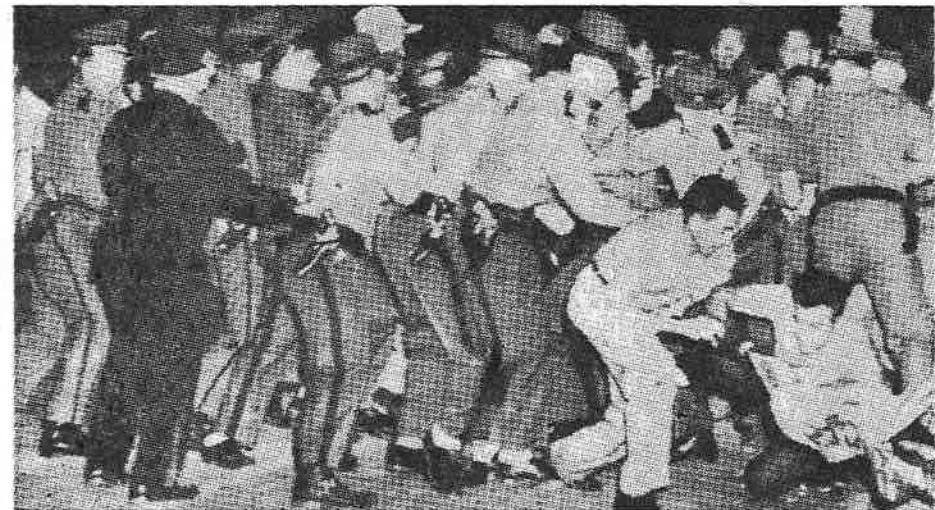


Only Organized Self-Defense Will Stop The Lynch Terror!

Klansmen Without Hoods at Work in the North



While Klan lynches civil rights fighters in South, 27 St. Lawrence Cty. deputies attack Alcoa Workers, Massena, N. Y., June 10.

LBJ, Allen Dulles and the FBI Collaborating With Same Klan-Cops Who Probably Helped the Lynchers

NEW YORK, June 30—It is now nine days since three civil rights fighters were reported missing in the Klan-dominated state of Mississippi. It is now five days since their car was found hidden in the trees, burned almost beyond recognition. And the whole federal government has been apparently helpless to find the bodies, much less the murderers of the martyred youths.

They can find new craters on the moon, unsuspected features on the planets of Venus and Jupiter; they can see troop movements in Laos, missiles in Cuba, but they can't find three murderers in Mississippi whose identity is known to the Klan-infested police and probably to the village idiot as well.

They can drop bombs on the Congo

and rain fire on the flimsy huts of defenseless peasants in Southeast Asia, but they cannot bring to justice the sadistic murderers of James Cheyney, 21, Andrew Goodman, 20, and Michael Schwerner, 24, in their own country.

True, they have sent in a few extra FBI men, made a searching party out of some sailors and packed off Allen Dulles, noted reactionary and white supremacist to help the cause of "justice." And they may even do more.

So obvious is their responsibility, so monstrous is their neglect, so great is their embarrassment before the masses of the United States and of the world, that they may actually end by sending U.S. troops to "occupy" some portion of Mississippi. (Jimcrow Johnson is trying his best to avoid doing this, but he may yet be compelled to.)

If U.S. troops, commanded by racist officers and subject to imperialist discipline, actually prevent a single civil rights fighter from being lynched, that is all to the good and no friend of Black Freedom can quarrel with that.

But U.S. troops did not bring equality to the University of Mississippi last year. Nor did they end the terror in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. Nor will they punish the lynchers and end lynch law in Mississippi in 1964.

However, if hypocrite Johnson finally sends troops and the troops keep "order" without shooting any Black person, why well and good!

But let us not create a diversion by agitating the most militant elements of the Freedom Movement about "Federal Troops to Mississippi." Let us not forget what every Black worker knows in his bones: namely that the U.S. government is run by a pack of racists—and so is the Army, only more so.

It takes some conviction about the nature of the U.S. capitalist government as well as confidence in the masses, to tell the truth about this life-and-death question. But the truth must be told:

Only organized, armed self-defense by the masses themselves will stop the lynchers and the would-be lynchers. Only such action will end the terror for good.

The time to make this clear is NOW.

Laos: LBJ Rattles the Rockets for Bigger War

Making his right-turn in foreign policy ever more definitive, Lyndon Johnson in the past two weeks has made clear on several public occasions that he was ready to take the U.S. to war against China. This would be a major war and involve the whole of the U.S. population.

In addition to "unleashing" the militaristic statements of notorious warmongers like Admiral Felt and retiring General Harkins, Johnson has created a series of military provocations whose aim is to maneuver China into making an "aggressive" move. Not the least of these provocations was the appointment of the 5-star general and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces to the post of Ambassador to S. Vietnam (pop. 15 million).

On top of this, Johnson is preparing the civilian population of the United States—as fast as the exigencies of his election campaign will allow him—for the coming imperialist war.

The U.S. would not hesitate "to risk war to preserve the peace," he said on June 28 at Minneapolis.

He was speaking, of course, about peace in Laos where his bombers have been bringing "peace" for these last five weeks or so.

The United States would "use force if necessary to help maintain freedom" he said.

He was speaking, of course, about freedom in Vietnam, where the peasants have the "freedom" to live in U.S.-sponsored concentration camps or be shot down by U.S. machine guns, burned by U.S. napalm bombs, etc.

The U.S. is defending a "freedom" that the Southeast Asian people want no part of—and waging a "peace" that they are dying by the hundreds rather than submit to.

How eloquently Johnson demonstrated his real program for peace and freedom, when he spoke of freedom in the United States in his Minnehaha Park Swedish Day Picnic address in Minneapolis!

He said in reference to the open racist enemies of freedom in the United States:

"We cannot advance the cause of freedom in the United States by calling on the full might of the military to solve every problem." (!)

One can imagine how much Johnson and his friends are in a sweat to "liberate" the masses of Southeast Asia when they show such remarkable self-restraint while their fellow-citizens in the United States are lynched and the police are infested with the lynchers' friends. How can U.S. militarism bring freedom to the masses abroad when it is so reluctant to make even a show of bringing freedom to the masses at home?

Who's in Charge Here?

When Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos, "requested" the U.S. to resume reconnaissance flights after he had protested them the day before, he must have known that he was bringing on a terrible crisis for his own country.

Why did he do it?

The London Sunday Telegraph revealed on June 14 that he did it because the U.S. told him to do it.

In a dispatch from its reporter in Vientiane, it said:

"On Thursday, June 11, the Prime Minister announced that flights would be halted temporarily" because "there were no enemy movements to observe." But, "Yesterday (June 12) after a long meeting with Mr. Unger, the American Ambassador, he announced that flights would be resumed." (Our emphasis.)

The report added that before Phouma announced his "request" for resuming the flights—

"The American Embassy advised the press in advance that the Prime Minister would be making such a statement."

UN Going Out; But U.S. and Belgium Plot New Moves

Congo Revolution Still Gaining in Spite of U. S. Bombing

By Henry Stone

The national liberation struggle in the Congo is gathering ever more strength—and territory—while the U.S. and Belgian imperialists and their puppets are frantically putting together a

coalition of discredited reactionaries to try to stem the great tide of freedom.

On June 19, the armed patriots recaptured Albertville, capital of North Katanga Province. The Adoula troops fled in complete disorder. The patriots again blocked the airport with gasoline barrels, and completely cut the city's communications with the Adoula government. By June 22, the patriots were setting up a revolutionary government in the city. The patriots had occupied another city in North Katanga, Bendera, around June 15.

On June 22, young patriots raided two army camps in Stanleyville, in the eastern Congo. Stanleyville was the

stronghold of Antoine Gizenga's leftist government in 1961. The youth seized 22 automatic rifles and a pistol from one of the camps.

On June 23, the Adoula army garrison in Baudouinville offered to surrender the town to the armed patriots without a fight.

It was reported that the headquarters of a Revolutionary Government of the Eastern Congo has been set up in Uvira by the leaders of the armed patriots. The Government includes a President, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of State Security. The officials are members of the Congo National Liberation Committee, which has its main head-

quarters in Brazzaville.

The Chinese Communist Party newspaper Renmin Ribao has predicted that insurrections in the Congo will develop along the lines of the national liberation struggle in south Vietnam.

Meanwhile, it came out that the American T-28 planes which were attacking and killing the patriots and tribesmen in the eastern Congo with rockets and .50 caliber machine guns were piloted by CIA agents going under the names Dearborn and Coney.

Now that it has become clear that the Adoula government and its disintegrating army are unable to stop the revolu-

(Continued on page 3)

Innocent Visitor!

N.Y. Times heavy headline:
"Two Chinese Reported With Kivu Rebels."

N.Y. Times small print:
"... the arrival here (in the Congo) today of Gen. Paul D. Adams, commander-in-chief of the United States Strike Command."

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"Handle Him Gently, Officer"

He was "quiet, careful; a well liked Irishman," whose only interest outside the firm "as far as anyone knew, was a foundling home."

But Jeremiah T. Moran, the charitable-minded Wall Street man described above, walked away last week with \$700,000—and he did not give it to the foundlings.

Mr. Moran worked for the New York brokerage firm of Burnham and Company for the last 20 years and for 15 years before that for a Burnham and Co. partner.

The company officials are very sad about the whole affair and rather upset about Mr. Moran's personal fate. (The \$700,000 will be covered by insurance.)

One official of the firm said:

"This man was a valued and dear friend of ours who made a terrible mistake."

The company refused to reveal what his salary was, but comparable jobs, depending on the size of the brokerage, are paid in the range of \$15,000 to \$40,000 per year.

—Remember the Puerto Rican teen-ager who was shot in the back by a cop two months ago for allegedly stealing eleven dollars?

Statesman of Civil Rights

As we go to press, we learn that the Daniel Webster from Illinois, that great statesman, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, whose every flowery word and perfumed sentiment decorously embellished the Congressional Record in support of the civil rights bill—came out for Goldwater.

Just a couple of weeks ago, he eloquently condemned Goldwater for voting

against the very civil rights bill that he, Dirksen, had sold to the other Republican Senators.

—If the new law has any good effect at all, (and with the vigilance of the Black masses, it will have), there will be absolutely no thanks due to the hypocritical imperialist law-makers who finally passed it.

Behind a Liberal Decision

It cannot be denied that last month's Supreme Court decision upsetting minority control of state legislatures is a step in the direction of greater electoral democracy—at least in the formal sense of granting the city-dwelling majority the same proportion of representation as the country-dwellers.

It is a victory for the oppressed, particularly for the Black masses in the big cities, whose struggles undoubtedly were a factor in the Court's decision.

But this increase of "democracy" should not be taken to mean that the Workers can now determine their own destiny by virtue of their votes for state legislators!

Some socialist commentators have observed that the extreme right, the Goldwater forces, etc. will be set back by this decision—and this may be true. The factional struggle within the bourgeoisie is probably a big factor in the Court's decision, even though it is difficult to know all of the considerations which affect the elections of state leg-

islatures.

It is true that the "liberal" and even the "moderate" sections of the big capitalists wish to check and hold back the power of the open reactionaries and the "war-now" party.

But it is not entirely clear that the extreme right is so much stronger in the countryside than in some cities and particularly in the middle class suburbs of the big cities. *There must be other reasons, too, why the Court, after 175 years, has at last decided to equalize the voter representation in state legislatures.*

The lineups in the Supreme Court reflect factional attitudes as much as factional interests within the ruling class. The Supreme Court has to consider problems which are broader and often much more subtle than the material interests of one grouping as opposed to another grouping within the ruling class.

The Supreme Court, as the final bastion of capitalist legality, constitutionality and class stability, must consider this:

The masses can no longer be ruled as crudely as they were in the past. They must be given concessions that were once unthinkable. And they must be made to feel that they participate in government most at the very time they participate least.

Even when the masses are not clearly pressing for their rights, the Supreme Court feels out the situation with the most sensitive and skilled legal brains that capitalism can command. The liberal decisions of the Court, including the civil rights decisions, are based on its views of where the best interests of capitalism lie.

We should add, of course, that the extremist opposition to the liberal decisions is only a proof that the capitalists have begun to flirt with capitalist democracy at the very hour when their own right wing is preparing to rape it.

Rob Williams Wins Legal Victory on Sit-In

On June 21, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the conviction of Robert F. Williams for a sit-in he conducted in a segregated Monroe, N. C., drugstore.

Williams "sat in" at the very beginning of the sit-in wave, at a time when the non-violent philosophy of the early sit-inners was greatly at variance with Williams' well-known policy of militant self-defense. Williams thus demonstrated his eagerness to engage in any and every form of struggle that could possibly help the Afro-American people. (He and his friends were defending themselves quite vigorously on other fronts at that very time.)

The NAACP dropped his case after he had been sentenced to 30 days and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee took it up—and carried it to

the High Court.

The present decision has no bearing on the monstrous "kidnap" frame-up for which Williams, Mae Mallory, Harold Reape and Richard Crowder have been made the victims. Williams is still in Cuba.

Dr. Perry Free Again

CHARLOTTE, N. C., June 26—Dr. A. E. Perry, who was framed last month by the white supremacists on a flimsy abortion charge, was completely cleared today.

Dr. Perry, long an official of the NAACP in Monroe, N. C., and a collaborator of Rob Williams, has been a favorite target of the racists here.

The frame was so obvious in this case, however, that the presiding judge of the state district court had to dismiss the case altogether.

Important Decision for Civil Rights

Supreme Court Lifts Travel Ban

The U.S. Supreme Court, two weeks after declaring the hated McCarran Act's Communist registration requirements unenforceable on constitutional grounds, declared that the McCarran travel ban on Communists "abridges liberty guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national chairman of the CP and Herbert Aptheker, editor of Political Affairs, had challenged the government's right to lift their passports—and won.

The case of Vincent Copeland, editor of *Workers World*, was remanded back to the Federal District Court in New York, which had upheld the State Department in denying him a passport when he refused to sign the non-communist oath in the passport application. It appears that Comrade Copeland's case will be decided favorably on the basis of the above.

The Supreme Court's decision was 6-3 with Clark, Harlan and White dissenting.

Armed Struggle Is Key to Workers' Power

A Zanzibar Revolutionary Speaks

Excerpts from an important interview with "Babu" undertaken by Richard Gibson for Revolution (French edition, May 1964) translated by Peter Storch:

("Babu" is the nickname for Abdul Rahman Mohammed, a minister in the new Zanzibar government and a leader of the revolution there.)

Gibson: A section of the so-called "left-wing" press, especially in England, has shown the recent events in Zanzibar as an "uprising." It appears to the latter... unbelievable that a social revolution took place in Zanzibar. Did a revolution take place? If so, how would you define it?

Babu: The reality was that a true revolution took place in Zanzibar whose objective was to destroy the old order and to install a new society. It is of course difficult to state that all those who took part in the revolution were socialists, but they had a socialist orientation. The Marxist organization of Zanzibar, the Umma Party, besides, played a leading role in the national and democratic revolution. The latter is already and definitively, undertaking the road of

the socialist revolution...

Gibson: Zanzibar has been likened to Cuba. Are there any grounds to this assertion?

Babu: We have been influenced by Socialist Cuba in the way that island has been exposed to the hostility of a neighboring power which is seeking to destroy it, and also in the way she has opposed her powerful enemy with such effective resistance.

If you mean that Cuba was a source of inspiration for us, we flatly answer in the affirmative. Yes, in this sense, we were effectively inspired by Cuba. We were also inspired by Cuba because Cuba knew well how to make its revolution, how to change the existing conditions of the people, and how to transform within a short interval the national-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution...

(But) Wanting to depict the African like a creature incapable of undertaking anything whatsoever except under the orders of Moscow, of Peking, of Cuba, or under orders from just anywhere and anybody, is to have an imperialist concept of things, and it is to think that Africans are nothing but children, like the colonialist propaganda claims.

Gibson: ... What from the revolution is characteristic of "African Socialism"? In which way is the Zanzibar revolution an example for the whole of Africa?

Babu: Zanzibar can of course become an example for the whole of Africa. It would be very difficult to assert that we are going to adopt "African Socialism," for up to now, no one has been, in my opinion, capable of telling what this "African Socialism" consists of.

We only know, as far as we are concerned, socialism or capitalism. There can exist two roads, and only two roads, and we have chosen the road of scientific socialism.

An African revolution can transform itself into a socialist revolution, and it is exactly this process which has developed in Zanzibar.

I think that if another revolution broke out somewhere in Africa, above all in countries like Mozambique, Angola and South Africa, it cannot but be a revolution just like ours. I am besides, convinced that only armed struggle can lead these people to their real emancipation. As soon as a people makes up its mind to take arms, it will not be able any longer to stop at half-way measures: it will go to socialism. This at least is our conviction, basing ourselves on our own experience...

Previously sold for \$1.00

Free with a new subscription to *Workers World*

Fidel Castro's:
History Will Absolve Me

This historic courtroom speech casts a great light upon the course of the Cuban Revolution. It was given by Fidel Castro on October 16, 1953. He had become a prisoner of the Batista tyranny following the July 26 attack upon the Moncada fortress.

We have a limited number of this pamphlet, which is now difficult to obtain in the United States. But you can receive it FREE with a NEW SUBSCRIPTION to *WORKERS WORLD*. (renewals don't count.)

A six-month subscription is just \$1.25. A full year is \$2.50.

Capitalist 'Freedom'—The Unemployed Are Free to Starve

By Nancy Howard

Two shabbily dressed middle-aged men squatted by an iron grill in the sidewalk in New York's Silk Stocking District. Each had a card of twine and they shared a jar of paste and a tiny

Miner's Wife

Dear Mr. McCarthy:

I have been reading the Miners Journal about what will be done for the poor.

You know, that is a good question. I was wondering what will happen to the poor. For 45 years I have been studying about that. My daddy died when I was seven years old, leaving three children and my mother with not a dime to our name.

On February 16, 1934, my mother died from poverty. We sure did see many a hungry day when we couldn't even have a piece of bread. I will always remember the depression in the '30s when I and my little sister cried ourselves to sleep from being hungry.

Well, today here in Knott County and in Eastern Kentucky it is as hard. Today we have a high price depression here. If it was not for the food stamps (for government "surplus food") people would starve to death. Words cannot tell how bad the times here are. You have to live here to know. There is no work here and about one Union mine around here. And they have been laying the men off. . . .

My husband worked in the mines for 23 years. Today my husband is a disabled miner and cannot work any more. He has rock dust and sand on his lungs, and no breath to do anything. . . .

We are down to starvation now. . . .

Mrs. Ervin Brown,
Smithboro, Kentucky

—From a letter to the United Mine Workers Journal

flashlight. A small, flat piece of metal was tied to the end of the twine and a good-sized blob of paste was put on the underside of the metal. This was lowered between the bars of the grating with great care, each man watching the string from a different angle to make sure it was dropping true. The metal hit bottom. Then slowly the twine was reeled in. Stuck to the vaseline was a dime!

It looked like a scene from the Great Depression. But it happened in June of 1964, year of unprecedented business profits.

That very day the newspapers announced that, according to figures from 1962-63 income tax returns, total national business receipts had risen a fat seven per cent.

Meantime, the business world is basking in the sunny words of Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's

Council of Economic Advisers, who sees "no more depressions" in the United States (U.S. News and World Report, June 23, 1964). He said that "a whole range of automatic (economic) stabilizers are now in being" to prevent any recessions from deepening into real depressions.

The present business boom is now in its fortieth month, "the longest peacetime surge since World War II," according to the optimistic Richard Rutter (New York Times, June 28, 1964). He predicts that the leap may be "even stronger (in the) second half of the year." And prospects farther in the future are still more rosy.

But for the sidewalk "fishermen" of New York and a few million others besides, the prosperity so eloquently described in the statistics of Mr. Rutter and the theorems of Mr. Heller—is a lie.

While business was booming—dividends rose 11 per cent this year—and expanding at a terrific rate—12 per cent more will be invested in plant and equipment this year than last—two million jobs per year were being erased by automation!

Today there are the same five and one half per cent unemployed in New York City that there were in the recession of 1949-50.

The men fishing at the grating could have come from anywhere in the United States: Appalachia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Chicago. There are over 200,000 candidates for their "profession" who have been permanently laid off by the steel plants, alone.

And the numbers of unemployed steel workers will increase still more rapidly in the coming period. According to a steel mill official interviewed by David R. Jones for the Saturday Evening

Post, "They're going to be able to run one of our mills with five guys and a computer instead of the 250 working there now."

Capitalist's Wife

The bride's emerald-and-diamond earrings and her two engagement rings, too big not to be real, scintillated under the glare of the television floodlights as Civil Court Judge Maxwell Shapiro performed the ceremony.

For a moment the bartenders stopped pouring out the magnums of champagne and the waiters stopped serving the Malossol caviar from five-pound tins.

A friend of the bride said: "Maxine has found what she has been searching for in her previous marriages—someone to protect her, someone she can depend on."

"Maxine is not materialistic at all," said another friend.

The happy couple and 14 of their closest friends flew to Paris for a three week celebration at the expense of the bridegroom, Mr. Harry A. Leeb. A dozen others are expected to join them and have a joyous party throughout several European countries.

"When I've had a couple glasses of champagne," said Mr. Leeb with a smile, "there's no telling how many I'll invite."

The wedding party and the European trip are expected to cost Mr. Leeb considerably more than \$100,000.

He was asked why he decided on so lavish a wedding affair. Wasn't he afraid of being accused of ostentation?

"I thought about it very much, very much," he said seriously. "It's really not being ostentatious because our normal way of living is on a comparable scale."

—From verbatim news accounts of the wedding in the Champagne Room at El Morocco on June 9.

Plenty of Jobs!

NEW YORK—A week before the World's Fair opened, Gus Ross left his Harlem apartment at 4 AM, to stand in line outside the Fair service building and wait for a maintenance job. Ross, a marine sergeant for 16 years, had been unemployed since February.

At 11:30 AM, a Pinkerton guard handed out job applications—to be mailed in—and said:

"You better go home. You're waiting here for nothing."

Milton Speiser, State Employment official, had words of hope for Mr. Ross, though.

"A good many of those who were hired will quit" when they find how hard the work is, he said.

Socialist Solidarity—China's Workers Now Human Beings

Special to Workers World, from China Features, Peking.

The story of the "Severed Hand" is not printed here with the idea that only in China can such miracles of modern medicine and surgery be performed, but rather to demonstrate what a miracle China is.

Fifteen years ago, few doctors in China knew or cared how to save a worker's hand, even under much less extreme circumstances than those described below. The story of Wang Tsun-po's hand is the story of a revolution's humanity.

The 28-year-old machine tool worker Wang Tsun-po, whose right hand was completely cut off at the wrist in an accident last year, has been back at work since February 19. Nobody had ever expected to see him back working with his right hand, and his workmates gave him a great welcome on the day of his return.

The high level of skill reached in Chinese surgery was seen not only in the rejoining of the labyrinth of blood vessels, nerves and tendons, in a most complicated part of the body, the wrist, but also in the successful restoration of the function of the hand. It has earned

the praise of the whole medical profession in China and of foreign surgeons who have examined Wang Tsun-po's restored hand.

Wang Tsun-po has been doing inspecting work in the tool processing shop of him out of the Congo again, this time for good.

the factory since his return. This work requires less physical energy and it gives him a chance to exercise his hand. He does his job with considerable dexterity and he has examined thousands of finished parts with his salvaged hand without making a single mistake.

Before his discharge from the hospital on February 12, a thorough check-up was made. An X-ray of the re-attached hand showed the united bones to be remodeling well. Most difficult of all to restore, the functional use of the hand and the sense of touch were satisfactory.

"When I walked into the factory after such a long time and heard the whirr of the machinery again, I was so thrilled that my eyes filled with tears," said Wang Tsun-po, recalling the first day of his return.

He often asked himself how it was that he, an ordinary worker, was receiving so much attention and care from everyone around him. He said that he worked out the answer very simply: "Because I am lucky enough to live in the new society, in the big family of Socialism."

It was January 2, 1963, that Wang Tsun-po had sustained his accident by inadvertently setting a punch press going. He was rushed to the No. 6 People's Hospital in Shanghai.

He came under the care of Doctor Chen Chung-wei, a 34-year-old surgeon. As the cut was clean and the tissue still fresh, the thought of re-attaching the hand flashed through the mind of the young surgeon. The severed hand itself was in good condition. It was still covered by a work glove.

Dr. Chen Chung-wei first joined up the bones after trimming them slightly to prevent infection and to facilitate the repair of the soft tissues. He fixed them with plates and screws.

The joining up of the blood vessels was undertaken by cardiovascular specialist Chien Yun-ching. He displayed high skill and remarkable patience in connecting the tiny, slippery ends of the blood vessels. As a result, the blood flow was restored four hours after the accident.

Dr. Chen then embarked on the end-to-end suturing of 18 tendons and of the nerves. The skin was sewed up in Z-form. Finally the arm was encased in plaster. The whole operation was completed in seven and a half hours.

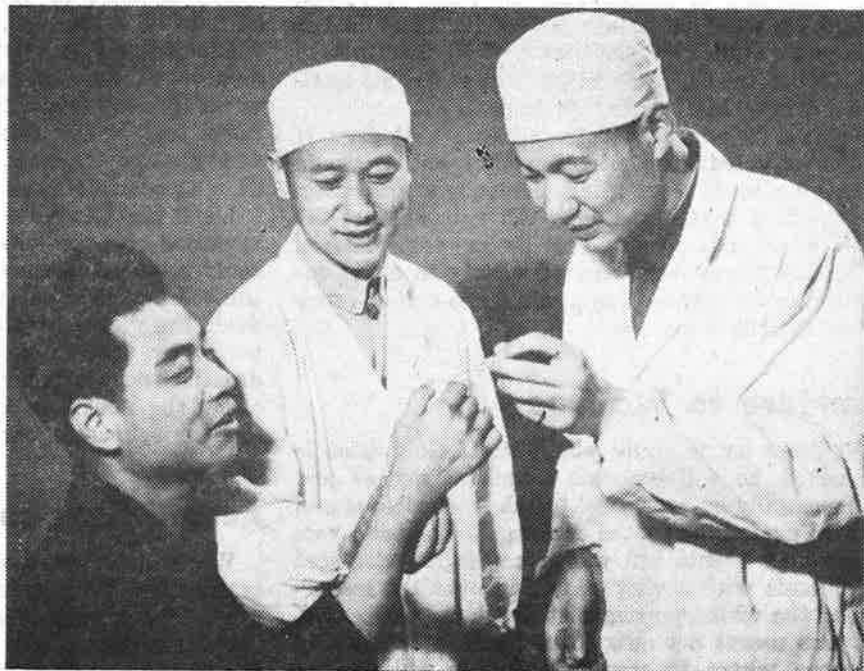
The next day, serious swelling developed in the hand. The possibility of gangrene threatened to spoil the surgical result. Noted surgeons in the city put their heads together to find ways to remove the threat and decompression incisions were decided upon. In two weeks the swelling subsided, and in the final summing up of the case, credit for this

was given not only to the incisions but also to the devoted care of the doctors, nurses and laboratory workers, some of whom went without sleep for nights on end to ensure that the wounds were kept free from contamination.

By the end of May, the hand was normal in color and texture, and the nerves were carrying impulses from the finger tips.

Then began a long period of exercise, under the careful guidance of the doctors. Wang Tsun-po lifted dumbbells, played table tennis, knitted complicated patterns with nylon cord and began to use a needle and sew things.

The medical expenses for his hospital treatment of over 400 days, equal to his wages for two years, were covered by the factory management. Apart from this, he received his full pay as stipulated by the Labor Insurance regulations, plus an extra allowance for a specially nutritious diet.



Dr. Chen Chung-wei (right) and Dr. Chien Yun-ching testing reaction of nerves of Wang Tsun-po's hand.

—Congo Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

tion, the U.S. imperialists and their rival Belgian imperialists are apparently getting together in a united counter-revolution.

In a move made in close consultation with Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak and U.S. Ambassador Douglas MacArthur 2nd, Moise Tshombe, internationally notorious as the traitorous former head of mineral-rich Katanga Province, returned from his residence in Madrid, via Belgium, to Leopoldville on June 26. He immediately conferred with the principal Adoula government officials. There are rumors that he will replace Adoula as Premier of the puppet government of the whole Congo.

Whatever Tshombe and his imperialist backers may try, however, the Congolese revolutionaries will surely drive

Johnson and Goldwater

By Sam Marcy

This is the second part of a series

In a remarkable observation made last January 7, Walter Lippmann, the well known bourgeois liberal journalist, characterized Goldwater as "a radical reactionary, who would, if we are to believe what he says, dismantle the modern state."

This is quite a characterization when one considers that it comes from the pen of a man who measures his words rather carefully.

We mentioned in our first installment that Lippmann had undergone an evolution in his estimate of Goldwater, whom he had previously judged as backing away from his extremist position.

Bourgeois parliamentarism— And fascist dictatorship

Goldwater of course, does not want to dismantle the state. The modern bourgeois state is the indispensable organ of the class domination of the bourgeoisie, which Goldwater seeks to represent. Besides, it is not possible to dismantle a state without also dismantling, or rather destroying the class rule on which the state rests.

What Lippmann, who once was a socialist if not a Marxist, had in mind, but feared to spell out, was that Goldwater if elected, would dismantle the bourgeois democratic form of the capitalist state structure. In the given context of U.S. capitalist development, this can only mean the destruction of whatever is left of the bourgeois parliamentary system in the U.S. and the erection in its place, of a neo-fascist type dictatorship.

This is really the crux of the matter, and is the real issue which lurks behind all the other issues.

This, of course, is not to say that the Goldwater movement is a full fledged fascist movement today. No, it is not, not yet. It has, however, all the essential ingredients necessary for such a development. Of these ingredients, the two that are most obvious for all who have eyes to see, are the extreme adventurism in foreign policy, and militarism in particular, plus what has just come fully to the surface—a direct appeal to virulent racism.

It is also noteworthy that in summing up the differences between the Goldwater forces and the "moderates" (the moderate reactionaries), James Reston said on June 29 in The New York Times that Goldwater is seeking to "lead a counter-revolution."

Public pronouncements— And private poison

All this was really foreshadowed by the California primary, and can best be understood in the light of Wallace's showing in Wisconsin, in Indiana, and in Maryland. The subsequent analysis of the vote in California, showed that the heaviest and most decisive factor in Goldwater's bid for the nomination there, was his stress on the racial issue.

It is utterly impossible to make a mature judgment of the racist appeal, if one is merely guided by a purely literary evaluation of public pronouncements by Goldwater and his supporters. In such matters, it is not the public pronouncements on the issue that are so meaningful as what is passed around by word of mouth privately. Such is the venomous nature of racist strategy. Failure to take this factor into consideration will make an analysis not only inaccurate but impossible.

We said in our earlier installment that even if Goldwater voted for the civil rights bill, it would be nothing more than a left demagogic maneuver. But the fact that he actually did vote against the bill is proof indisputable that he has embarked on mobilizing the racist dregs of society in a bid for a white counter-revolution against the rising rebellion of the Black masses.

Overture to Wallace

Let there be no doubt about it. If Goldwater is nominated, he will base his campaign mainly and fundamentally on an appeal to the most vicious and virulent prejudices of the racists. Goldwater's vote on the civil rights bill was a carefully calculated move, made with a view to taking over the leadership of the white supremacist Southern plutocracy.

It was meant not only to undermine Johnson in an arena where he was regarded as strong, but also to make an indirect overture to Wallace.

Columnist Ted Lewis, of the New York Daily News, whose sources of information are from the Goldwater camp, said:

"Wallace has tried to stand pat for the Democratic Party. But he must now face up to the fact that if Goldwater is the GOP nominee, the anti-civil rights vote would be split between Wallace and Barry Goldwater. . . . A report has been spreading that after the Democratic convention in Atlantic City in August, Wallace intends to pull out if Goldwater is the GOP candidate."

One of the first effects of Goldwater's bid for the GOP nomination was a turn to the right by the Johnson administration. This became evident immediately upon the heels of the California primary in which Goldwater scored such a heavy victory.

The turn to the right was expressed with particular sharpness in the field of foreign affairs, and soon took on a more menacing turn in domestic policy as witness Johnson's role in the new wave of terror in Mississippi.

Johnson took no real action against the Mississippi authorities following the triple lynching of the civil rights workers there last month. And by sending Allen Dulles and some U.S. sailors he covered himself in a way he calculated would endear him to the "liberals" without too greatly offending the racists.

Johnson's election strategy as far as foreign policy was concerned, has been to carry on and continue the aggressive U.S. war role in southeast Asia, particularly in Laos and Vietnam. But Goldwater's savage atomic "defoliation" cry soon made its impact felt. The U.S. stepped up its military activities, and the bombing raids conducted by the U.S. over Laotian territory was one objective result.

Meaning of Taylor appointment

But far more ominous, and of considerably greater significance, was Johnson's appointment of General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as ambassador to South Vietnam. Such a move is absolutely without precedent in the recent annals of imperialist diplomacy. It can only be indicative of a major effort to expand and provoke a general war in the Pacific.

Goldwater and the Pentagon

Much of this, but certainly not the main consideration, is that Goldwater is sure to make Vietnam the rallying cry in demanding even more reckless adventures in the Pacific, especially if he wins the GOP nomination. It must be remembered in this connection, that Goldwater is a Brigadier-General in the Air Force (Reserve) and has close associations with the Pentagon camarilla, and his voice on foreign policy is a lot more significant than would be the case of some other capitalist politician who did not have these strong connections with the military.

The irresistible drive for Black liberation has been the principal domestic issue confronting the U.S. ruling class for some time.

Try as hard as the bourgeoisie will, twist and turn in all directions, using naked terror one day cajolery and hypocrisy the next, it has not been able to divert the issue. Again and again, just when it seems most submerged, the struggle reappears and breaks out into the open with greater and greater urgency. Nobody knows this better than Lyndon Johnson.

Until the Kennedy assassination, Goldwater was regarded as the one Republican candidate who could garner a large bloc of the Southern votes in the coming election. When Johnson became President, the picture changed. Almost overnight, prospects for Goldwater winning the South changed drastically. Goldwater, it was reckoned, could not carry the South or a substantial portion of it as against Johnson, "one of their own."

Russell likes Johnson

When Johnson took over the Presidency, the bourgeoisie literally felt it had inherited a gold mine. For here was a Southern reactionary, who could sweet-talk not only the liberals and labor leaders, but even some civil rights leaders without losing his standing with his Southern racist col-

leagues.

As early as last February 29, a lead article from Canton, Miss. in the New York Times, asserted that "President Johnson's civil rights position has cost him little if any support from the Southern Democratic leaders." And Richard Russell, the arch-reactionary leader of the white-supremacist bloc in the Senate, said, "Johnson and I have enjoyed an intimate personal friendship stretching back almost 30 years."

And even after the Senate passed the civil rights bill, Russell merely said that he was not against Johnson, but deplored his judgment in this particular case.

Nevertheless, the day after Goldwater announced that he was voting against the civil rights bill, its impact was said to be felt from Virginia to Texas.

Formidable problems for left

If Goldwater should win the GOP nomination, it would pose a most formidable problem to many people who generally regard themselves as progressives, and who would like more than anything else, to wage a struggle against political reaction, particularly the menace of a neo-fascist movement.

No doubt, many in this category could easily be led astray by the playing up of the so-called lesser evil role of the Johnson administration.

There are still others who have carved themselves out a little niche with their own stultified program and perennial candidates and come Henry Wallace or Joe McCarthy, their first and foremost thought is how to safeguard their narrow little clique interests in the face of frequently enormous social developments, which can exercise a profound and perhaps decisive influence on events.

It goes without saying that a broadly based, truly independent election campaign, encompassing all the working class tendencies in the country, would be a helpful step in the unfolding struggle.

The "lesser evil"

If it should turn out that the Goldwater movement poses a fascist threat, which it appears to do, although not yet definitively, it would be a very great and very serious error to orient the progressive and left-wing forces to supporting the so-called "lesser evil."

This would merely offer a left cover for the Administration which surely, under the whiplash of the Goldwater forces, will move further and further to the right. Furthermore, it would tend to liquidate what there is among the radical tendencies in the way of genuine, independent, working class struggle.

The implication in the fascist threat is that the mass of the people at best stand to lose all the social gains that they have made through decades of actual struggle, won not merely at the ballot box, but on the picket lines and in mass struggles of the '30's. At worst, it raises the spectre of military-nuclear adventures abroad and civil repression at home. To confine the workers to a mere parliamentary struggle is to make them a passive object in what may be a turning point in American history.

It is unfortunate that at this stage of its development, the labor movement regards the struggle as mainly a parliamentary one. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, conducts its struggle, especially on the world arena, with non-parliamentary, violent methods. It does not hesitate to use force in the interest of safeguarding its privileges or extortionate profits. It conducts a ruthless class struggle at home and abroad, and utilizes parliamentary devices to reinforce its class domination and exploitation. Against the rebellion of the Black masses it uses the most savage violence.

Independent struggle

The formidable menace of neo-fascist reaction, should on the contrary, offer the best opportunity to invigorate the progressive forces and unite them on a non-partisan independent program, calculated to advance the general interest of the working class as a whole, the cause of the liberation struggle, with the over-all objective of fighting, anti-war, anti-imperialist struggle against U.S. monopoly capitalism.