

N.Y. Cops Cook Up Fake Story About 'Hate-Gang' in Harlem

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DeBerry Says Wallace Vote Shows Failure of Liberals

The large vote for Alabama Gov. Wallace in the Wisconsin primary shocked the white liberals because it punctured illusions they have tried to maintain, Clifton DeBerry, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, told press conferences in the Midwest.

"Since Wisconsin is a liberal-Democratic state, the fact that Gov. Wallace can receive such a large vote proves the bankruptcy of liberalism," DeBerry declared. Gov. Wallace stands for segregation Southern style, and received 34 per cent of the total vote in Wisconsin. To me it means that if he were to tone down his segregation to encompass segregation Northern style, he could possibly have won. I believe it is the white liberals who are surprised, not the Negro people."

DeBerry also commented on J. Edgar Hoover's allegation that "communists" have "infiltrated" the civil-rights movement. It was, he said, "an insult to the intelligence of the Negro people." Hoover "obviously believes that Negroes do not know of their own problems until some one trained in Moscow or some place else comes to tell them. This report is an attempt to begin a witchhunt, as a device to divide and break up this militant civil-rights movement."

"It is amazing to me how the CIA-FBI can know all about communism in Cuba, communism in the civil-rights movement, or so they say, but they cannot find the murderers who bombed the church in Birmingham, killing four Negro children."

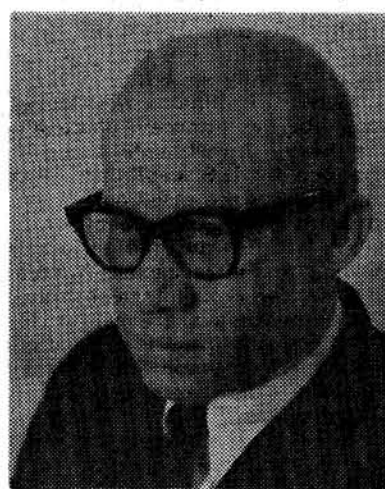
DeBerry addressed the May Day meeting of the Militant Labor Forum in Denver. He was also interviewed by a TV station and three radio stations. Both the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Post* carried stories about his visit to Colorado. He is now touring the West Coast.

In Michigan the Youth Commit-

Brazil Junta Takes A Leaf from U.S.

The U.S.-sponsored military dictatorship in Brazil has adopted an interesting refinement of the "loyalty" oath technique to help it in its attempts to silence opposition. The Ministry of Education is requiring all government employees to fill out a "statement of ideological convictions." This requires that they state whether they have any "ideological position."

To be double sure, the government is asking for a list of all friends and relatives who have "subversive ideologies." The Castello Blanco regime is empowered to remove employees at will.



Clifton DeBerry

tee for DeBerry and Shaw has plunged into the campaign. It has distributed 10,000 leaflets at high schools and colleges, explaining the issues of the campaign and the need for independent political action.

At Wayne State University in Detroit, Ron Jameson, speaking for the Youth Committee, debated Marty Slobin, spokesman for the WSU Young Democrats on "Which Road for Youth in the '64 Elections?" High-school members of the committee participated in a week-long mock election campaign at a downtown Detroit school. A multi-party mock convention voted the nominating speech given for DeBerry the best. Several students spoke in the classrooms for the DeBerry-Shaw ticket.

In 1961, the tragedy of Thalidomide, the drug that caused deformities in unborn babies, burst upon the world. The scandal was so horrifying it seemed as though all drugs from then on would be properly tested before being allowed on the market.

Such is the race for profits among the giant drug companies, however, that it looks as though more disasters are on the way — and for exactly the same reason: drugs are sold to the public without sufficient prior testing.

George P. Larrick, the U.S. Food and Drug Commissioner, testified in Washington April 28 before a Government Operations Subcommittee on Drug Safety that more than a dozen fatal cases of hepatitis and 54 cases of liver damage were attributed to a muscle relaxant called Flexin, which was also used for gout. On the market for five years, it was finally suspended by the FDA in 1961.

Larrick also said that a similar drug, called Paraflex, made by the same company, is still on the market. The McNeil Laboratories

Nationalists Prime Target Of Frame-Up

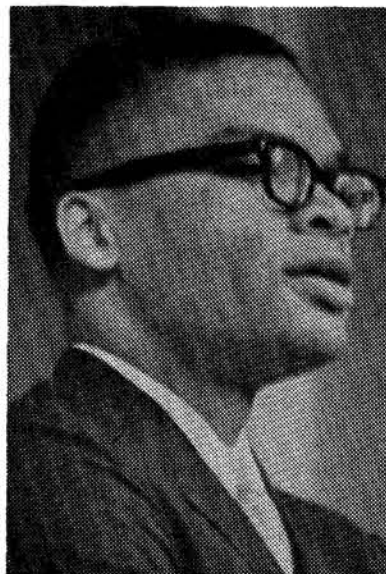
By William Bundy

NEW YORK, May 13 — The sensational story about an organized gang of young Negroes, trained by "dissident Black Muslims" to kill whites in Harlem, is a hoax. The story originated in assertions to the press by police officials — who remain anonymous — and in absolutely nothing else. The assertions were figments of the police officials' imaginations but they were picked up and embellished in an irresponsible and hysterical campaign by several major New York City newspapers.

The planted stories are an attempt by police to prepare the ground for massive repression of anticipated struggles by Harlem Negroes against the intolerable conditions of everyday life. The campaign appears designed in particular to frame-up or lay the groundwork for a future frame-up of the black nationalist movement led by Malcolm X. This section of the Negro equality movement is the main target because it has been the consistent and strongest defender of the most oppressed people in Harlem.

Here are the facts about the hoax: On April 29, a white couple was found knifed in their clothing store at 3 West 125th St. The woman, Margit Sugar, was killed and her husband, Frank, was seriously wounded. Police said witnesses saw a group of Negro youths leave the store shortly before the stabbings were discovered. (A careful reading of all the newspaper stories to date reveals that this is the only hard evidence so far reported on this case despite the mass of scare headlines.)

Within two days, five young Negroes, who live in the area around 129th St. and Seventh Ave., were arrested and charged with the crime. They are: Ronald Felder, 18; Walter Thomas, 18; Willie Craig, 17; Daniel Hamm, 18; and Robert Rice, 17. Police announced a search for a sixth youth, Wallace Baker, 19, who,



Lee Forest

James Shabazz

they said, was probably the actual knife-wielder.

Despite the scare stories about these youths being part of a specially-trained gang of murderers with an ideological motivation, Baker gave himself up voluntarily May 4. (Hardly the action of a trained underground desperado.) Newspapers reported that some of the youths confessed to one or more murders, but these alleged confessions have been repudiated, according to the youths' attorney, George Sena.

Police announced that the youths were being questioned about three other unsolved murders of whites in Harlem.

On Sunday, May 3, the *New York Times* carried a lurid article by Junius Griffin flatly stating that "a gang of about 60 young Negroes who call themselves 'Blood Brothers' is roaming the streets of Harlem with the avowed intention of attacking white people. They are trained to maim and kill," said Griffin by "dissident Black Muslims."

The source cited by Griffin for this was "a high-ranking police official in Harlem." The official was not named and absolutely no evidence reported to back up the assertions.

On May 6 the *Times* featured a front-page article by Griffin which is a marvel of absurd contradictions. The headline read: "Anti-White Harlem Gang Reported to Number 400. Social Worker Says its Members Are Trained in Crime

and Fighting by Defectors From Black Muslims."

This story claimed to be based on information from "a researcher [not named] from Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU), an organization financed partly by the city and partly by the federal government to diagnose the social, economic and educational ills of Harlem."

The story asserted that the alleged gang was trained by Black Muslims who left the Nation of Islam when Malcolm X did, decided Malcolm was too mild, and then proceeded to organize a terror campaign.

The story also contained the statement that members of the gang "are used as drug pushers and numbers runners." Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell pointed out May 8: "That kind of gang would not be interested in an anti-white program because their bosses in numbers and narcotics are white."

On May 7 the head of HARYOU, the widely-respected Dr. Kenneth Clark, flatly repudiated the *Times* story and said HARYOU "had not a single bit of evidence" that such a gang exists.

The *Times*, however, bulled right ahead with the slander. It carried a May 8 editorial once again asserting the existence of the alleged gang and declaring, "It must be firmly repressed by the police." The *Times* buried Dr. Clark's repudiation of its front-page article in the middle of a story which appeared several days later on page 67.

The newspapers and the police attempted to link the arrested youths to Malcolm X by stating that one of them had asked his mother to get in touch with Malcolm's aid, James Shabazz. In a symposium at the Militant Labor Forum May 8 and in a statement to *The Militant*, Shabazz gave the following details:

The first time he had seen any of the youths involved was on April 12, when he saw a crowd gathering at 129th St. and 7th Ave. The crowd had formed after police from the 32nd Precinct had broken onto a nearby rooftop with drawn guns and hauled down some youths who had been flying homing pigeons. (The police are reportedly campaigning to keep people off roofs for fear they will store bricks up there to be used as missiles.)

The youths expressed fear of being beaten at the police station so Shabazz went there "to see that nobody go hurt because we know what happens in police stations in Harlem."

Five days later, Shabazz was asked by a couple who came to

(Continued on Page 2)

PROFIT-HUNGRY MANUFACTURERS

More Lethal Drugs Found on Market

of Fort Washington, Pa., makers of the drug, are a subsidiary of Johnson and Johnson, the huge medical supply company.

According to a front-page article in the April 29 *N.Y. Herald Tribune*, Paraflex is suspected of causing liver damage in at least nine people. Furthermore, although the FDA has permitted McNeil Laboratories to sell the drug since 1959, it is only now — five years later — that the agency has discovered its files contain no proof that the drug actually performs its advertised function as a muscle relaxant.

Illegal Handling?

Meanwhile, McNeil Laboratories' handling of Flexin has been referred to the Justice Department for possible criminal prosecution. It seems that the company has been trying to put Flexin back on the market, and the FDA thinks it submitted fraudulent information to the government in order to win permission to do so. As an example of how the McNeil Laboratories work, the *N.Y. Times* of April 29 reports that in 1958,

while asking the FDA to allow the drug to be used for the treatment of gout, the drug company said that Flexin had produced no irreversible toxic reactions on patients. However, Larrick said, "the facts are that at that time the firm had received reports of seven deaths from hepatitis of patients who were also taking Flexin."

An FDA official told the *Herald Tribune* that Flexin was one of two "drug situations" referred to the Justice Department for action. He would not reveal the name of the other drug. The FDA decided to take action on both after a grand jury indicted the William S. Merrell Co. of Cincinnati for submitting "false, fictitious and fraudulent" information to the FDA to gain approval to market MER/29, "which was subsequently removed from the market because it caused cataracts and other serious side effects. . . . The FDA charged Merrell with submitting false data on the effects of MER/29 on animals in laboratory tests."

Planter Beats Slavery Charge

A white tobacco planter was acquitted by an all-white jury on May 1 in South Carolina's first slavery case in almost 50 years. Technically, slavery is against the law in South Carolina.

The Negro farm hand, who brought the complaint, testified that when he had asked for a day off to go into town, the planter tried to shoot him, declaring: "You're going to work or I'm going to kill you." When the gun misfired, the tobacco grower gave him as severe pistol whipping on the head and face. He then shoved the bleeding farm hand and his wife into his jeep, drove them back to the tobacco field and forced them to resume work.

U.S. Plants Anti-'Red' Books To Brainwash American People

By Jay Garnett

For those who think the American people are either so brainwashed or so cowed that they are beyond becoming critical of the "American Way of Life," we have encouraging news for them. Some very important people don't think so.

In fact, the U.S. government is so unsure of its public that it is deeply involved in trying to "educate" them without their knowledge — but using their tax money for the effort.

The United States Information Agency admitted May 2 that it had spent \$14,950.10 to have the book, *The Strategy of Deception: A Study in World-Wide Communist Tactics*, "developed" and then to further subsidize it with an order for 2,000 copies.

This fact is in no way indicated either on copies sold in this country or those distributed abroad. To label them government-financed, the USIA officials explained would undercut their "propaganda value" overseas.

Reed Harris, the USIA's Information Center Service director, says public funds go to support books "written to our own specifications, books that would not otherwise be put out, especially those books that have strong anti-Communist content."

To close what appears to be an "anti-Communist book gap," the agency is asking an increase in its "book development" appropriation from \$90,000 to \$195,000.

Involved in the deceptive dealings by which *The Strategy of Deception* was written to government order and then foisted on unsuspecting readers, was the "independent," social-democratic magazine, the *New Leader*. Its late editor, it has been revealed, contracted with the USIA to produce a satisfactory manuscript and arrange for an American publisher to bring it out. The payment to the *New Leader* was \$12,000.

The odor surrounding that sanctimonious rag is fast becoming unbearable. Only last fall it was exposed in another scandal when a Senate committee accidentally uncovered the fact that a public-relations firm in the hire of Chiang Kai-shek's government had paid it \$3,000 to run a pro-Chiang article.

By law the USIA is supposed

to restrict its propaganda to areas outside the U.S. But it has been secretly subsidizing propaganda aimed at U.S. readers.

Have you been amazed at the huge, unending flow of "anti-Communist," pro-cold war books being published in this country? It is time for a full open investigation to let the public know what percentage of these books are produced on order by pen prostitutes in the pay of the USIA and other government agencies engaged in brainwashing the American people.

Texas Students Hear Socialist

A young socialist stirred up a free-speech controversy in the Texas panhandle simply by accepting an invitation to speak at Texas Tech in Lubbock. Peter Camejo Valdez, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, who was slated to speak on the campus on April 30 as part of the Tech Union's "Spotlight on Latin America" Week, was banned by the college president, Dr. R. C. Goodwin.

"I regard it not necessary for him to be on our campus," said Dr. Goodwin. The Unitarian church in Lubbock, however, made its facilities available to the students and some 200 came off campus to hear Camejo's speech in defense of Cuba and the Latin American revolution.

Most of them were hearing for the first time about the ruthless exploitation of the populations and resources of Latin America and the Cuban experiment in socialist planning. Although not sure whether they agreed with everything they heard, the vast majority was thankful for the opportunity to consider "the other side."

Texas Tech is one of those Southern schools where increasingly open-minded youths are faced with a backward administration. In this particular case, the American Association of University Professors recently voted to continue censure of the college for infringement on academic freedom.

Case of Uhuru Ends in Mistrial

By Norma Lodico

DETROIT — The case against five members of Uhuru, a militant black nationalist youth organization here, ended May 1 in a mistrial.

The five were arrested last August on charges of causing a disturbance during a protest against a city-sponsored ceremony aimed at getting the 1964 Olympics for Detroit.

Uhuru and the housing committee of the Detroit NAACP, which also protested the ceremony, held that this city was an unfit site for the Olympics because of discrimination.

The Uhuru members were accused of "hooting, howling and screeching at the singing of the Star-Spangled Banner." A white NAACP member, who was tried and acquitted earlier, testified that he had heard no such disturbance.

The jury consisted of eleven whites and one Negro. Three cops claimed that the defendants had booed the national anthem. Another witness failed to recognize any of the defendants as having participated in the alleged disturbance. One defendant, John Watson, had not even been present at the demonstration.

Defendant John Williams was pointed out by another prosecution witness as having participated in the alleged disturbance. During a recess Williams swapped shirts and chairs with a spectator. Thereupon the witness "identified" the spectator as having been one of the "disturbers."

After the judge had ruled against admission of a film taken at the ceremony, the prosecution summoned a news broadcaster to the stand and began questioning him about the film. Upon objections of the defense counsel, the judge thereupon declared a mistrial.

The Wayne County prosecutor grumbled that the administration would be toughening up on civil-rights demonstrators who "break the law." Some interpret this as meaning the Uhuru members may be retried.

"The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities." — Lord Acton (1834-1902).

Chicago Sets Pace for Militant Drive; Will Try for 1,000 New Subscribers

By Karolyn Kerry

Supporters of *The Militant* throughout the country have set their sights on a substantial increase in our list of new readers during the current special introductory-subscription drive which began May 15 and will extend for a period of two months to July 15.

In the past week the response to the appeal for new subscribers published in our last issue has netted 50 new subscriptions. In addition, the New York contingent of The Militant Army, conducting a pilot project as sort of a warm-up for the subcampaign, netted 75 new introductory subscriptions.

As in our previous sub drive, the Chicago group has set the highest target, a quota of 1,000 new readers for the two-month period.

Yours for the Asking

For books and pamphlets on Cuba, the Freedom Now struggle, the labor movement, socialist theory, send for a free copy of our catalogue.

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United Action Gains 800 in S.F. Protest on Vietnam

By Gordon Bailey

SAN FRANCISCO — The highly successful rally held here May 2 to protest U.S. intervention in Vietnam was sponsored by the broadest united-front committee assembled in this city in recent years. The open-air rally, in which about 800 people participated, was sponsored by an Ad Hoc Committee of 26 organizations. Among them were pacifist groups, various socialist organizations, student groups and women's organizations.

Chairman of the rally was Asher Harer, longshoreman and former leader of the San Francisco Fair Play for Cuba Committee. "While the few hundreds assembled here may seem a small group to some," he told the demonstrators, "actually we represent the great majority of the world's people. The real minority is the small clique of generals, financiers and politicians who are attempting to impose their will on the people of Vietnam and other areas of the world. We stand with the great majority against this tiny minority and eventually we will win."

Vincent Hallinan, well-known civil liberties attorney, pointed to the heavy investments made in Vietnam by U.S. capitalists since the French were eased out. "I was in South East Asia recently," he said, "and I saw the sickening poverty that always exists in areas of American economic penetration. The industrialists are calling for sacrifices by American soldiers and American taxpayers, but they themselves are coining millions out of this dirty war."

Ann Spake, a representative of Women for Peace, called for pulling American forces out of Vietnam and for carrying out the provisions of the Geneva agreements of 1954.

Mary Ellis of the Berkeley Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance, pointing out that neither the Republicans nor Democrats intended to end the war in Vietnam, called for a break with those two parties of Big Business. As a step

towards independent political action she cited the campaign of Aaron Chapman, who is running for state assembly as an independent Freedom Now candidate. She also urged support of Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, Socialist Workers Party Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates.

Other speakers were Dr. Tom Brewer of the Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Disarmament; John Thomas, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee against American Intervention in Vietnam; Mrs. Margaret Driggs of Progressive Labor; and Nguyen Van Huy, a representative of Vietnamese Americans in San Francisco. Over \$200 was taken up in an on-the-spot collection.

Plans of the Ad Hoc Committee called for a march through the Presidio, a military base within the city limits. Roads through the base have been open to civilian traffic ever since the base was established over 100 years ago. However, a helicopter circled over the rally, officers with binoculars surveyed the demonstration, and a detachment headed by a lieutenant colonel prepared to repel the "invaders."

The demonstrators marched up to the Presidio gate and their spokesmen asked permission to proceed on the public road through the Presidio. They pointed out that other peace groups had been allowed to march there. However, a curt "permission denied!" closed the public thoroughfare for the first time in history.

SEATTLE — A picketline of 60 in front of the U.S. Courthouse here protested U.S. participation in the war in South Vietnam May 2. The demonstration was called by the Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in Vietnam, which was supported by the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, Young People's Socialist League, as well as some Friends and members of peace groups.

... Harlem 'Hate-Gang' Story

(Continued from Page 1)

his office to help them lodge a complaint at the precinct. A melee had broken out on 129th St. where some children had apparently snatched fruit from a stand. The woman said some cops had clubbed children and one policeman had pointed a pistol at her seven-year-old son.

"The mother had the officer's badge number — 19851," said Shabazz, but the police at the station "gave us the runaround." While at the station, Shabazz inquired if any of the youths arrested in the incident needed medical attention. He was told they didn't. He later learned, he said, that at that very time, "four youths were being whipped with a special instrument with wadding around it so it left no mark. They were also being called nasty black Muslims, had oranges rubbed in their face, and were spat upon."

"Another thing that happened that day," said Shabazz, "was that a bystander, who saw the policemen clubbing the kids near the fruit stand, asked 'what is this,' and was hit by a policeman and had his eye put out . . . The city is being sued about this. But this never came out in the papers."

Shabazz continued: "After this, the police consciously patrolled around that neighborhood and slapped a number of kids around. Junius Griffin — the fellow who wrote the articles in the *Times* — can testify to this because he came and told me he witnessed a cop smack a kid at 129th St. just because he was smoking a cigarette."

"No reports have appeared in the papers that these youngsters around 129th St. were the ones the police had been harassing all

along. Now when this murder occurred on 125th St., no one, to my understanding identified these particular youths, but as soon as it was said that there were young men involved, the police ran up to 129th St. and just picked up these youngsters who had been involved in these previous incidents.

"Now I became labeled as the 'legal advisor' to this group, whom I had never seen before I happened to run into the crowd there on April 12. And that's about the story. Now I've been accused of being a 'Mau Mau organizer.'"

Shabazz pointed out that one of the murders said to have been committed by the alleged gang occurred last October, but that "our organization didn't come into being until March 10th." He continued: "Minister Malcolm hadn't opened his mouth between December and March 8 because he had been silenced by Elijah Muhammad. Now we are expected to believe that between March 10 and April 20, a group left the Nation of Islam, joined Minister Malcolm, found within these 40 days that he was not moving fast enough, rounded up 400 youth, indoctrinated them in the Muslim doctrine, convinced them that Minister Malcolm was a conservative, organized them and trained them to commit murder and mayhem throughout the Harlem community . . ."

"All of this is being blamed on Minister Malcolm at the time he's in the holy city of Mecca completing a religious obligation and traveling back and forth in Africa, enlisting support and sympathy for the Afro-American struggle here in America."

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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

CHICAGO

THE ATTACK ON THE TEAMSTERS AND THE PERSECUTION OF HOFFA. Speaker, Frank Lovell, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Governor of Michigan. Fri., May 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

MILTON HENRY, Militant civil-rights attorney and state committee member Freedom Now Party speaks on Proportioned Underground Guerrilla Warfare. Fri., May 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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

LOS ANGELES

ANNUAL MAY PICNIC. Sunday, May 24, from noon on. Elysian Park, Ground No. 1. For information and reservations call AN 9-4953 or NO 2-2490. Ausp. Militant supporters.

NEW YORK

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN on Arthur Miller's controversial new play, *After the Fall*. Fri., May 22, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE HOFFA TRIAL. By Fred Cook. An article in the Nation, April 27, 1964, 35¢.

Reporter Fred Cook demonstrates that the federal case against Teamster President, James R. Hoffa was nothing less than a frame-up, which brought about Hoffa's conviction only because of consistent co-operation between the Chattanooga court and the federal attorneys. Heavily documenting the 24-page article with the actual court records, Cook exposes wire-tapping, threats, intimidation, and informing, as the main fabric of Attorney General Robert Kennedy's tactics to entrap Hoffa.



James Hoffa

Convicted Thug

The substance of the case against Hoffa rests on the testimony of Edward Grady Partin, a several times convicted thug in the Baton Rouge Teamster's union, whose trial on 13 counts of falsification of union records, 13 counts of embezzlement, indictments on charges of first-degree manslaughter and leaving the scene of an accident, and indictment for kidnapping, have all been postponed since early October, when Partin went into the service of the Justice Department.

The only link that the prosecution presented in Chattanooga between Hoffa and the alleged Nashville jury tampering is Partin's statement that Hoffa boasted to him in private conversation about fixing the jury.

The rest of the case consists of a bevy of intimidated state witnesses — none of whom was actually connected to Hoffa—who supposedly took part in one of three alleged attempts to bribe jurors. Few of these witnesses survived the trial with a consistent line.

Jury Not Always There

According to Cook, about 60 percent of the case was heard by Chattanooga Judge Wilson *voir dire*, that is, in the absence of the jury. Such hearings included a Hoffa defense witness, Frederick Shobe, who informed for Hoffa on the special unit of the Justice Department assigned to investigate him. Shobe, who defected from the government, revealed the extent to which the Justice Department team was willing to go "to get him by any means, fair or foul," including plans to kidnap and terrify one witness to get him to cooperate with the prosecution.

At one point in the trial, one of the co-defendant lawyers, James Schiffer, announced plans to expose the surveillance of defendants during the Nashville trial, where Hoffa was alleged to have tried to fix the jury. When Schiffer returned to his hotel room, during the recess, he found that his files had been rifled, and all the docu-

ments prepared for exposure were missing.

The surveillance Schiffer planned to expose had been discovered by Bernard B. Spindel, an expert in wire-tapping and electronic eavesdropping. Spindel had been hired by Hoffa to detect FBI surveillance during the Nashville trial.

Throughout the entire trial, Spindel discovered, the FBI wire-tapped all phone calls to Hoffa and followed his every step, radioing this information to a central headquarters and taking numerous photographs. Hoffa's ability to plan a defense during this case was thus completely jeopardized.

However, the court is not obliged to enter such evidence and Judge Wilson withheld most of Spindel's findings. Schiffer's criticism of the ruling, at this point, was incisive: the trial not only showed that the Justice Department would use frame-up tactics against labor unions, but that the courts would prevent unions from presenting a fair defense against these tactics.

New Developments

Recent indications that the United States is weighing moves to make Hoffa's legal fees liable to personal income tax shows that the government may go even further to deprive union members of their legal rights.

Hoffa's fees in the Nashville and Chattanooga trials have been paid by the Teamster's Union — and these are no small sums, as can be easily imagined. It has gotten to the point where only a powerful union could employ such counter-informing and counter-surveillance tactics, as were necessary to expose the government frame-up in the Hoffa trial.

An individual unionist would not stand a chance against the apparatus of the federal government, without the financial and legal aid of his union. By making these fees liable to personal income tax, on the ridiculous grounds that they are "gifts from the unions," the government hopes to smash union protection of its members.

It is a serious indictment of the judicial system in this country that one must have the power and resources of the Teamsters to defend himself against the frame-up tactics of the government. Yet even this defense will be in real danger if the government is successful in its newest proposed attack on Hoffa.

—Dick Roberts

If you wish to know what a man is, place him in authority.

Yugoslav proverb

Chester, Pa., Hit By New Protest On School Bias

MAY 6 — Street demonstrations against school segregation have been resumed in Chester, Pa. The demonstrations, which began April 17 and were climaxed by the closing of the city's schools April 22, were temporarily halted after "Bloody Friday" April 24 when some 160 police brutally attacked 100 marchers on a downtown street.

In announcing the halt, Stanley Branche, chairman of the Chester Freedom Now Committee declared: "This is not a moratorium on demonstrations. We only want to get the idea of peaceful demonstrations back into perspective."

The month-long series of protests forced the intervention of the State Human Relations Committee which is holding hearings on the segregation issue. The hearings, however, have so far resulted in no action, and on May 4, street demonstrations were resumed when some 150 persons marched through the business district shouting "Freedom!"

The resumption of demonstrations was denounced by Phillip Savage, Tri-State Secretary of the NAACP, who said it violated an agreement with government officials for a moratorium on street protests.

Sharp Criticism

Freedom Now Committee Chairman Branche sharply criticized Savage for "running out" on the demonstrations. Speaking to a rally of the May 4 marchers, Branche said Savage had agreed unilaterally to the moratorium. Referring to the "Bloody Friday" events, Branche said Savage "took the people into the streets and then deserted them."

[An article in the May 4 *Militant* stated incorrectly that both Branche and Savage were in jail during the "Bloody Friday" demonstration and were not involved in this incident. Actually, Branche was in jail at the time, but Savage was not. A report in the April 25 *Philadelphia Bulletin* states that Savage was at the demonstration, but that he left before the arrests began.]

Branche said of Savage: "This silk-suit-wearing manipulator led our people to the slaughter and then ran for his life. We don't need people like that."

Branche said relations with the Philadelphia NAACP and its chairman Cecil Moore were not involved in the dispute with Savage.

For background story on Chester struggle see page 8.

Parley Will Map Fight In McCarran Act Case

NEW YORK — The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born has invited supporters of civil liberties to participate in a special conference Saturday, May 23, at 1 p.m. in the Century Room of the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd St. The conference's main focus will be the legal fight against the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Committee register as a "Communist-front" organization.

On April 27 the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review the Committee's case. This is the first and only "Communist-front" case now pending before the Supreme Court.

In an April 28 release, the Committee points out that its fight against the registration order affects the entire community and its organizations. If it is forced to register under the McCarran Act, the future existence of all organizations, fraternal societies, trade unions, civil-rights and peace groups will be subject to the whim of the SACB.

AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM Mass Civil Disobedience Discussed

By David Herman

NEW YORK — James Shabazz, aide to Minister Malcolm X; Rudolph Jones, director of the Bronx Community Council on Housing, and Robert Vernon, contributor to the *International Socialist Review* and *The Militant*, participated in a symposium at the Militant Labor Forum May 8 on "Mass Civil Disobedience for Civil Rights."

James Shabazz pointed out that advocacy of civil disobedience as an effective method of obtaining civil rights posed a dilemma.

"For if you must break the law to obtain rights, then who will legally guarantee you the right that you have obtained by breaking the law?" he asked.

"On the other hand, mass civil disobedience is one step toward a solution to a problem which is brought about by the law's refusal to obey itself."

In a sense what is needed, he said, is more civil obedience rather than more civil disobedience. Noting that the Declaration of Independence gives a people the right to separate on the basis of stating their grievances, he listed some of the grievances of the American Negro people. The Bill of Rights of the Constitution guarantees people the right to bear arms, he continued, and the Negro people of the U.S. should exercise that right.

In conversation after the forum, Shabazz asserted that the basic law of the U.S. had been framed to defend the Americans against the British, and that the Negroes were in a similar position with respect to the whites in this country that the colonists had been in with respect to the British.

He declared that the World's Fair stall-in had been a tremendous success.

[See the article on page one for Shabazz's comments on the "Blood Brother" frame-up.]

Rudolph Jones discussed the meaning of the term civil disobedience.

"A nice, peaceful picket line . . . is not civil disobedience. The rent strike itself is not civil disobedience . . . Now the rent strike will become civil disobedience when all of Harlem decides it is not going to pay rent even when the courts tell them to pay rent — they're not going to pay rent for any reason until certain demands are met.

"Defy the courts, defy the law — then a rent strike is civil disobedience. And we're not too far from that," he said.

He pointed out that there can be no integration until civil rights and equality are first won. He continued:

Symposium Slated On Harlem 'Gang'

NEW YORK — The Militant Labor Forum will hold a special symposium on the subject, "Behind the Harlem 'Hate-Gang' Scare." It will be held Friday evening, May 29, at 116 University Place.

Participants in the symposium so far include Socialist Workers presidential nominee Clifton DeBerry and a representative of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. Representatives of other community organizations are also expected to participate.

Forum chairman Priscilla Ring announced that invitations to take part in the symposium are also being extended to a Police Department spokesman and to reporter Junius Griffin who has been writing the sensationalized stories on the issue in the New York Times.

"What does this mean? This means that within the ghettos in this country, black America is going to have to become a powerful force to be reckoned with. It is through that force they will be recognized as an equal. Throughout history no one has recognized begging, pleading . . .

"I see the ghettos as becoming powerful political forces."

Robert Vernon discussed the differences between the North and the South in terms of what tactics were appropriate. He pointed out that whereas the tactic of non-violence was appropriate in the opening stages of the struggle in the South, and had been effective in organizing mass movements there, it never was appropriate in the North.

Discussing the question of Negro-white unity and the present tempo of the Negro struggle, he said:

"It takes two to tango, but suppose you don't want to tango — suppose you want to twist. Well then there's the question of whose music you're going to dance to. The only swinging party that's going on in the U.S. right now is the Negroes. That's the thing that's moving things these days."

Vernon pointed out that in the North the big thing that was missing was political activity to forge political power in the ghettos.

An enthusiastic, overflow crowd attended the forum.

7 Ky. Miners Beat Frame-Up; Gov't Readies New Charges

A Whitesburg, Kentucky, Circuit Court acquitted Berman Gibson and six other members of the coal miners' roving-picket movement of charges of armed robbery and assault with intent to kill. The jury decided May 1 that Gibson and his followers had not attacked several men who drove through their picket lines in October 1962. Under Kentucky law, the charges carried possible death sentences.

The roving-picket movement unsuccessfully fought the coal operators' campaign to drive down wages and working conditions in the mines of East Kentucky. "This is just another of a long series of attempts by the coal operators and their political friends to use the local, state and federal police and courts to deny the coal miner his right to organize," was Gibson's comment on the trial.

Harry Caudill, Whitesburg attorney and author of *Night Comes to the Cumberland*, assisted Dan Jack Combs in the defense.

The key prosecution witness did

not even correctly identify the scene of the alleged incident. Moreover, his testimony contradicted that of the other prosecution witnesses in many particulars such as the weather and road conditions at the time of the alleged crime.

Local authorities continued their harassment during the trial. They arrested defense attorney Combs for "drinking." Combs was held overnight on the trumped-up charge and not allowed to contact a lawyer to get him out of jail. He said he had never before received such humiliating and degrading treatment.

Gibson and seven other miners go on trial July 14 on another frame-up. They will appear in federal court on charges of attempting to blow up a railroad bridge leading to the mines. The defendants face two counts, each of which carries a possible 20-year sentence. The destruction of the railroad trestle, which they are accused of plotting, never took place.



Robert Kennedy

THE MILITANT

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Monday, May 18, 1964

The New Threat Against Cuba

The possibility of a new attack on Cuba has been raised by the announcement from Havana May 5 that an arms cache of U.S. origin has been discovered in shallow water off Cuba's north coast.

"Qualified sources" in Washington are reported to have admitted U.S. agents planted the cache — but claimed it was done two years ago and that "this method" is no longer used. (The hypocrisy of imperialist diplomacy has no limit. Not long ago, Washington was pressuring all Latin governments to break ties with Cuba on grounds that Cuba had allegedly planted an arms cache in Venezuela.)

The planting of this cache seems to be part of a current buildup. Persistent reports from Cuban exile and diplomatic quarters speak openly of counter-revolutionaries training in Central America, Venezuela and Puerto Rico. "Castrologists" from the State Department gloat over the Cuban leaders' concern with this new threat.

State Department-inspired stories are giving a big play to the activities of Manuel Ray, head of the so-called Revolutionary Junta, who publicly brags of a landing on Cuba by May 20. The Johnson administration reportedly will not support Ray's adventure, although it sympathizes. However, according to one report, the CIA is paying Ray, and the Navy and Coast Guard have promised not to interfere with his infiltration of men and arms into Cuba.

Once again the Cubans seem to have caught Washington in hostile preparations. Coming at a time of increased tension over the U-2 plane flights and Marine provocations of Cuban guards at Guantanamo, this should be an alarm signal for all defenders of the Cuban revolution, of self-determination, and of simple human decency. They must demand of the Johnson administration: Hands off Cuba! No more sabotage, terror, or Bay-of-Pigs attacks!

The Vote for Wallace

Liberals and labor fakers have long fostered the fable that the only anti-Negro elements in the Democratic Party were in the South, that the rest of the party stood for civil rights, and that the party had only to rid itself of the diehard Southern segregationists to become a progressive liberal-labor organization.

Alabama Governor Wallace's campaign in the Northern primaries has given the lie to that. Wallace, remember, is the man who personally stood in a doorway, trying to prevent even token school integration. His sadistic state troopers with their clubs, hoses, dogs and electric cattle-prods have made Alabama a synonym for racist police state.

That such a notorious hate-monger can poll big votes in the primaries reveals deep reservoirs of racism in the Northern sections of the Democratic Party.

Northern Democratic politicians try to conceal this cancer in their party. They belittled Wallace's entry in the Wisconsin primary. When he polled 34 per cent, their alibi was that, after all, this was still a minority of the total vote. In Indiana he won some 30 per cent of the Democratic vote and a majority in the most industrial county. He is expected to do even better in the Maryland primary. The "explanations" of liberal and labor apologists for the Democrats get more and more threadbare.

Anyone who is really for civil rights has no place in the Democratic Party. Support for the Democrats not only strengthens the grip of the white-supremacists in the South and in Congress, it helps maintain a structure in the North riddled with racism.

Those fighting for racial equality need a political party of their own which will stand unambiguously against racism and tolerate no equivocation on this among its leaders or supporters anywhere.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$ 1,000	\$ 792	79
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	870	73
Baltimore	150	110	73
Denver	250	177	71
Chicago	1,800	1,200	66
Boston	850	555	65
New York	5,800	3,680	64
Philadelphia	300	175	58
St. Louis	100	55	55
San Diego	350	184	53
Allentown	150	75	50
Milwaukee	350	150	43
Seattle	600	217	36
Los Angeles	5,000	1,651	33
Cleveland	600	191	32
San Francisco	800	165	21
Oakland-Berkeley	500	107	21
Newark	250	47	19
Connecticut	200	00	00
General	300	186	62
Totals through May 12	\$20,550	\$10,587	52%

WAS THE CIA AT WORK?

The Rightist Coup in Laos

By Steve Graham

The right-wing military coup in Laos fits into a pattern of stepped-up U.S. intervention in the nations of what used to be French Indo-China. Against prospects of a guerrilla victory in South Vietnam, the Johnson administration is desperately trying to build up military counterpressure in Southeast Asia.

This step-up of intervention is expressed in Washington's threats to "extend" the war by attacking North Vietnam, in Johnson's announcement that more GIs and aid will go to South Vietnamese dictator Nguyen Khanh, and in U.S. efforts to draw its military allies of SEATO into the war.

American officials and the press have tried to give the impression that the right-wing Laotian generals acted on their own without U.S. approval, and that the U.S. has bent every effort to reverse the coup and restore the three-way coalition government set up by the Geneva conference of 1962. But U.S. operations in Laos have two faces.

The behind-the-scenes role of the Central Intelligence Agency has been a major part of Laotian history since 1954, when the French were defeated in Indo-China and the U.S. elbowed its way in. CIA assistance for the right-wing generals in the civil war of 1960-1962 was notorious.

The real power in the recent coup is the head of the secret police, Gen. Siho Lamphouthacoul. The CIA, as a rule, built up secret-police and intelligence networks in the Asian areas into which the U.S. moved after World War II — Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, etc. The "Special Forces" which the CIA built up for South Vietnam dictator Diem's palace guard were still receiving secret payments from the CIA at the very time they launched the brutal attack last August against the Buddhist opposition.

The undercover actions of the CIA through the Laotian secret police, while publicly deplored by U.S. diplomats, dovetail neatly with U.S. diplomatic maneuvering. The rightists were "dissuaded" from formally taking over the government; in turn, "neutral" Premier Souvanna Phouma acceded to the right-wing demand that the coalition government be reorganized, making the right-wing predominant.

Thus the formality is preserved.

SOCIALIST FUND

Why YOU Should Contribute

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

I would like to address an appeal to all *Militant* readers to make their contributions to the Socialist Workers Party's Socialist Campaign Fund.

I want to tell you *why* it is in your own best interest to support this campaign.

The SWP fights for *human* rights as opposed to property rights. It advocates a shorter work week, full unemployment benefits for the duration of unemployment; full, free education for every child; good housing, hospitals, schools; socialized medicine to assure health as a right not a privilege.

The SWP has been a consistent supporter of the Negro people's militant fight for civil rights and equality.

There are two lost generations — the younger and the older — in America today. The SWP demands for the youth the right to a place in the sun, not in an imperialist army fighting colonial peoples. Older people have their right to that sunlight, too. It is not only the 18 million retired people who



PRINCE BOUN OUM. Corrupt playboy aristocrat was government figurehead for Laotian rightists before 1962 Geneva accords. He is a close associate of right-wing leader, General Phoumi Nosavan.

The "neutral" premier installed by the Geneva conference remains. The "neutrals," however, have now merged with the rightists; all influence of the left-wing Pathet Lao in the government is ended. And the U.S. has a "friendlier" government to work with.

Diplomatic efforts are being made to persuade the Pathet Lao to accept the coup and the rearrangement of the government that flowed from it. Thus far it has refused and is warning of the danger of resumption of civil war.

Why has the U.S. risked upsetting the delicate balance of the coalition government? Kennedy and company agreed to it after May 1962 when the right-wing Laotian forces were collapsing and it looked like the Pathet Lao would sweep the country. Under the Geneva agreement, the civil war was called off. The right-wing forces were thus able to keep control of the strategic Mekong River valley and the main cities

along that river, while the Pathet Lao held the hills to the east.

Now the U.S. seems to feel it must strengthen its military foothold in Laos by abandoning the fiction of "neutralism." Strong indications of such intentions may be read in recent news reports.

According to the April 30 *New York Times*, Defense Secretary McNamara recommended to Johnson, upon returning from Saigon, that "commandos" could be used to "strike at Communist bases and communications trails in Southern Laos" as a way to put pressure on North Vietnam. Gen. Khanh was reported to have gotten the "OK" from the Laotian right-wing for such border crossings. The dispatch also said no forays would be made "without specific directive from Washington."

A related revelation appeared in the April 6 *Aviation Week and Space Technology* magazine, in an article written in Saigon. It was publicized and inserted into the *Congressional Record* by Sen. Wayne Morse, (D., Ore.) in one of his recent speeches calling for U.S. withdrawal from South Vietnam.

The article says that "hit-and-run guerrilla-raid and infiltration moves" from South Vietnam "as far north as China" have already occurred. "With U.S. backing in aircraft, weapons and money, an estimated 50,000 elite South Vietnamese troops [one tenth of Gen. Khanh's half million armed forces] are being trained to take the offensive in over-the-border strikes at Communist supply centers and communication routes," the article revealed.

Cargo Company

"Key factor in the current raids is airlift provided by Air America, a U.S. cargo company incorporated in Delaware under a maze of legal obscurities that camouflage its U.S. government [read CIA] sponsorship."

"Air America has been flying in Laos under charter to the U.S. Aid Mission in Vientiane" [the administrative capital of Laos, now controlled by Gen. Siho], the article relates, adding that the Pathet Lao has protested the military use of the Air America line. The Pathet Lao is holding five Americans captured last September "when their Air America plane was shot down . . . on a supply-dropping mission for right-wing elements," according to a May 1 AP dispatch.

Justly alarmed by the increased military intervention on its border, the North Vietnamese foreign ministry issued a statement April 20, the day after the Laotian officers staged their coup:

"It is a known fact," said the foreign ministry, "that this group of officers has long been fostered by the U.S. imperialists; therefore, its acts cannot be separated from the overall interventionist and aggressive policy of the U.S. in Laos."

"In the last ten years, U.S. imperialists never ceased to intervene in Laos to turn it into a colony of a new type and a military base to attack the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and other socialist countries and suppress the national liberation movement in Indo-China and Southeast Asia."

"Due to its failure in armed intervention, the United States had to accept the formation of the tripartite national union government in Laos and sign the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos. However, it has continuously violated the Geneva Agreements and sabotaged the national union government and its policy of peace and neutrality."

"The *coup d'etat* of April 19th was precisely aimed at undermining the national union government, the policy of peace and neutrality of Laos, and the Geneva Agreements reached between the three parties in that kingdom."

RADIO ADDRESS BY MICHIGAN SOCIALIST CANDIDATE

Urges Withdrawal of GIs from Vietnam

[The following speech, delivered at the May Day celebration of Detroit's Friday Night Socialist Forum by Evelyn Sell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Michigan, was broadcast May 11 over radio station WQRS-FM in Detroit.]

Every three days an American is killed fighting in South Vietnam. Every day the United States government pours another \$1½ million into a military dictatorship that got into power by murdering its chief of state and remains in power by terrorizing its countrymen. Every day we come closer and closer to turning the "dirty little war" in South Vietnam into World War III.

Little bits and pieces of the true situation in Vietnam are now being revealed in the daily press as the Republicans and Democrats engage in the good old-fashioned American mudslinging that goes on during an election campaign. The administration's foreign policy is fair game for politicians out to pick up votes from the growing number of citizens who are voicing their opposition to American involvement in the South Vietnam civil war.

Glad to score a few hits against a Democratic administration, Republican House leader Halleck quoted from letters written by Capt. Edwin G. Shank who was killed on March 24 while participating in an air strike against South Vietnam freedom fighters. On Nov. 27, 1963, Capt. Shank wrote home, "Although this is called a 'dirty little war' and it is far from the shores of old U.S.A., it's a big mean war. We are getting beat." Capt. Shank was very disturbed over the fact that the folks back home didn't know that he and his buddies were fighting and dying in a war that America was losing. On Jan. 7, 1964, he wrote, "How our government can lie to its own people — it's something you wouldn't think a democratic government could do."

The United States government has been lying to us for a long time about Vietnam. It's been lying through its teeth ever since it got into the war 15 years ago.

In 1949 the Truman administration came to the aid of the French by subsidizing their campaign to regain control over the Indochina colony which they had lost to the Japanese during World War II.

"Dirty War"

During 1950-51 the U.S. paid 15% of the costs of France's "dirty war." This figure rose to 35% in 1952 and jumped to 45% in 1953. During 1954 America was paying 80% of the costs of the war. Truman had gotten us in and Eisenhower kept us there. Eisenhower was elected because he promised to end the war in Korea but here he was building up a new Korea.

In spite of this tremendous amount of American aid, in spite of \$11 billion and 400,000 troops fighting fiercely for nine years, France was decisively beaten at Dienbienphu in the summer of 1954. During the peace talks in Geneva it was agreed that Indo-China would be cut up into four states: Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam. According to this Geneva Agreement, elections were to be held within two years, by July 1956, in order to let the Vietnamese people decide whether they wanted to reunify their country.

These elections were never held. For five years we've been hearing the American government complain that Castro has not held elections in Cuba. Yet it was the American government that put Ngo Dinh Diem in power in South Vietnam — and this dictator refused to hold any elections — and the U.S. continued to support him as a hero of the "free world!"

The Diem government — creat-

ed, supported and organized by U.S. personnel — was so oppressive that in 1960 a whole series of peasant uprisings broke out. As the Diem administrators and local police were killed or driven away, local governing committees and self-defense groups were set up. These local committees were then linked together in a nation-wide organization in December, 1960.

This organization, the National Liberation Front (NLF), is made up of former resistance fighters against the French, leaders of opposition political parties, intellectuals, persecuted religious groups, peasants fleeing from government concentration camps and minority peoples threatened with extinction by the Diem troops.

At its Congress of 1962 the NLF called for free elections, withdrawal of American troops and the creation of an independent neutral South Vietnam.

Great Majority

It is the National Liberation Front which our government calls the Viet Cong or guerrillas. The National Liberation Front is the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people — but our government pretends that it is really "Communist invaders from the north."

When Kennedy came into office in 1961 he inherited this situation that Truman had gotten us into and Eisenhower had nurtured. As the South Vietnamese people stepped up their struggle against the hated Diem, Kennedy stepped up American support to the dictator. During Kennedy's first year in office, U. S. military aid to Diem totalled \$216,000,000 and during this year American troops participated actively in actual combat. During Kennedy's second year, he was sending over \$400,000,000 and a U.S. command was actually directing military operations.

Your tax money was being used to foot 80% of Diem's military budget. Your sons, husbands and friends were already fighting and dying in this secret war.

It wasn't a secret war to the Vietnamese people but it was a secret war for the American people who were being fed a bunch of outright lies about American military personnel stationed in the Far East. According to the terms of the Geneva Agreement all foreign military assistance groups were limited to 685 persons but by 1962 there were at least 4,000 American troops in South Vietnam. Our government got around this legal technicality by saying that these Americans were merely "advisers."

In his letters Capt. Shank told his family what these "advisers" were in reality: "What gets me the most is that they won't tell you people what we do over here. I'll bet you that anyone you talk to does not know that American pilots fight this war. We — me and my buddies — do everything. The Vietnamese 'students' we have on board are airmen basics. The only reason they are on board is in case we crash there is one American 'adviser' and one Vietnamese 'student.' They're stupid, ignorant sacrificial lambs . . ."

GIs Sacrificed

Unfortunately, Capt. Shank and all the other Americans killed in South Vietnam were "ignorant sacrificial lambs," too.

Our government kept feeding us the lie that we were helping the people of South Vietnam defend themselves against totalitarian Communist invaders from the north. The truth of the matter is that the South Vietnamese were forced to defend themselves against the dictatorial regime installed by the U.S. government. The South Vietnam troops have had so little stomach for this war against their own people that they

have deserted by the tens of thousands. In 1961, 15,000 Saigon troops deserted; 29,000 deserted in 1962 and 45,000 in 1963.

Whole battalions go over to the guerrillas every month and they come with their American-supplied weapons and their American-taught know-how in the arts of war! The Americans have been doing a bang-up job of training guerrillas for the Viet Cong! And with their tortures, oppressions and corruption, the South Vietnam dictatorships have been doing a bang-up job of creating millions of recruits for the guerrilla movement.

Millions of peasants were transformed into freedom fighters during the infamous "Operation Sunrise" which was planned and directed by U.S. military men during 1962. Here's how it worked:



Evelyn Sell

Diem government troops would invade a village, force the peasants to leave their ancestral homes, burn the houses and destroy the crops. The peasants would then be forced into "strategic villages." These villages were surrounded by moats, barbed wire and bamboo walls and patrolled by troops.

Real Aim

The American public was told that these people were being protected from Communist invaders. The real aim of "Operation Sunrise" was to break up the peasants into small defenseless groups so that they could no longer provide the guerrillas with hiding places, food, medical care, information and weapons. The one basic, unalterable feature of guerrilla warfare is that it cannot exist for long without popular support. Diem and the U.S. were trying to drive a wedge between the Viet Cong and the people but it was an impossible task because the Viet Cong are the people and the people are the Viet Cong.

"Operation Sunrise" turned into "Operation Sunset." By the middle of 1962 most of these concentration camps were overthrown by the peasants and whole villages became a part of the resistance movement. Instead of being imprisoned behind the moats and walls of the "strategic villages," the peasants turned them into armed forts against the Diem troops. Now it was the troops that had to get out — and take their American advisers with them.

The American government poured ever greater amounts of money into this war against the people of South Vietnam. American servicemen were sent over in ever greater numbers: 4,000 then 10,000 until we have between 15-18,000 troops over there today.

American pilots flew the planes that dropped napalm bombs on women and children. American fingers were on the triggers of the machine guns. U.S. destroyers patrolled the territorial waters of Vietnam. American planes sprayed the countryside with chemicals

that caused trees and plants to shrivel up and die, that killed the fish, that paralyzed and caused severe pain to the human beings who were caught planting in their fields.

In spite of all this, we were still losing the war. Our government lied about that, too. Secretary of Defense McNamara kept popping in and out of Vietnam like a jack-in-the-box and he kept giving the American people the same old song and dance, "Everything's fine and it's due to get better."

Buddhist Suicides

Everything was coming up roses according to all government spokesmen but the whole world was soon to know better. Last year at this time the Buddhist monks committed public suicides in order to focus world attention on Vietnamese opposition to Diem. The U.S. still kept defending Diem, still lying, still feeding us the line that this corrupt dictator would soon straighten up and fly right.

In the Nov. 1, 1963 issue of *Stars and Stripes* (Pacific edition), Major-Gen. Timmes, chief of the military advisory group, described the Vietnamese armed forces in glowing terms; they were as "professional as you can get [and] just like the American soldier, they're loyal to their government."

By the time this issue of *Stars and Stripes* hit the newsstands, these loyal patriots had murdered their president and three months later one group of generals overthrew the other and formed the government that now exists.

Not even all these U.S.-backed changes in government have helped the situation.

The U.S. government has now spent \$3 billion on a war — not on poverty — but against the poverty-stricken, oppressed people of South Vietnam. Our government has been doing this in defiance of all international agreements and laws. And they are losing this war. The influence and ranks of the National Liberation Front continue to grow. The plain truth is that the U.S.-backed military dictatorship controls only 6% of the land in the southern portion of South Vietnam. The NLF today is the government for one half of the population spread across two-thirds of the territory of South Vietnam. Guerrilla forces control the area around Saigon, the major stronghold of the U.S.-supported government.

This situation doesn't sit so well with the American capitalists and their political servants. Senators Lausche, Dodd, Humphrey and presidential hopefuls Rockefeller, Goldwater and Nixon are all for turning the hot-cold war into a hot-hot war by invading North Vietnam and daring the Chinese to put up or shut up.

Tough Policy

President Johnson has already taken steps to institute a get-tougher policy in the Far East. He told an *Associated Press* meeting on April 20, "I have already ordered measures to help step up the fighting capacity of South Vietnamese forces . . ." Five days later Johnson announced that Lt. Gen. Westmoreland would become the new commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam. This general has stated that he favors more forceful prosecution of the war and a change in military commanders usually means a change in over-all policy.

Politicians, eager for votes and national publicity, have sharply criticized administration policies in South Vietnam.

In addition to the vote-catching motive, we must never forget that different politicians serve the interests of various sections of the capitalist class. While one group of capitalists has been panting away for a chance to get their

hands on China, another group has been aiming at South America and other groups have their own slices of bread to butter.

As these various interests collide with each other, their political representatives push for differing programs in Congress. So, some Democrats and Republicans are screaming for all-out war in the Far East while another bunch want to pull out and direct U.S. efforts elsewhere.

Sen. Gruening (D-Alaska) keeps calling for the withdrawal of American troops and he reports his mail is running 100 to 1 in favor of his stand. Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) now states flatly, "We should never have gone in. We should never have stayed in. We should get out." He, too, reports a big mail response that favors his speeches.

Their speeches sound fine and little by little the American people are at last learning some of the truth about our involvement in South Vietnam. But where were all these bleeding-heart politicians during the last 15 years? How did they vote when military appropriations were presented for South Vietnam?

Wrote Home

Capt. Shank — who died in South Vietnam because of a policy approved by these same Democrats — wrote home on Jan. 20, "I'm sure nothing will be done here until after the elections. Why? Because votes are more important than my life or any of my buddies' lives." Votes and profits and military power — they're all more important to the rulers of America than the lives of American servicemen and Vietnamese peasants.

It isn't the politicians (already stained with the blood of victims all the way from Hiroshima to Korea to Cuba to Vietnam) who will change the situation. The real source of hope for a halt in the bi-partisan war drive lies in the ever-growing numbers of Americans protesting the policies in Vietnam.

The Harris survey in the March 30 *Detroit Free Press* revealed that the majority of Americans do not support administration policies. In March only 43% supported the way the government was handling the situation. This was a drop from last November when 57% supported the administration because of the hopes raised by the overthrow of the Diem dictatorship. Back in September only 38% supported the American intervention.

This survey also asked Americans how they felt about pressing the war into North Vietnam. Only 26% favored such an action and 45% opposed such a policy.

Young people are intensifying their opposition to the war. On March 28, 6,000 peace demonstrators, mostly youth, assembled in New York's Washington Square and demanded an end to the war in South Vietnam and a diversion of military funds into a war on poverty.

The Negro Freedom Now revolution also stands in the way of American capitalism's war plans. All-out war means domestic peace and harmony, means a nation willing to march into the factories and onto the front lines without a protest. The white capitalist power structure must subdue colored people inside the United States before it can subdue colored people in other parts of the world.

The South Vietnamese people are crying out, "Yankee, go home!" Americans, in growing numbers, are saying, "Yankee, come home!" Vote for all the troops to come home from South Vietnam. Vote for an end to this insane plunge into a third world war. Vote for the Socialist Workers Party.

U.S. Should Take Warning Seriously

Khrushchev Not Bluffing on Cuba

By Joseph Hansen

At a May Day dinner in Moscow, Premier Khrushchev read the text of a prepared speech containing the sharpest warning to the U.S. government delivered by any top Soviet official since the crisis over Cuba in October 1962. Once again the topic was Cuba and the provocative acts committed against the heroic people of that revolutionary island which again risk setting off a chain reaction that could end in a nuclear catastrophe.

The essential paragraphs, dealing with continued flights of U.S. spy planes over Cuban territory in violation of Cuba's sovereignty and in violation of international law, dealt ostensibly with the interpretation of Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful co-existence."

The policy should not be misread, said Khrushchev. Rumors had been spread in the United States about an understanding between the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the flights of U.S. spy planes over Cuban soil. No such understanding exists, the Soviet premier declared. The USSR supports completely the "five conditions" laid down by Fidel Castro at the time of the crisis created by Kennedy over placement of rockets in Cuba in October 1962. "There could never be any question of such an understanding," he said, "because the USSR will never reach an understanding with another state to the detriment of a third country, no matter whether it is big or small."

"We have already said," he continued, "and we declare once again that a threat to Cuba, the continuation of the violation of its sovereignty, the intrusion into Cuba's air space, can have disastrous consequences."

"This will be a disaster, first and foremost, for those who carry on a policy of provocations and aggressions against Cuba."

"We wish to say once again to those who are playing with fire, that in violating the principles of peaceful co-existence and in demonstrating a lack of consideration with regard to other countries, they can drag the world into a new war."

The State Department brushed aside the warning as so much May Day oratory. As the State Department's reply to Khrushchev's words, press officer Rich-

ard J. Phillips told a news conference that the overflights of the spy planes would be continued.

The White House would do well to consider a bit more closely whether Khrushchev was just engaging in the Soviet equivalent of Fourth-of-July speech-making in the United States. Johnson, like Kennedy and Eisenhower, understands perfectly that Khrushchev's basic policy toward the United States is a continuation of Stalin's policy — he seeks an overall understanding at the expense of world revolution. Johnson understands this so well that he has indicated that he supports Khrushchev as against Mao in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

The question arises: Is Khrushchev willing to sell out the Cuban Revolution as part of the payment for an overall deal? This is what was implied in his denial that any secret agreement exists approving continuation of the flights of spy planes over Cuba.

It is not necessary to argue whether Khrushchev is willing to make a deal at the expense of the Cuban Revolution. It can be granted that he would be perfectly willing and even relieved to be able to make such a bargain. This is shown by his whole past which is not one of revolutionary struggle or devotion to revolutionary principles but of careerism in the bureaucratic structure of the USSR under the not exactly moral rules laid down by Stalin.

The point is — and this is what the White House should ponder — can Khrushchev get away with it?

The answer is that it would be an exceedingly dangerous gamble and Khrushchev is aware of it.

First of all, the Cuban Revolution is headed by independent figures who have displayed political talent and a moral stature not matched since the days of the Bolsheviks. They are immensely popular not only among the Latin-American masses, and among the peoples of Africa and Asia, but among the masses of China and above all Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union where they have a special aura.

It would be difficult to conceive a single act in the field of foreign policy that would bring greater discredit to Khrushchev and the group around him than a crude betrayal of the beleaguered Cuban revolutionaries. It could well finish Khrushchev — not slowly, but



Khrushchev

swiftly — and open the way for genuinely revolutionary forces to displace the present regime in the USSR and install a new one with a dynamic outlook like the one displayed in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

The chances for such an outcome rose considerably with the development of the Sino-Soviet conflict. Clearly Mao would not have the slightest interest in acquiescing in a betrayal of the Cuban revolutionary leadership. On the contrary, the Chinese government, representing one quarter of the human race, would emblazon the betrayal on their banners as the most convincing proof of everything they have charged against the Khrushchev leadership.

Their denunciations would find fresh receptivity among the Soviet masses, and the Chinese bid for leadership of the Communist parties throughout the world would be greatly advanced despite their bizarre appeals to the ghost of Stalin.

As an old practical politician, Johnson should be able to grasp that the very reasons impelling him to favor Khrushchev, should also impel him not to force Khrushchev to deliver something that would signify his own swift destruction. Khrushchev, as another old practical politician, will draw the line on that. This is the meaning that the White House should draw from Khrushchev's warning. It is not just oratory; it is not just bluff; it is very serious.

The Sino-Soviet Rift

A World Parley of CPs?

By Pierre Frank

PARIS (*World Outlook*) — The sharpening of the Sino-Soviet dispute has reached the point of split. While the Chinese have won only a minority of Communist Parties to their views, their repeated attacks have undermined the authority of the Khrushchev leadership and placed it in an embarrassing position: Although the attacks do not necessarily strengthen the ranks of the pro-Chinese tendencies, they at least favor breakdown of monolithic control by the established leadership.

The Soviet leadership has been forced to seek the formal condemnation of the Chinese leadership to check the disintegration of its own authority. Thus the report by Suslov proposed the calling of a new conference of Communist Parties to consider the dispute. At this point, when no political compromise is possible, this would mean a gathering of the anti-Chinese currents in the Communist Parties to vote a condemnation of the Mao leadership.

But a difficulty arises. The Communist International no longer exists. The Communist Parties are no longer tied by formal organizational bonds. The conferences of 1957 and 1960 did not create any central body. Before the convoking of a conference, agreement must be obtained from all those who will attend.

Many Reluctant

Although Khrushchev's policies of "peaceful co-existence," of the "peaceful and parliamentary roads" to power, etc., are supported by the majority of the leaderships of the Communist Parties, more than one are hostile to pronouncing any kind of anathema on the Chinese. The main reason is the desire to avoid cutting ties with the Chinese. Such ties tend to counterbalance the domination of the Soviet party.

How do the various Communist Parties line up in this regard?

Outside the workers' states, there are three big Communist Parties. 1) In the French party, Thorez has lined up faithfully with Khrushchev since an agreement reached before the 1960 Moscow conference. Thorez has been beating the drums for a gathering of Communist parties according to the Suslov proposal.

2) The Indonesian party supports the Chinese and does not want such a conference.

3) The Italian leadership, both to the right and left of Togliatti, are opposed to an excommunication and, therefore, to a conference called for that purpose. If



Mao Tse-tung

the Italians should refuse to attend a conference, other European parties would certainly follow suit.

Finally, among the workers' states of Eastern Europe, the opposition of the Poles and the less clear opposition of the Hungarians would be reinforced. It is also probable that Communist Parties in Asia, Africa and the Americas would not show up.

Under these conditions the calling of a conference would constitute a serious setback for Khrushchev even before the agenda was voted on. He will certainly try to avoid such an outcome. He will conduct hard negotiations, especially with the Italian leadership which occupies a key position in the situation, to find a formula for agreement. He will seek a compromise corresponding to his own needs and those of the other leaderships who, although right-wing opportunists, nonetheless do not care to give him the rigid authority Stalin enjoyed.

A Compromise?

Up to now everything indicates that an organizational compromise at the expense of the Chinese is not excluded and that the conference will take place. Khrushchev needs it badly. He cannot impose it because he lacks the means to operate the way Stalin did. Probably he expects to pay a high price for what he wants.

The present stage in the Sino-Soviet conflict points up the deep international crisis of the bureaucratic system of the Communist Parties. In a democratic International, composed of internally democratic parties, the discussion of political differences would proceed in an altogether different manner and a World Congress would be able to reach a majority opinion without being concerned with matters of prestige, without skirting issues, and so forth. The discussion in such an International would not, of course, remain in a framework imposed by bureaucratic leaderships whose theoretical and political clarity is as small as their material power is substantial.

Confronted with this state of affairs, many a member of the Communist Parties has to ask if either of the two sides really represents Leninism. Here too, it is easy to see why the question of Trotskyism, of the Fourth International, has been raised in the dispute by the two powerful antagonists.

World Events

New Congo Rebellion

"Restless," Marxist-leaning youth are forming revolutionary committees throughout the Congo Republic (formerly French), reported a May 1 AP dispatch, from Brazzaville, where labor unions threw out a French puppet ruler last August. Meanwhile, insurgent youth in the former Belgian Congo have opened another guerrilla front in Kivu province in the east, similar to that in western Kwilu province led by Pierre Mulele, associate of the martyred Lumumba.

Spanish Miners Strike

Over 35,000 miners were reported on strike by May 6 in the Asturias region of northern Spain. The strike grew out of lock-outs of several thousand workers. The *London Times* described the strike's spread as an "extraordinary demonstration of solidarity." The lock-outs came when workers refused to go through the fascist-controlled state syndicates in arbitrating their grievances. Franco's regime has been forced to deal with directly-elected workers' representatives in current negotiations. The secretary of the national state syndicate com-

plained that the present strike was "precipitated by political forces with subversive intentions."

Fight Frame-Up in Morocco

May Day in Morocco brought a new protest against the frame-up of socialist opponents of King Hassan. Mahjoub ben Seddik, general secretary of the Moroccan Labor Federation, addressing some 1,000 workers (the intimidating presence of "powerful security forces" prevented a larger turnout), publicly demanded for the first time that Mohammed Basri and two others sentenced to death be freed.

Basri, a famous resistance fighter against the French imperialists and a leader of the socialist National Union of Popular Forces, was framed-up with 57 other National Union leaders and members in a trial which ended March 14. The defendants were accused of plotting an armed uprising and police alleged discovery of several arms caches. Trial procedures were so unfair that Erik Poulsen, a Norwegian justice and an officer of the International Commission of Jurists, denounced them as "serious and manifest violations" of human rights.

Defendants were held incom-

municado, confessions extracted by torture. The weapons the police "discovered" were changed and added to. Defense lawyers finally withdrew because the judges' bias made defense impossible. The defendants repudiated the forced confessions and refused to participate further in the rigged proceedings.

Ben Seddik's May Day speech was significant because earlier he had split from the National Union and remained silent. In addition to pledging a labor struggle for the release of Basri and the others, he referred favorably to the "working-class government" in Algeria and denounced King Hassan for yielding to the U.S. by removing Moroccan ships from trade with Cuba.

Stubborn Slovak Writers

The May 1 issue of *Kulturni Zivot*, organ of the Slovak Writer's Union, rejects criticisms of "liberalism" and "revisionism" leveled at it by the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party. Slovak writers have been very outspoken in the past year in their attacks on Stalinism and the purge trials in Prague in the early 1950s.

N.Y. Memorial Meeting Will Honor Paul Baran

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting for the late Paul A. Baran, professor of Economics at Stanford University, will be held here May 24 at 3 P.M. in the Heywood Broun Room of the New York Newspaper Guild, 133 West 44th St. The public is invited, and admission will be free.

Prof. Baran, a regular contributor to the *Monthly Review*, whose book *The Political Economy of Growth* has been translated into nine languages, died of a heart attack in San Francisco on March 26. His views have exercised a great influence on theories of economic development, especially in the underdeveloped countries.

Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*, who is now completing a book on American capitalism on which he and Prof. Baran had been collaborating for several years, will be one of the speakers. Harry Magdoff, an economics instructor at the New School for Social Research, will also speak and Prof. Robert Lynd, the noted sociologist, will preside.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Alternatives for Socialists

Kent, Ohio

Regarding R.L.'s letter, "Alternative for Socialists?" *The Militant*, May 4.

The alternatives are not three, but two:

1. Working within the Democratic Party
2. Working within a socialist party

Any politically responsible person, from a liberal leftwards to a Marxist, would also be working within the civil-rights, peace and labor movements.

R.L. chooses to work within the

Democratic Party, giving as his positive reasons that he can better get a socialist program across, and that he can take some immediate action to relieve the plight of the people. As his negative reasons, R.L. cites the "hooting and jeering" of socialist solutions, and the fact that revolution in America is not imminent.

What will working within the Democratic Party mean?

Already, the government is in a large measure subsidizing, directly and indirectly, the capitalist system. Further support of the government will only encourage further subsidization. It will gain few concessions from the capitalists, who already have their backs up against the profit wall in many areas.

The Democratic Party, as an organization, has a vested interest in the capitalist system. A socialist in the Democratic Party will achieve only as much as the capitalists can, or will, allow. R.L. may gain a few minor concessions, but if he thinks the ruling interests will allow themselves to be dethroned by parliamentary procedure, he had better re-read his history books — in fact, he had better read the daily newspaper accounts of the civil-rights struggle.

In avoiding "political folly," R.L. will have to compromise with the system. Part of this compromise will entail silencing those of us who openly oppose the system. Furthermore, this compromise will result in the further betrayal and subsequent demoralization of the working class. In order to gain a few immediate, minor concessions, R.L. will be forced to obstruct the ultimate triumph of the very class he is trying to serve.

"There ain't gonna be no revolution in America," writes R.L., "nor will socialist parties convince people given the way things are." Right. But "the times they are a changin'." The socialist parties won't convince the people, but empty pockets and empty stomachs will. The loss of U.S. colonies will result in an even tighter squeeze on the American worker, who will then realize his true position in this system.

The bitter facts of economic exploitation will drive home to the people that the bourgeois politicians have nothing to offer. When that time comes, and it's coming, the people will look for a program they can trust. The "hooting and jeering" will be replaced by "rooting and cheering." When that time comes, and it will, we "extremists" will be hard-pressed to keep up with the revolution that "ain't gonna be."

Ronald Wittmaack

Jim-Crow Company

Detroit, Mich.

Last week I received a letter from H.A., a Negro living in Pontiac, Michigan, who hoped that the socialist press would be interested in his news. I'm very happy to forward his letter to *The Militant* because I know that its readers are indeed very interested in hearing about the day-to-day struggles and the never-wavering militancy of Negro workers. His letter said:

"Truck-A-Way Corp. will not hire Negro truck drivers. Before they will hire a Negro driver they will hire a white lady driver and that is very unfair.

Thought for the Week

"If the President and Attorney General . . . had used every conceivable strategem, had faced police dogs and fire hoses and billy clubs and prison for the right to vote, and if all their efforts resulted only in a worsening of their condition, would they, would Americans generally, react with a strengthened conviction of the efficacy of such peaceful persuasion; or would they begin to think in pure terms of self-defense, peaceful or no, violent or non-violent?" — From the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee pamphlet, *Genocide in Mississippi*.

"The majority of Negro men are not able to maintain themselves as head of the household financially without his spouse going out doing domestic work or other menial jobs to bring up the small end and sometimes the big end. This is due to the fact that the Negro man is being deprived in every way of earning his daily bread which he is entitled to do as any other man of this universe.

"I'm very sure that everyone can see the handwriting on the wall.

"The late Clarence Darrow made the statements: 'Everytime I see that man the Negro I bow my head with shame and great sympathy.' and 'I must never desert him because he has too few friends.'"

H.A. sent along a couple of photos showing him and fellow marchers picketing the Truck-A-Way Corp. Their signs read: "Our Negro soldiers made history in the Quartermaster Division in the famous 'Redball Express' outfit but we can't drive for Truck-A-Way. Why? Discrimination." "If you discriminate against me because I'm uneducated, I can become educated; if you discriminate against me because I'm unclean, I can cleanse myself; but if you discriminate against me because of my color, this I cannot change." "World War II — We drove the Burma Road but we can't drive for Truck-A-Way. Why? Discrimination."

Evelyn Sell

The Communist Manifesto

Minneapolis, Minn.

Upon rereading the *Communist Manifesto* recently, I was struck by the most current relevance of this classic written in 1848, and how much its message is probably underrated after this considerable passage of time.

Most surprising is the relevance

of the ten concrete demands that were put forth then by Marx and Engels; and the demands being put forth today in various parts of the globe. The first demand is, "Abolition of property in land and the application of all rents of land to public purposes." From the rent strikes in New York, we see the obvious necessity of this strategy as a result of the oppression of the ghetto.

The second is, "A heavy progressive or graduated income tax." Many workers recognize the JFK-LBJ tax program for what it really is, a method of reducing taxes in such a way that the result is an even heavier burden on working people — but lighter on the bosses. Opposition to sales taxes in many areas, while the rulers of this country press for them, oil depletion allowances, and further reductions in corporation taxes highlight the current necessity of this demand. Number three is, "Abolition of all right of inheritance." This is so much to the point of hitting 'them that have' and their offspring who earn nothing that its significance remains for the future. Nevertheless, it has been implemented in China, the Soviet Union, and Cuba.

The fourth demand is, "Confiscation of the property of all Emigrants and Rebels." This was, of course, done by the first American revolution in 1789, as well as the Russian, Chinese, Cuban, and Algerian revolutions. It is realized as the necessity for establishment of economic self-determination.

Number five is, "Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly" and six is, "Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state." The workers of capital-

ist countries have even forced this modification in some instances, such as France and Sweden, while Cuba serves as a good example of this WITH the all-important addition of workers' control through their own committees.

The seventh demand is, "Extension of factories and the means of production owned by the state, the bringing into cultivation of wastelands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan." Here we see that Marx and Engels could not have foreseen the improvements now in modern agriculture — moreover their demand related to conditions existing then.

The eighth demand is, "Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture." In Cuba, where the actual necessity exists, Castro volunteers and works side-by-side with his fellows to harvest sugar cane.

Number nine is, "Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equitable distribution of population over the country." Today, only the evaporating middle class even has a chance to get out of the growing stink of the city, to say nothing of the rotten conditions in the ghettos of the larger cities.

Number 10 reads, "Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc." While public education in our capitalist-dominated society only includes grade and high school, and includes a lot of propagandism, it has taught workers the value of this gain.

Jim Krahn

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"The fall of the French fortification of Dien Bien Phu on May 7 is an outstanding victory in the Indo-Chinese revolutionary war for independence. The Indo-Chinese peasants and workers have dealt a major political and military blow to French and American imperialism and have further paralyzed Wall Street's ability, for the time being, to intervene with U.S. troops.

"Dien Bien Phu had been set up by the French invaders with the deliberate aim of inviting a Vietminh attack that would provide the basis for a big propaganda campaign to sell American intervention in Indo-China to the American people. At the same time, the French believed they could lure large Vietminh forces into suicidal attack against overwhelming fire-power, and thus carry out an 'operation killer.'

"Ludwell Denny, Scripps-Howard foreign editor, disclosed on April 29 that 'the French deliberately invited this battle, with Dien Bien Phu as expendable bait to slaughter Reds.'

"Every device of crooked journalism has been used to represent the defense of Dien Bien Phu as another heroic last-ditch stand for freedom and a symbol of courage in the fight for liberty.

"Actually, most of the troops at Dien Bien Phu were hired mercenaries, members of the Foreign Legion whose ranks included thousands of ex-Nazi soldiers . . ." — May 17, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"War profits continue to zoom higher while wages remain frozen under the Little Steel formula, further bolstered by Roosevelt's recent restatement of his 'hold-the-line' order. The National City Bank publication reveals that corporation profits, after all taxes, in the first quarter of 1944 are 6 per cent over 1943 and 13 per cent above 1942.

"What the real profits gains have been in the leading war industries is indicated by a survey of aircraft corporation profits released last week through the CIO *Economic Outlook*. The CIO report states that 'seven companies had a total net worth of \$333,311,000 in 1942 on which they earned a profit of 36 per cent after taxes.'

"But the real picture is disclosed by the fact that actual profits were 179 per cent of stockholders' real investments, because 82 per cent of this net worth represented excessive profits of prior years which had been reinvested in the companies, permitting them to pyramid to a 'fantastic degree.'" — May 20, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

Big-Hearted Harry — Eight Japanese survivors of the U.S. atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, now on a world tour, visited Harry Truman, the man who ordered the bombing. Truman said: "I think that we have shown that we have no bitter feelings."

Struggling Super — Dr. Calvin E. Gross, New York Superintendent of Schools, who works very hard resisting demands for school integration, found time to black-jack the Board of Education into granting him a \$5,000-a-year, retroactive, tax-deferred wage hike. To further mollify Gross, who insisted he had been promised a free house when he came, the Board also gave him an extra \$2,500 a year expense money. Gross had told the Board that the \$40,000 a year he had been getting was not enough to meet New York's high cost of living.

To Each His Own — An AP dispatch from Johannesburg, South Africa reports: "African workers in South Africa are using witch doctors to cast spells over their white employers to insure good will or a raise in pay . . . The African worker goes to a witch doctor. The witch doctor throws his bones, casts a spell, collects his fee and sends the African back to work hoping for the best."

Sounds like American workers voting Democratic.

Pyramid Climbing Is Rough — "Only one-fourth of a group of white-collar workers surveyed by Opinion Research Corp. think they have a 'good chance of getting ahead in their companies. The remainder rated their chances as 'average' or 'poor.'" — *The Wall Street Journal*.

Success Story — The *New York Times* did a report May 3 on the work of the Mobilization for Youth among the victims of poverty on New York's East Side. The *Times* managed to dig out the bright side of the story — "the resourcefulness bred into poverty." Example: "Then there is Mrs. J. Her husband works from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. and she works from 5 p.m. to 11 p.m., so for an hour their eight children are unattended. Mrs. J. goes from the Bronx to Manhattan to buy meat more cheaply.

She knows every dealer in second-hand clothes on the Lower East Side. She takes her sons to a barber college for haircuts. She knows all the agencies that will help her with Christmas toys. She knows the churches that will supply clothes." Mrs. J., reports the *Times*, is "organized," "successful."

Memo to Appalachia — A May 7 *New York Times* headline declares: "A Cut in Calories Urged for Nation — Alcohol and Labor-Saving Devices are Termed Bars to a Leaner America."

It Figures — "Attacks Reported on Mental Health," declared a recent headline in the *Dallas Times-Herald*. The paper said the mental health foundation in the city is being subjected to a "vicious campaign" of slander, the principal charges being "communism and subversion." Also under fire in the city is polio vaccine and fluoridation.

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RACIAL 'JUSTICE' IN SAN FRANCISCO

13 Whites Cleared — Negro Convicted

[The author of this article is a physician, active in the civil-rights struggle in the Bay Area. He is also co-chairman of the Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and was a speaker at the May 2 rally of the Ad Hoc Committee Against American Intervention in Vietnam.]

By Tom Brewer

SAN FRANCISCO — Fourteen of us were tried together for the convenience of the courts, and in our group there was only one Negro, Tracy Sims, 18-year-old chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination.

For over two weeks our trial dragged on as the district attorney tried to paint us as criminals for our roles in demanding an end to discrimination in hiring policies at the Sheraton Palace Hotel. The facts established by a letter from the hotel to the Ad Hoc Committee showed that of 550 employees only 19 were Negroes — in menial positions, not one in a position of responsibility! Testimony showed clearly that the hotel people had acted in bad faith after having first indicated that they recognized the justice in our demands and would sign and live up to an agreement to end racial discrimination in their hiring practices.

Tracy's role as negotiator and leader of the demonstration was outlined, and her responsibility and sincerity were clearly established. Her long dedication to the human-rights struggle was brought out by our defense attorneys, Norman Leonard and George Martinez.

Already Old-Timer

She had been working for human freedom since she was 14 years old. She had attended the March on Washington last summer. She was arrested in the early morning hours of March 7 for sitting down near one of the entrances of the hotel — the very same act which had caused the arrest of other demonstrators.

While she was on the stand, one of our defense attorneys asked Tracy to recite some of the chants and songs sung by the demonstrators. In a clear and feeling voice, she answered:

"One of the songs is: 'We shall overcome — We shall overcome — We shall overcome someday —



Tracy Sims

Deep in my hart I do believe that we shall overcome someday."

The court was hushed as she continued, "Then other verses are substituted: 'We'll walk hand in hand — Black and white together — We are not afraid — The whole wide world around — We shall live in peace.'

"Another song goes: 'I woke up this morning with my mind set on FREEDOM.'

"And we chanted: 'Jim Crow Must Go! Mr. Charley Must Go! Segregation Must Go! Discrimination Must Go.'"

Tracy thus expressed the hopes, feelings and demands of over 21 million human beings now struggling for their rights, for their full place in the sun, in a hypocritical and false society which pays lip service to the ideals of freedom and equality but beats down the black and brown peoples with ruthless discrimination and segregation.

It was clearly established in the trial that the Sheraton Palace and the Hotel Association of San Francisco, made up of 33 of the leading hotels, had signed an agreement to improve their hiring practices. They signed the agreement because of the demonstrations. They had to be forced into signing the agreement because for 15 years the more moderate human-rights leaders had tried less radical methods in vain.

Lane Protests FBI Harassment To the Warren Commission

NEW YORK — Mark Lane, Chairman of the Citizens' Committee of Inquiry, which is conducting an independent investigation into the facts surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy, on May 4 released charges that he has filed with the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy (Warren Commission).

In a letter sent to the commission on April 29, 1964, Lane stated that he was accosted by two FBI agents on that date as he was leaving his home. He charged they prevented him from proceeding and, in a loud tone, demanded that he turn over to them documents in his possession which, they alleged, Lane had secured from the FBI files. The FBI agents stated that they knew when Lane was to arrive in New York. FBI representatives have conceded that agents have been assigned to follow Lane on lecture tours when he addresses various college audiences throughout the United States regarding the facts surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy.

Lane also charged in the letter to the Warren Commission that a

Secret Service agent "deliberately planted a false story" on Feb. 10. The story made reference to an "eye-witness, a Negro janitor" who allegedly saw Oswald fire the murder weapon from the Book Depository Building in Dallas. Lane said that the Secret Service agent who "deliberately planted" that false lead is named Mike Howard and that the story was given to Thayer Waldo, a reporter for the Fort Worth Star Telegram.

Called for Inquiry

Lane called upon the Warren Commission to conduct an investigation into the harassment by agents of the FBI and the false planting of a news story, which was widely circulated throughout the United States. Lane stated that he would repeat all of his charges under oath before the commission should it conduct such an investigation. He stated that he assumed that the commission would be interested in knowing the origins of a false story released by the Secret Service since the commission has indicated that it is relying upon the accuracy of the Secret Service in preparing its report.

When the trial was all over, 13 of us were found not guilty and allowed to go free because we were white; and Tracy Sims was found guilty because she was black. Today she was sentenced to 90 days in jail and fined \$200 for "disturbing the peace."

In another court — the 167 people arrested in the demonstrations are being tried in separate batches — six white clergymen pleaded guilty and threw themselves on the mercy of the court. They publicly expressed their great faith in our system of justice. A racist judge gave them a sermon on the evils of their ways and fined them \$25 each for the same "crime" for which Tracy Sims got a \$200 fine and 90 days in jail.

White Justice

This is the white man's justice. Let us expose it to the whole world. Let the white masters, "the well-educated, well-fed, well-served, respectable" men and women of the comfortable middle and upper classes, let them be warned! Their "peace" is always going to be "disturbed" until this evil of discrimination is erased forever from our society.

Tracy Sims and all the young people who emerge from the jail-houses are going to rip this society. They are going to build a decent society on a firm foundation of brotherhood and freedom, a society where poverty and unemployment are unknown, a society that is not afraid of the rest of the world but that can live at peace with the entire family of mankind.

Big Jobless Turnout Converts L.A. Parley Into Demonstration

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — About 2,500 men from the almost all-Negro 53rd Assembly District met at Wrigley Field here May 7 in an "unemployed conference." The very force of the turnout made the conference a demonstration against unemployment — the first this city has seen since the depression years of the 1930s.

Official sources say that there are 8,000 unemployed in the 53rd Assembly District. The Committee on the "Triple Revolution" estimates that rather than the officially estimated four million unemployed in this country, "it is reasonable to estimate that over eight million people are looking for jobs today." This authoritative committee, based at the Center for Democratic Studies at Santa Barbara, also states that "unemployment rates for Negroes are regularly more than twice those for whites, whatever their occupation, educational level, age or sex."

The conference which became a demonstration was initiated by the district's assemblyman, Mervyn M. Dymally, with the co-operation of City Councilman Gilbert W. Lindsay and Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins. All are Negroes.

The demonstrators, among whom were just a sprinkling of whites and a few women, were silent for the most part, listening, hoping for answers, but being questioned instead. They did not march or shout slogans. They didn't even have the chance to voice their problems.

Instead, they were kept waiting for close to an hour before the organizers of the meeting herded them together to hear brief speeches summarizing their problems for them. Then a few sample cases were displayed and they were all herded to temporary stands where they lined up for

Anti-Bias Protesters Jailed In Garage by Chester Cops

By Pearl Spangler

Every American mother has had to explain to her child at one time or another what a garage is. "A garage, my dear, is a building where people put their cars or trucks or things like that."

But in Chester, Pa., there is a new definition for a garage. The kids there know it as a building freedom fighters are herded into.

Let me tell you how I found out about this new definition.

On Saturday, May 2, after learning of the decision of the Chester Freedom Now Committee not to hold a demonstration in Chester that day, a group of Philadelphians decided to take up a collection and take fruit, cigars, gum and other items to the Chester freedom fighters who had been jailed.

The prison was located in the small town of Media. But our driver didn't know exactly where. It was from children playing in the colored section of Media that we learned that the "garage" on 2nd and North Streets is where people fighting for their rights in 1964 are held.

Twelve days earlier these people had sung Freedom songs on the streets of Chester and had their heads bloodied by local and state cops. The garage where they were imprisoned stood in back of the Delaware County Juvenile Courthouse.

It was a big garage. Police cars were parked all around. Police were standing, looking rather foolish with their feet spread apart, holding their sticks, as though looking for more business.



Stanley Branche
Chester Civil Rights Leader

They were watching a singing, clapping, chanting picket line of Chester civil-rights fighters, reinforced by Lincoln University students, and members of Philadelphia CORE and the Media NAACP.

Ironically, across from the garage is a Friends [Quaker] School. Refreshments prepared there were laid out on a table under a shade tree. I was told by one of the NAACP women serving the table that there had been a picket line there every day since the protesters had been jailed. The pickets sang and the Freedom prisoners sang back. It was give and take between the 70 or so people on the line and the 53 men and women still in jail.

Receive Visitors

The men prisoners could come to the garage entrance and receive visitors. I talked with a few of them. Their spirit was good even though they didn't know when they would get out. Sanitary conditions were lousy — only one toilet. With the food brought by Chester and Media women, supplementing the poor prison diet, they managed to get enough to eat, one of them told me. They were worried, however, about Father Hewitt, a minister, who was refusing to take water and was getting weaker. But there was no talk of regrets. The wretched prison conditions could not break them.

I also got a chance to talk to the women. One girl has a 16-month old baby boy. You could tell it wasn't easy for her, but again there was no despair. Another woman, a mother of seven, told me her teenage daughter had taken over the housekeeping.

The women had a rough time of it. They were locked in cells, ten to a cell, no windows. For the first eight days and nights, they were watched over by men. Finally police matrons were assigned to this task. Now they were allowed to put cots in the halls. The only hot water was brought from the garage twice a day. They told me how well the women had stood up, especially Brenda, a Swarthmore student, who had faced some intimidation.

Since I had come out to picket — and that is what really heartened the imprisoned fighters — I went back to the line. But not before one of the women had urged me to have some of her chewing gum. By the way, to show the Chester fighters haven't lost touch with reality, one of their picket signs put things right. It read: "Garages Are For Cars, Not People."

For recent developments in Chester struggle see page 3.