The Brooks Defense Committee published a ten-cent pamphlet on the case which can be obtained by writing to: Brooks Defense Committee, c/o Southside Citizens Defense Committee, 1020 1/2 Compton Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., 90002. Contributions to cover the legal costs can also be sent there.

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — Students of Northern High School here claimed an unprecedented victory after a four-day boycott of their substandard ghetto school. The boycott was triggered by Principal Arthur Carty's refusal to allow the school paper to carry an article critical of the educational situation at Northern. The article, written by senior Charles Colding, correctly charged that the education available at Northern and other predominantly Negro schools was inferior.

Protesting the principal's censorship, 2,300 students marched around the school on April 7. The demonstration had been banned by Principal Carty, but this decision was overruled by school Superintendent Samuel Brownell who "authorized" the action. As a pamphlet put out by the students explained: "Brownell boasted that he authorized the demonstration . . . What he failed to reveal was that for three hours before the demonstration he did all he could to prevent it. He was powerless!"

Sent Letter

In a letter to Brownell, the students said they would not return to school until Principal Carty and police officer Lucas, who patrolled the school grounds, were removed. It was signed by the three students who led the student protest: Judy Walker, Michael Batchelor and Charles Colding. In an April *Detroit Free Press* interview, 16-year-old Judy explained, "I am willing to give up everything to fight for an education. If we don't have an education, we don't have anything . . . Negroes must do something to get ahead. They can't stay behind. When I think of the abuse of Negroes in the South — and to a degree here in Detroit — I get mad enough to fight."

There were immediate results from this letter. The police department reassigned Lucas. Brownell called Carty in to "discuss the Northern situation" and assigned assistant superintendent Charles Wolfe to replace Carty at Northern.

After Easter vacation the students returned to school but on April 20, after a fruitless meeting with the Board of Education, they staged a mass boycott vowing, "not to go back until Carty leaves." The next day it was announced that a Freedom School was being set up for the students by a group of Wayne State University professors.

Throughout the boycott the Freedom School attracted the bulk of Northern's 2,300 student body. Faculty at Northern reported empty or nearly empty classes day after day.

A number of telegrams from clergymen were sent to Dr. Gregory, Freedom School principal, asking that similar Freedom Schools be set up in other neighborhoods. The situation at Northern was typical of all inner city high schools. Because of these common problems there was an all-city meeting of high school students to plan sympathy walk-outs to express their solidarity with Northern's demands.

Rev. Albert Cleage, 1964 candidate for governor of the now-defunct Freedom Now Party, urged the students to carry out the sympathy walk-outs and also to picket the Board of Education offices. Cleage announced the formation of a new group, Citizens to Aid Northern, which threatened to defeat school tax hikes in the upcoming May 9 election.



Rev. Albert Cleage

Efforts of school officials, and appeals from "community leaders," to pressure parents into forcing their children back to school failed. State law requires children from 6 through 16 to attend school.

The sentiments of the parents were expressed by their attendance at mass meetings, their support of the Freedom School and their picketing of the Board of Education offices. One parent's sign read: "We Should Have Done This 20 Years Ago." A number of lawyers volunteered their legal services to help parents charged under the state compulsory attendance law.

The younger militant teachers at Northern backed the students all the way during the organizing and carrying out of the protests and boycott. Of the 88 instructors at Northern, 62 are members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, and 31 of these issued a public statement supporting the students and volunteering to teach in the Freedom School.

The teachers at Northern had been filing grievances against Principal Carty, but the grievance machinery was cranking out justice very slowly. As a result of the crisis precipitated by the student boycott, the DFT took the unusual step of filing a package of grievances against Carty in the name of the whole union.

The Federation added its weight to the student demand to oust

"In March the weekly spendable income of the average manufacturing worker with three dependents — measured in constant prices — was no higher than a year earlier, although he was working somewhat longer hours. Does anyone imagine that labor will continue to show moderation in its wage demands when prices and profit margins are continually rising?" — Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

through letters and phone calls Carty. It demanded that "the Board of Education place Northern High School under immediate 'trusteeship' by naming an acting principal for the rest of this term . . . it is obvious that the testimony of Northern teachers in any investigation of that school would be worthless as long as Mr. Carty is in a position to invoke reprisals against those who might speak against him."

In addition to the massive pressure exerted by students, parents, teachers and ghetto organizations, new forces were constantly being drawn into the struggle. Church and civic groups expressed sympathy with the students' cause. Marcellus Ivory, a UAW representative and graduate of Northern, announced the formation of a Northern Alumni Association to further education at Northern. Michigan State Senator Basil Brown asked the Senate to investigate all Wayne County schools with special attention to Northern.

After the students returned to Northern on April 26, Superintendent Brownell met repeatedly with Carty, the three student leaders and union representatives. Brownell asked Carty twice to voluntarily request reassignment. Carty refused stating "such a decision would be morally indefensible." He explained that if he stepped out of the situation "I will be helping convince high school students that success in life can be achieved through sustained disregard for the authority of the community."

His Backing

Carty was supported by the School Administrators Council and the Detroit Federation of Administrators and Supervisors; Carty is a member of both groups. Martin Kalish, president of the latter group said that any request by Carty for reassignment would "obviously be a result of mob pressure. We operate our schools based on the authority of the teacher and the principal. How do we operate schools if the students know they can put out a teacher or a principal or anybody else? . . . How do we control nearly 300,000 students in the Detroit school system if pupils are allowed to dictate that a principal must be fired?"

But Superintendent Brownell announced on April 29 that Carty would definitely not return to Northern. The students had won their demand and had made their point: something has to be done about Northern right now!

One of the most outstanding features of this struggle was that it was entirely student-conceived, student-organized and student-led. A small attempt at witch-hunting was launched by the local press when it was announced that the students were involved with the Detroit chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and West Central Organization (WCO), a community action group. The students had asked for legal advice from CORE and had used some of the facilities of WCO but all decisions and all plans were made by the students themselves and carried out by students.

It is unhappily true that the problems at Northern, as at all ghetto schools, cannot be solved through the removal of one man or by an investigating committee or by a four-day boycott no matter how well planned. But the students have shown the kind of militancy, determination and organizational skill that will be essential to a continuing struggle for a decent education for all.