

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 29

Monday, August 9, 1965

Price 10c

Points for an Effective Anti-War Program

An Editorial

The Assembly of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace in Vietnam, scheduled to meet in Washington Aug. 6-9, stands in stark contrast to the secret, conspiratorial meetings Johnson held recently which resulted in his decision to escalate the war in Vietnam still further.

The arrogance of the ruling class as it toys with the fate of the American and Vietnamese people was reflected in Johnson's press conference, where he informed the nation of some of the decisions arrived at during the secret meetings which he delivered like a king issuing a royal proclamation. He will "give the country due notice," he said, before he called up the reserves. He said that he found time to fill in Chiang Kai-shek and other "friendly governments" on his plans for Vietnam. He also invited the governors of the states to a secret meeting where he gave them "all the information," including that classified "confidential, secret and otherwise." Congressmen were "consulted," too. The only people not consulted were the American people—he gives us "due notice."

Contrasting with Johnson's sneaky conniving behind the backs of the people, the Assembly of Unrepresented People has asked antiwar groups to come to Washington with their ideas and suggestions on how to stop the war. In this spirit, *The Militant* puts forward the following suggestions and ideas for the consideration of the Assembly and the antiwar movement as a whole.

1. For the demand, "Withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam now."

The revolutionary forces in South Vietnam, and the government of North Vietnam, have every right to decide about any negotiations with the attacking U.S. forces, and at some stage some kind of negotiations will probably occur. But we here in the U.S., who want to stop the aggression our own government is committing in Vietnam, should point out that the U.S. government has no right to presume to negotiate the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people. The U.S. should withdraw from Vietnam forthwith. As Dave Dellinger said in a recent issue of *Liberation*, "For the United States to stop bombing and attacking would be an important human gain. It would hardly give the United States the right to negotiate about the internal affairs of Vietnam or to continue its military occupation during such negotiations."

2. The debate and discussion should be widened.

The base of the antiwar movement remains on the campus, and the movement should continue to consolidate this base. The concept has been raised within the movement of extending the protest into other sections of the population. If this is done in a practical way over a period of time, avoiding adventures which demoralize or victimize a handful, the movement could begin to influence a good many people who feel uneasy about the Vietnam war.

Negro and civil rights organizations, trade unions, and other community groups have a stake in opposing the Vietnam war. The same forces which are pressing the war in Vietnam are the forces

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Vietnam Escalation Spurs Johnson's War on Truth



NEEDLESS SACRIFICE. Wounded U.S. Marine Cpl. Manuel Lopez screams in pain as he is placed on stretcher after being wounded by land mine during battle to drive guerrilla forces from South Vietnamese village. Casualties are steadily increasing in U.S. war to crush South Vietnamese freedom struggle.

By David Herman

AUG. 4 — President Johnson and the ruling class he represents face a growing problem: their side is losing the civil war in Vietnam, while opposition to expanding U.S. participation in this unpopular war is rising among Americans.

Johnson's attempt at a solution to this problem was a big public relations gimmick: the most elaborate and well-publicized review of policy in Vietnam so far. It featured inspection tours of Vietnam by secretary of defense McNamara, newly appointed ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge and, of course, the military experts. More than a week of conferences between Johnson and these touring experts, powerful congressmen, government officials, and private advisers were held. This review was designed to show that all those responsible leaders who "know best," were consulted and

agreed on what the U.S. should do in Vietnam.

All of this culminated in the news conference Johnson held on July 28 where he presented the decisions.

Johnson characterized the war in Vietnam as a war of aggression by North Vietnam and China. He said that U.S. troops were there to support the "forces of independence" and that withdrawal of U.S. troops would threaten a Communist take-over in Asia and therefore "imperil the security of the United States itself."

The credibility of these lies is based on the cold-war myth that the efforts of any people to change their social system so as to benefit the great majority of the people constitutes aggression by the mysterious and diabolical force of "Communism."

The war in Vietnam is a civil war in which the great majority

of the population supports the National Liberation Front. Even Senator Richard B. Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, admitted on the "Meet the

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Why Did They Die?

According to U.S. government sources, there were 2,720 American casualties in the Vietnam war through July 12. Of these, 503 men are reported killed, and 57 are listed as missing. Johnson's decision, to escalate the war further will mean many more deaths.

The government does not give figures for the casualties U.S. forces inflict upon the Vietnamese people.

Civil Rights, Vietnam and Political Action

By Clifton DeBerry

The national conventions of the NAACP and CORE which were held recently reminded me of a popular cigarette commercial: some are too harsh, others are too mild, but one has the taste that's just right. The one that's just right is Lyndon (pardon my past mistakes) Johnson.

The line adopted at these conventions by the respectable civil rights leaders, over some opposition from the ranks, was projected by Bayard Rustin in the February issue of *Commentary* magazine in an article entitled, "Protest to Politics, the Future of the Civil Rights Movement."

The Negro leaders have been under tremendous pressure, from the masses on one side, forcing them to talk and act more militantly, and from the capitalist power structure on the other. They fear that the ruling class—upon whom they rely—will not grant enough concessions soon enough to prevent the mass movement from

sweeping around and beyond them, dragging them along as they try to slow it down.

In this article Rustin expresses what must be done by the respectable Negro leaders to keep the Negro masses in check. He proposes: 1) that they form a Negro elite, 2) that they reaffirm their adherence to the principles of nonviolence, 3) that they get and keep the masses out of the streets and into capitalist party politics, directly or indirectly. His program boils down to subservience to Johnson and the capitalist power structure.

What Rustin does not admit is that it has been the impact of the international struggle for liberation and its counterpart in the United States, the Freedom Now movement, which has forced the Johnson administration to grant some meager concessions. Instead of praising Johnson for token concessions, Rustin should give credit for the gains which have been made to where it is due—to the

black people and their struggle.

The dependence of the Negro leaders on Johnson and the Democratic Party is most blatant and disgusting in the field of foreign policy. The NAACP ducked the question of the Vietnam war at its convention. The CORE delegates at first took a stand against the war, but reversed themselves after James Farmer made a plea for them to do so.

This program of dependence on the capitalist power structure, most clearly put forth by Rustin, is in direct contrast to the program outlined by Malcolm X. He flatly stated that no one gives anyone their freedom. They must fight for it. The Negro people can only get their freedom if they fight for it.

Malcolm said that the U.S. government is a racist government. It breeds, perpetuates and maintains racism. It is not willing nor able to protect the lives and rights of the Negro people, and therefore the Negro people must use any

means necessary to fight for their rights and defend themselves from racist attacks.

Gradualism is not the road to freedom, he pointed out. By following such a course the Negro people find themselves supporting those who are responsible for their oppression—Johnson, Eastland, Dirksen, Wagner or some other politician of the white power structure. Malcolm exposed the racist nature of the Democratic Party, and advocated that Negroes break with it. He said Negroes should build their own organization, select their own leaders, draft their own program and work out their own strategy and tactics.

Malcolm understood what the struggle was for and who it was against. He called on the Freedom Now movement to link the struggle of American Negroes to the struggles for freedom going on in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Rustin, Wilkins and Farmer duck the war question and try to separate the freedom struggle from

the struggle for peace. Malcolm said: "... actually, you can't separate peace from freedom be-

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James Farmer

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Every major leader of the AFL-CIO is either supporting President Lyndon B. Johnson's criminal policies in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic or has abstained from openly criticizing them. One example of this is a statement adopted unanimously by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which appeared in the May *Free Trade Union News*, under the heading, "Full Support to Johnson on Vietnam, Domingo."

One reason support for Johnson's dirty wars appears in the international paper of the AFL-CIO is to help beat down trade union opposition to the Vietnam war in countries supposedly friendly to the U.S. This campaign has been taken into the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) by AFL-CIO President George Meany, who recently threatened to quit the international group when he ran into opposition.

A sampling of trade union actions in some of these countries reveals the kind of opposition Meany is trying to suppress.

England: Delegates at a recent conference of the Transport and General Workers Union, the largest union in England, adopted a resolution stating: "That this conference, recognizing the need for the government to do all in its power to promote peace in Vietnam, urges the government in its capacity as co-chairman of the peace conference of 1954, to call for the removal of all foreign troops and to disassociate itself

from American policy over Vietnam and to continue to press for peace talks."

Japan: The Japanese Seamen's Union has just signed an agreement with the eight major Japanese shipping companies under which union crews will not sail ships to North Vietnam or ships with military cargoes bound for South Vietnam. Prior to this agreement, Japanese seamen had been boycotting ships carrying military supplies to South Vietnam. Their boycott had the full support of SOHYO, Japan's largest union organization.

Australia: The Waterside Workers Federation struck 180 ships last June 6, according to a report in the July 9 *Dispatch*, U.S. West Coast longshoremen's paper. Several thousand more dockers struck again on June 19, when the Industrial Court levied a heavy fine against the Federation. The striking dockers opposed the sending of troops to South Vietnam.

Trade union opposition to the Vietnam war has also been expressed in resolutions adopted by several independent U.S. unions. Among these are United Electrical Workers Union (UE) and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

The *Missouri Teamster*, official publication of Teamsters Joint Council 13, St. Louis, Mo., has devoted considerable space to criticism of Johnson's policy. On July 2, for example, Carl Leathwood, a contributing editor, wrote an article, "The Irish Were Once the Viet Cong of Europe."

"That is surely a mess LBJ inherited in Vietnam from Eisenhower and Kennedy," Leathwood starts out. "At least they were content to keep the mess small, while LBJ, hoping to intimidate those colored people and get it finished off, has now made it a big mess..."

"While LBJ frets about the stubbornness of these Asiatic colored folks — while he threshes about like Br'er Rabbit with his paws stuck to the tar baby — let him take such comfort as he can from the fact guerrilla warfare has bothered other nations over the centuries."

Leathwood then refers to English attempts to conquer Ireland 400 years ago and the successful guerrilla tactics used by the Irish to oppose them.

American Guerrillas

"The American rebellion against England in 1775," continues Leathwood, "was in part a guerrilla operation. All the new nations of Africa and Asia gained independence by guerrilla action, and Castro's Cuba is a noted example of guerrilla warfare's successes."

Concluding on the note of an irreversible colonial revolution against the "white masters," Leathwood says, "It looks like the world will be writhing in pain and dripping blood for quite a while. Too bad, that's the way bosses are."

Opposition to Johnson in the unions, however, is still weak and no major union leaders have openly advocated a political break with Johnson or the bipartisan Republican and Democratic war program. Instead, most of the country's union publications give the impression that America's 17 million organized workers are 100 percent for Meany and the rest of the labor fakery.

Actually there has never been a free and open discussion among rank-and-file unionists on the question of the war in Vietnam. This is especially true of young workers who do the dirty work in the factories and are expected to do the dirty fighting in Vietnam.

—Tom Leonard

More Questions on Malcolm X's Murder

By George Breitman

DETROIT, July 18 — "Why don't you admit that the Black Muslims killed Malcolm X, instead of trying to cast suspicion on the police? Malcolm himself said the Black Muslims were trying to kill him, and he was going to reveal the names of the would-be assassins at the meeting on Feb. 21 where he was murdered."

The above is one response to my article in the July 12 *Militant*, where I took note of certain things printed in the New York newspapers after the assassination that raised questions about the conduct of the police.

The reason I don't "admit" the Black Muslims killed Malcolm is that I don't know that to be a fact. It may be so, but until it is proved it remains only a possibility — one among others. Even if Black Muslims or their agents were out to kill him, they may not have been the only ones.

What Malcolm thought about it is important, but not conclusive; he did not have all the facts either.

When his home was bombed on Feb. 14, a week before his assassination, he definitely accused the Black Muslims of the murder attempt. He believed it was a continuation of their bitter attacks and harassments.

Once he had made this accusation, it was a perfect setup for other forces to kill him and have it assumed that the Black Muslims were guilty. I do not say it happened that way; I say it could have happened that way if other forces were out to get him.

Second Thoughts

The police and the press publicized Malcolm's first opinion, but not his later doubts about that opinion. Yet it is a fact that in the last two or three days of his life Malcolm began to have second thoughts about the question. He told associates he was "not all that sure it's the Muslims" and that he was going to quit saying it was.

And in the last hour of his life, as he sat in the small anteroom of the Audubon Ballroom waiting for his turn to speak, he told members of his organization there that he was going to state that he had been hasty to accuse the Black Muslims of bombing his home, because things that had happened after the bombing had convinced him of the existence of a plot bigger and beyond the capabilities of the Black Muslims.

Again, he might have been right or he might have been wrong. The point is that he did not know for sure, and therefore his opinion one way or the other is not conclusive.

In my previous article I called attention to some things that the New York papers reported right after the assassination and then dropped like a hot potato: That the crowd had seized and was beating two men whom they accused of having killed Malcolm; that the police came and rescued these two men; that they later indicted one of them, Talmadge Hayer of Paterson, N. J., for the murder; but that they never have said anything about the second man, who has simply disappeared without explanation.

Trying to figure out why the police behaved so strangely in regard to this second man, I noted that they admitted "several" police agents were in the hall pretending to be ordinary members of the audience when the killing took place, and I speculated that the second man might have been one of these police agents. I said that this might account for the way the top police dealt with him, and then I asked again: If he was a police agent, what was he doing that convinced a part of the audience that he was one of the killers?

In the recent Statue of Liberty case in New York, it turned out that the chief initiator of what ever was plotted was an agent-



Malcolm X

provocateur planted there by the city police. When a Ku Klux Klan gang murdered Mrs. Viola Liuzzo in Alabama, it turned out that one member of the gang was an agent planted there by the FBI. It is well known, and Malcolm pointed this out several times, that the police and the FBI have infiltrated the Black Muslims.

These are reasons why I cannot rule out the possibility that a police agent might have been part of the murder gang, even encouraging the plot. It doesn't at all displease the police that Malcolm is dead and his movement beheaded, under circumstances that favor blaming the Black Muslims and possibly wiping out their movement, too.

If such speculation is without basis, if the police did not have an agent in the murder gang, if the police were in no way implicated in the murder, then they should easily be able to clear up the puzzling questions about the second man, whose identity and role they know.

While they are at it, perhaps they will clear up some other matters about their conduct.

Malcolm's body was hardly cold before top police officials began bombarding the public with statements about how often they had offered him protection. Every official had a different figure for the number of offers, but all of them said Malcolm refused protection.

Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, had another story. Ted Poston, writing in the Feb. 23 *New York Post*, told of her reaction, the night after the killing, as she was watching TV and heard Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm say, "Of course we offered Malcolm X police protection many times — as late as the day his house was bombed." "That's a lie," Mrs. Shabazz said.

Not Absolved

Either way, the police are not absolved of the responsibility for preventing murder. They are supposed to protect people, they are supposed to prevent murder, even of people who don't want special protection. And in this case they knew, more than a month before Feb. 21, that Malcolm's murder was being planned.

That isn't what I say — that's what they say. "According to the police spokesman, the department knew in mid-January that an attempt was to be made on Malcolm's life," the *New York Journal-American* reported on Feb. 22.

The police spokesman did not say how they knew. This would be interesting, but here let us confine ourselves to the question of what the police, knowing about the murder plot, did in and around the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21.

We already know that there were "several" undercover police agents in the audience. What about outside?

"According to police officials, a patrolman was stationed outside

the ballroom," the *New York World-Telegram* reported Feb. 22.

A high police official, after confirming that police agents were planted inside the meeting, added, "And there were a couple of uniformed men outside," the *Herald Tribune* reported Feb. 23.

"Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm said yesterday [Feb. 22] that a special detail had been assigned outside the ballroom... Assistant Chief Inspector Harry Taylor, in charge of Manhattan North uniformed police said Sunday [Feb. 21] that two sergeants and 18 patrolmen had been stationed in the area," the *New York Times* reported on Feb. 23.

Which was it — "a" patrolman, "a couple" or a "special detail" of 20? Why such discrepancies about a relatively simple question? What does it denote — ineptness, indifference, or a sense of guilt?

Let us, for the moment, give the police department the benefit of the doubt and assume that they did assign 20 cops outside the Audubon. The sight of them might have had some effect on the killers. Where were the 20 cops between the time people began to arrive for the rally and the time of the killing? Many witnesses saw few or no cops as they reached the Audubon.

Mrs. Patricia M. Russell, a psychiatric social worker of New Rochelle, who wrote an eyewitness description of the murder in the Feb. 27 *Baltimore Afro-American*, said, "When we drove past the Audubon Ballroom... there were two police cars and eight policemen — two in front and six standing across the street at various corners. We had to look for a parking space and did not get back to the ballroom for 10 minutes. The area in front of the ballroom was clear of policemen. There was not one officer in sight." This was 10 or 15 minutes before the murder.

Where was the special detail of 20 police at this time?

If it had depended on the cops alone, nobody would have been captured at the scene of the crime.

Police Do Nothing

The "several" police agents didn't do anything to catch the men who shot Malcolm down right in front of them.

Talmadge Hayer, the only person captured at the Audubon who was indicted by the police for the murder, would have got away if it had depended solely on the cops, inside or outside. Someone shot him in the leg as he fled, and the crowd chasing him caught him outside the ballroom. If it had not been for the shot and the crowd, Hayer would have got away before police showed up.

When the police finally did appear, Hayer was seized from the crowd by Sgt. Alvin Aronoff and Patrolman Louis Angelos. The Feb. 22 *Times* said they "were cruising in their patrol car on upper Broadway shortly after 3 P.M. when they heard shots in the Audubon Ballroom." The Feb. 22 *Daily News* said they "were driving by."

There was no claim by anybody that Aronoff and Angelos belonged to any special detail. They apparently were on regular cruising duty out of their precinct station, and happened to be passing by as Hayer and the people chasing him spilled out into the street.

It is not necessary for me to charge the police with ineptness or indifference — the facts speak for themselves. The question is why they acted this way. And related to that question are two others:

Did the killers act as boldly as they did because they had reason to believe that none of them would be caught by the police at the Audubon — which (leaving the second man aside) is exactly how it would have turned out if someone (not a cop) hadn't shot Hayer in the leg?

And if they had reason to believe this, what was that reason?

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Classes on AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION: Cuba, Aug. 10; Congo, Aug. 13; Dominican Republic, Aug. 17; Vietnam, Aug. 20; Algeria, Aug. 24. At 7:30 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Young Socialist Summer School.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND THE BLACK REVOLUTION. Speaker: Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Manhattan Borough President. Sat., Aug. 14, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND THE BLACK REVOLUTION. Speaker: Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Manhattan Borough President. Fri., Aug. 13, 8 p.m.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF LEON TROTSKY. First of two talks. Speakers: John Austin. Fri., Aug. 20, 8 p.m. All forums at 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE WORLD TODAY: THE AGE OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION. Commemorating the 25th anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky. Speakers: Theodore Edwards, California chairman of the Socialist Workers Party; Mike Geldman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Aug. 20, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his biweekly radio commentary. Tues., Aug. 17, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., Aug. 18, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

WHY BLACK PEOPLE OPPOSE JOHNSON'S WAR. Speaker: Robert Vernon, author of *The Black Ghetto*. Fri., Aug. 13, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THE MEANING OF THE ALGERIAN COUP. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor, the *Young Socialist*. Fri., Aug. 20, 8:30

Root Causes of the Vietnam War

By Fred Halstead

One of the most important aspects of the current discussion within the antiwar movement deals with the causes of war, and in particular the causes of the war in Vietnam. It is the purpose of this article to present a sketch of the Marxist view of this question, the view that the capitalist system is the root cause of major war in modern times. (Marxists never claimed capitalism was the only cause of all armed clashes in all times and situations. This is a straw man often used by those interested in dismissing the Marxist analysis without really dealing with it.)

In an article entitled "What Should the Peace Movement Do?" in the June 28 *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, the editor makes the following statement: "If the cause of world peace depends on the overthrow of American capitalism there isn't much hope for the world." Marxists would put it the other way around: If the cause of world peace depends on maintaining American capitalism, there is no hope for the world because capitalism contains within itself an inexorable tendency toward war.

This is not to say that the temporary settlement of any particular war crisis must wait on a socialist revolution in this country. But it does mean that the capitalist rulers of the U.S. cannot be peaceful, that they can be forced to hold off their war drive only by powerful forces opposed

to them, and that as long as the system remains, new crises and threats to world peace will continue to occur.

Just what are the factors involved in this war drive inherent in the capitalist or "free enterprise" system? For one thing, there is a tendency for each individual capitalist enterprise to expand. Competition forces each enterprise to take advantage of the benefits of organization and technology only possible on a larger scale. The smaller enterprises must sooner or later consolidate or grow to keep up with the efficiency of the larger ones. It is a question of expand or go out of business, absorb or be absorbed.

This situation, which flows quite naturally from small capitalist competition and honest exchange in commerce, inevitably leads to the opposite — syndicates, trusts, cartels and other monopoly forms. (Antitrust laws are always relatively ineffective.) It also leads to the dependence of industry on the banking system which alone is capable of bringing under centralized control the wealth of the whole society, and providing to private enterprises the huge amounts of capital necessary to keep up with the revolutions in technology and organization.

These monopolies introduce certain planning of production and "socialization" within their enterprises, but their highest purpose is still private, not social — that

is, to make the greatest profits possible for their particular private owners. This monopoly capitalism, or finance capitalism, is very profitable since it violates the laws of free competition, setting prices, cornering sources of raw materials and markets, cheating suppliers and consumers, and so on. But it does not eliminate competition altogether. Blind competition is transferred to a higher level — competition between monopolies, between financial oligarchies — and it becomes international in character.

This is a very serious matter, because by the time this stage is reached — and it was reached in the major capitalist countries before World War I — the growth of monopoly has led to the domination of the state by the financial oligarchies. They accomplish this through all the tremendous powers of persuasion, control and corruption possible with great private wealth.

Imperialist Government

When the capitalist financial oligarchies have seized control of the politics of the country, they use the government to secure and improve their position vis-à-vis their competition overseas, to assist them in obtaining, securing and holding their foreign profits, markets, colonies and spheres of influence. This is the stage of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, in which the underdeveloped areas of the world are considered fair game for the imperialist armies, diplomats and gunboats.

When these interests clash with those of other financial oligarchies which have seized control of their governments, the result is inter-imperialist war, world war for a redivision of spheres of influence, of spheres of monopoly control. This occurred in 1914-1918 and 1939-1945.

Workers Exploited

There is, of course, another side to this whole process — the social side — which also contributes to the drive toward war. The individual private enterprise makes profits by exploiting labor power, by hiring workers for less money than the value they produce. In order to grow, the enterprise must reinvest a considerable part of this surplus value, it must enlarge the scale of production. In social or human terms, it must tend to exploit more workers. This process is uneven, but in the long run, the expansion of capitalism — even with automation — involves the expansion of the working class, those who work for wages whether they be laborers or engineers.

It also involves the tendency to eliminate the smaller capitalists and the individuals who work for themselves, such as family farmers, individual artisans, corner storekeepers, and so on, who simply can't compete with big monopoly enterprises.

Boom and Bust

In Marx's time, this had already produced a huge army of workers only part of whom were employed full time, the rest being employed and unemployed as the system went through cycles of boom and depression.

Just before the epoch of imperialism, in each major capitalist country there was a huge army of poor workers on the one hand, and increasing amounts of surplus capital in the hands of the financial oligarchies on the other. Under the capitalist system, this wealth could not simply be redistributed, because that wouldn't be profitable for the private owners. But the army of workers was growing restless, accepting socialist ideas and threatening to overthrow the system as the social crisis increased.

Imperialism helped the capitalists alleviate both these conditions. They used their surplus capital profitably by exporting it



to areas under their imperialist control, and they tended at the same time to export their own social crisis. This last effect was aided in good part by the capitalists granting concessions to certain privileged workers and union bureaucrats at home out of the supermonopoly profits they gleaned by exploiting the underdeveloped countries.

This created terrible social privations and eventually revolutions in the colonial and semicolonial world, and some of these areas, such as China and Cuba, have been removed completely from the area open for imperialist exploitation. (It is important to note that these revolutions did not cut off value-for-value trade with capitalist nations, but they did cut off the cheating, exploiting relationships which imperialists impose on their spheres of influence in the underdeveloped areas.) The Russian Revolution of 1917 had already cut off another huge area from imperialist penetration.

Top Dog

At the end of World War II, the U.S. emerged as top dog among the imperialist countries and has so far been able to dominate and regulate the rivalries between them to a considerable extent. But all of the tendencies toward expansion sketched above still operate and under U.S. leadership, they have been directed toward rolling back the colonial revolutions and recapturing the countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc for imperialist economic expansion and exploitation.

This is the source of the cold war. It is the fundamental drive of U.S. aggression in the present world. And it is a drive which the noncapitalist countries, for all their difficulties and faults, do not have within their economies. That is why the United States has troops and bases on every continent, in dozens of foreign countries, ringing the Sino-Soviet bloc, while Russia and China have no bases outside their own countries and countries immediately on their borders. (The Cuban missile sites, supplied by the Russians to deter a U.S. invasion which the U.S. made no bones about planning, were the single exception.)

Military Aggression

The military posture of the U.S. in the past 20 years has been aggressive, while that of the Soviet Union and China has been defensive, at the most attempting to secure buffer zones around their own borders. Within these buffer countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union did take certain unfair economic advantage — much more so at the beginning and much less so, if at all, recently. This was a piece of bureaucratic arrogance and chauvinism and raised the anger and opposition of the local inhabitants — and especially of the best communists — in the areas affected. But it was funda-

mentally different from capitalist imperialism. It did not flow from an irreversible drive to economic expansion into foreign territory, and the health of the Soviet economy did not depend upon it.

Countries with a planned economy have no surplus of capital — quite the contrary they are always short of it — since they can always invest to good effect in their own territory. And they can always distribute surplus commodities within their own countries by administrative means, since they are public property. Such countries are as willing to sell basic plants to a backward country as they are to sell finished products, on a dollar-for-dollar basis. This is not true of U.S. private enterprise, which always seeks a monopoly advantage, wants control over the enterprises it builds overseas, and tends to keep the underdeveloped areas in the position of suppliers of raw materials.

Large Investments

The argument is sometimes raised that the U.S. has relatively few investments at present in South Vietnam, so it couldn't be imperialist reasons that drive it to war there. For one thing, the U.S. does have huge investments in other areas of Southeast Asia, and for another, imperialists don't go to war simply to protect existing investments, but also to secure areas for future expansion.

One of the most ardent supporters of President Johnson's policies in Vietnam, Senator McGee of Wyoming, blurted out the truth in a speech before the Senate last Feb. 24. He said:

"It is my judgment that the area of Indochina, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, is such a rich enough empire in its total context, with tin, rubber, oil, rice and a number of other important resources, that it makes a difference to the powers of the world what happens to that segment of resource potential . . . It was worth a war on the part of Japan. The reason she made war in the Pacific was to make this area a part of the Japanese empire. So also was it worth a war by the British, by the French, by the Dutch, and the Portuguese in earlier colonial times . . ."

Wish for Allies

"Needless to say, we all would wish that we had allies beside us and that the Vietnamese were in better order south of the 17th parallel than they are, and that they had the will to go on, and that sort of thing; but I believe this is relatively irrelevant. The real point is once again the old political power struggle that takes place in the wake of any great war. This has been going on since the end of World War II."

The issue of "communism" really has very little to do with the capitalist drive toward war. If there had been no Russian or Chinese revolutions, the factors sketched above would still be operating and the U.S. capitalists would still be involved in one imperialist adventure after the other. Very likely, they would be involved in a slaughter right where they are now, in Southeast Asia, for they have already sent U.S. boys to die in two wars — the Spanish American and World War II — with the "right" to exploit that area as a chief object.

That is why it is necessary for the antiwar forces to build a movement independent of the capitalists. To end the threat of war, the movement must sooner or later overcome the political power of American capitalism, by organizing those forces — Marxists call them the working class — who are capable of developing even greater power and who would lead a better life if capitalism were replaced by socialism. Nobody ever said it would be easy, but human survival depends upon it.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

UNITY: THE ROAD TO FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA. A memorandum submitted to the Committee of Nine of the Organization of African Unity by the All-African Convention of South Africa, June, 1965. (Available from Pioneer Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York 10003, 25c.)

This pamphlet contains a background description of the liberation struggle in South Africa and an analysis of its political character. As a supplement to I. B. Tabata's "Freedom Struggle in South Africa," (*International Socialist Review*, Summer 1965), "Unity" is must reading for those following the development of the South African freedom movement.

The key to understanding the nature of the fight against this racist government, the pamphlet points out, is that there is dual oppression in South Africa: the oppression of the narrow-minded Afrikaner regime headed by Verwoerd, and the oppression of the world imperialist system.

By far the greater percentage of South African industry is owned by foreign investors — in Britain, France and the United States, particularly. It is directly in the interests of these investors that the vast majority of the South African population — the blacks — be kept as second-class citizens, with lower than subsistence-level wages and no political freedom.

This is the reason Britain, France and the United States continue to support Verwoerd, pouring money and guns into a police-state apparatus which keeps black workers in militarily occupied "reserves" and black political opposition in concentration camps.

But Verwoerd's racist regime

has become the object of attack all over the world, and more and more people are becoming opposed to its severe methods of repression.

Under this pressure the imperialists — and their liberal apologists around the world — have made a great issue out of "opposing" Verwoerd's apartheid regime. The world liberal press has played up certain attempts by South Africans to resist the apartheid regime — the "nonviolent" efforts, the "peaceful" protests, the "passive resistance" — or, in other words, attempts to change the Verwoerd government which have proved incapable of removing Verwoerd.

By giving a great deal of publicity to these protests, which in fact have led to violent reprisals by the Verwoerd regime, and which offer no hope whatsoever to the masses of South Africa, the liberal imperialists appear to sympathize with the African liberation movement while in reality they are only publicizing its weakest efforts.

At the same time, the press does not report the most important facts about the liberation struggle in South Africa, that the masses of workers and farmers are joining on a nationwide basis to form their own political party, dedicated to bringing full political freedom to black South Africans.

It is this unity movement of the oppressed masses which in the long run will prove to be the only force capable of ending Verwoerd's government and imperialist domination of the South African economy. It is important that revolutionaries in this country find out about it and give it their fullest support and, for this, there is no substitute for the article by I. B. Tabata mentioned above and the new "Unity" pamphlet.

—Dick Roberts

THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

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Monday, August 9, 1965

... Points for Anti-War Program

(Continued from Page 1)

which seek to curtail the unions, keep the Negro "in his place," and which are responsible for maintaining the system which breeds poverty and unemployment. The war in Vietnam is not being fought for the workingman in this country, but for the capitalist ruling class. The black and white workers of the U.S., even the more skilled and better paid workers, do not have anything to gain by the Vietnam war—and they have a lot to lose. It will be the sons and brothers and husbands of workers, in the main, who will fight and die in Vietnam for the benefit of the rich.

3. Against the witch hunt, internal and external.

The mass of the American people face another danger, that of the growth of the reaction which always goes hand in hand with imperialist war. The espousal by the ruling class of the McCarthyite lie of the "communist conspiracy" to justify its war in Vietnam encourages and strengthens McCarthyism at home. The fight against reaction and the fight against war are two aspects of the same fight. The antiwar movement should combat the myth of the "communist conspiracy" as the justification for the Vietnam war, and it should combat it at home and within the antiwar movement itself. Communists and socialists should be included in the antiwar movement, both because their ideas are important to the movement, and to make crystal clear the movement's stand against McCarthyism.

4. The movement should examine the nature of the war.

The war in Vietnam is a civil war. On one side is the corrupt, hated, dictatorial regime in Saigon. Its only solid Vietnamese support comes from the small class of landlords and capitalists. It receives its real strength in money and arms from U.S. tax dollars. This is the side the U.S. troops are supporting, as part of the strategy of the U.S. ruling class to preserve its hegemony throughout the world. On the other side are the masses of the Vietnamese, especially the peasants, who are fighting for land and for freedom from foreign domination. Justice is on their side.

5. Toward a Third Continental Congress.

The Assembly of Unrepresented People could be a first step toward a more ambitious Third Continental Congress, as has been suggested by Staughton Lynd and others. A Third Continental Congress, if carefully prepared, would be a massive demonstration against the war. By its very existence, it would declare that the American people are not represented in Washington on the question of the war in Vietnam, just as the American colonists who held the first two Continental Congresses during the American Revolution were not represented in London. The Third Continental Congress would raise the idea that the people, not a handful of capitalist politicians around Johnson, have the right and should have the power to determine U.S. policy toward Vietnam.

... Civil Rights and Political Action

(Continued from Page 1)
cause no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom. You can't separate the two."

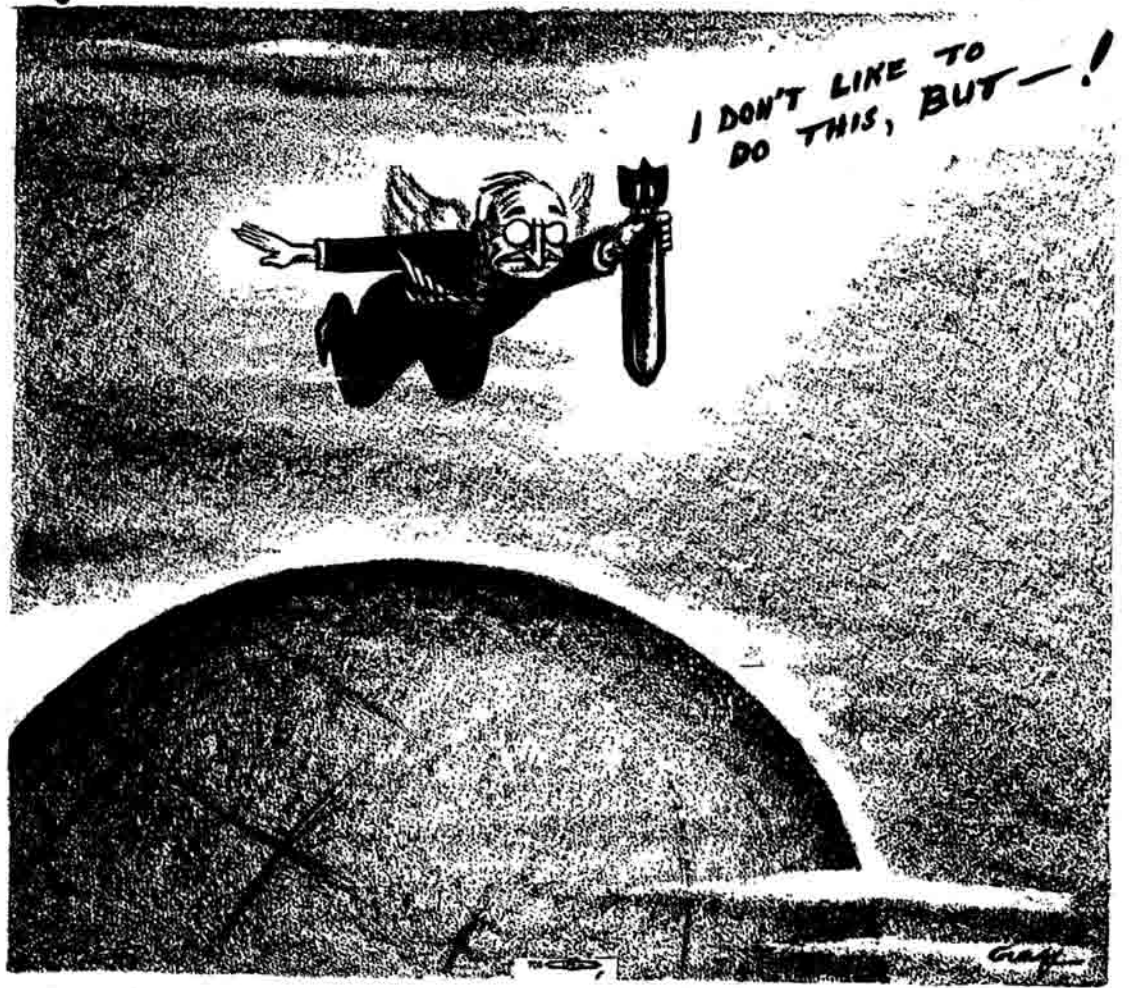
The Freedom Now movement

and the antiwar movement have much in common, and they should support each other. The war Johnson is waging against the people of Vietnam is a racist war. The Vietnamese people who are rising up against foreign domination are part of the colored peoples' revolution against colonialism which is sweeping the world.

Inside the United States colored people are second-class citizens. They are subjected to violence, live in crowded ghettos, send their kids to segregated schools for inferior education, and are the last hired and first fired. The colored peoples of the rest of the world and the United States have a common bond — to end oppression now!

Negroes have nothing to gain by the Vietnam war. Civil rights militants should demand that their organizations oppose this war against their Vietnamese brothers, and reject the politics of the Rustins, which would have them support Johnson and his dirty wars.

Hiroshima Harry



Twenty years ago August 6, the most monstrous single crime in the history of the human race was committed on the orders of Harry S. Truman, then President of the United States and commander in chief of its armed forces. Though Japan was already decisively defeated and its government making serious efforts to sue for peace, the Atom Bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, killing an estimated 100,000 men, women and children, and injuring many more, almost all of them noncombatants. Winston Churchill and Prime Minister Clement Atlee of Britain took responsibility, along with Truman, for the decision to commit this crime against a nonwhite race. The bomb was dropped, not to end the war with Japan, but as the opening move of the cold war, to show the world that the U.S. had this monstrous weapon and to prove that the U.S. rulers would be ruthless enough to use it on human beings. To emphasize this point, a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki August 9, resulting in similar mass murder.

... Vietnam and Johnson's War on Truth

(Continued from Page 1)

Press" television program Aug. 1 that if there were an election in South Vietnam today, Ho Chi Minh would win.

The Saigon government is plainly a puppet of the United States. Its very existence depends not only on U.S. money and military equipment, but on American troops. The press generally admits that the puppet government would disappear within a matter of weeks if the American forces were withdrawn from Vietnam. In his justification of the war, Johnson pointed out that "we learned from Hitler at Munich that success only feeds the appetite of aggression." It is quite true that success encourages aggressors, but the question at issue is: who is the aggressor? Johnson labels social revolution or the threat of it — from Vietnam to the Dominican Republic — as "Communism," and "Communism" is equated with "aggression" by him. If Johnson can justify a large war in Vietnam by the fact that otherwise "Communism" would triumph if he can justify landing the Marines in the Dominican Republic because of a remote possibility of "Communism," then certainly he can justify the invasion of North Vietnam or the bombing of China by the existence of "Communism." All he lacks is success to encourage him in these more ambitious wars for "freedom."

Johnson's final points in defense of the war are as follows: "Three Presidents—President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and your present President — over 11 years have committed themselves and have promised to help defend this small valiant nation . . . And we just cannot now dishonor our word, or abandon our commitment, or leave those who believed us and who trusted us to the terror and repression and murder that would follow."

Just what does this statement mean? Johnson and the government are not opposed to terror, repression or murder. American airplanes — dropping napalm, bombs, rockets, poisonous chemicals and gases — maim and murder Vietnamese men, women and children wholesale as a daily routine. Even the pretext that only military targets are attacked is being dropped as the press reports that villages "suspected" of harboring the "Vietcong" are attacked. More and more photographs are published showing Johnson's allies torturing "Vietcong" prisoners and "suspects" without even a protest from Johnson. The truth is that the quickest way to end bloodshed and terror in Vietnam is by withdrawing American troops.

A Warning

These statements coupling American "honor," the President's word, and possible terror if the U.S. withdraws constitute a warning to the liberals — to those who have spoken out against the war on tactical grounds. Johnson's message is: "The time for discussion is over. The decision has been made. We're at war. Now shut up and get in line!"

Johnson seeks to cover the United States' blatant aggression in Vietnam with a tone of reasonableness. In his speech he said he did not want "an expanding struggle." He repeated his offer for "unconditional discussions with any government." He sent a letter to U Thant asking the UN to find ways to "halt aggression" in Vietnam. But his actions in bombing North Vietnam and committing the U.S. to a full-scale war against the people of South Vietnam demonstrate that these are only lies and petty subterfuges.

"We insist and we will always insist that the people of South Vietnam shall have the right of

choice, the right to shape their own destiny in free elections in the South or throughout all Vietnam . . . This was the purpose of the 1954 agreements which the Communists have now cruelly shattered," said lying Lyndon. At this point in his statement Johnson rivaled Hitler in his use of the big lie technique. For it was the U.S. sponsored puppet, Diem, who refused to honor the Geneva agreements and hold elections on the basis of which the country was to be unified under a single government.

The decision of Johnson and his advisers was for a major war in Vietnam on the scale of the Korean war. But an effort is being made to slide into this war gradually, in order to avoid as much opposition as they can.

Johnson announced that he would ask for between one and two billion dollars to finance the war, but that is only a tiny part of what the war will cost. Senator Russell estimates that this coming year of war will cost between \$10 billion and \$12 billion and other congressmen have made similar estimates. What this will mean is that there will be no tax cut, and no new social welfare benefits.

Talk of wage controls to "prevent inflation" has already begun. The legislation has been written, and the administration is waiting for an opportune moment to send it through Congress. The cost of living will rise rapidly as the war gets going and businessmen use the excuse of shortages to raise their prices and profits.

Apparently Johnson's message didn't convince many of those most affected by the war. According to a recent public opinion survey by the noted pollster Samuel Lubell, one in four polled favored withdrawal from Vietnam. This reflected the feelings of families with sons in the service or about to be drafted, he said.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Summer 1965

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New York, N.Y. 10003

Since the Boumedienne Coup

Recent Developments in Algeria

By Pierre Frank

PARIS, (World Outlook) — In the month or so after the coup d'état that deposed Ben Bella, the new regime, in one form or another, was granted recognition by the various powers, the big ones like the United States, the USSR and China, and the medium and small ones. The act of violence has thus been ratified on an international scale.

Within the country, the demonstrations that broke out immediately after Boumedienne seized power have come to an end. The "National Council of the Revolution," whose membership was not announced until after two weeks, turned out to consist almost wholly of military figures for whom Boumedienne had just set an example they are bound to ponder over. A week later the composition of the government was announced. This, along with declarations made by spokesmen of the new regime, have given rise to some speculation.

It has been noted quite generally that the new regime has not turned the tiller sharply to the right, that it has expressed its intention to pursue Algeria's socialist "option," that it has come out for maintaining self-management, etc. The pro-Islamic declarations are said to be no surprise. Finally, the composition of the new government has been declared of interest. Particularly, the replacement of Boudissa, who had a reputation of being reactionary and dishonest, by Zerdani as minister of labor, has been stressed. Zerdani has the reputation of being a man of the left.

Did the coup d'état then signify only a shift in personnel and not in political orientation?

F.I. Stand

Upon the announcement of the coup d'état, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International held that the operation of June 19 did not signify the immediate liquidation of the conquests of the revolution and the establishment ipso facto of a neocolonialist regime. [See *The Militant*, July 12.] It could even be expected, the Fourth International held, that while seeking to consolidate a regime to the right of Ben Bella's, Boumedienne might undertake certain radical measures, for example in the direction of agrarian reform.

Up to now this is the tendency that appears to be in the forefront. At the same time, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International stressed that an operation like the one carried out by Boumedienne has a logic that does not necessarily coincide with his possible intentions.

This is the root of the question. It could be objected that Ben Bella himself came to power in July 1962 under "nondemocratic" conditions. But the assertion is false. First of all, the provisional government replaced in 1962 was an assemblage whose relations with



Ahmed Ben Bella

the Algerian masses were questionable; and it was on the spirit, the enthusiasm of the masses, that the Ben Bella team was brought to power. The support of the masses was concretely shown through street demonstrations. In the recent coup the new power showed that it did not dare appeal to the masses, that it was very careful not to call on them to demonstrate in the streets.

Boumedienne's Bonapartist game, which is not much different from Ben Bella's, is not what is decisive. In politics, it is not only the *what* that counts. The *who* and the *how* can have very considerable consequences. For quite a time Ben Bella addressed the masses above all, and the Algerian revolution made progress. Then he turned to combinations at the top, and thus he opened the way to a coup d'état.

Despite recognition from the big powers, Boumedienne's regime is unstable; it rests on an armed

force that cannot help but feel the social tensions existing in the country. He does not have the capital of sympathy, of personal authority enjoyed by Ben Bella. In proceeding to a coup d'état, he created a new situation in which the first conclusion is that the Algerian revolution is weaker than before. The masses have been disoriented, and the partisans of the coup d'état encouraged.

New Factor

A disquieting new element is the position taken by figures like Zerdani who are considered to be in the left. It is the act of an individual it would have little importance. But unfortunately leftist figures in Algeria have had a tendency for more than a year to line up with combinations at the top in hope of advancing their ideas rather than trying to organize themselves and to organize the vanguard of tested, militant and clear-sighted middle cadres to be found in the ranks of the Algerian revolution. The only "positive" result which the June 19 coup d'état could have would be to stimulate the organization of such a vanguard in the light of the lessons of three years of independence. But if an important part of the left continues to use its talents in combinations at the top, this will prove disastrous for the future of the revolution. No revolution has ever advanced by such means. A revolution can advance only by the broad participation of the masses in political life. Corridor deals are incomprehensible to the masses; it wears them and demobilizes them.

The policy of the new regime following the June 19 coup d'état is not in itself the sole determinant. Social forces have been set loose. Some of them, the neocolonialist forces, operate in the dark. The revolutionary forces, in contrast, can advance only by organizing a political vanguard.

Dominican Freedom Fighters Address Appeal to Negro GIs

"More than 40 per cent of the approximately 20,000 American troops occupying that tropical island [the Dominican Republic] are Negroes, a proportion which must be regarded as a calculated piece of strategy by the Pentagon which sent them there." So reports Afro-American newsman Laurence Henry who was in Santo Domingo in June and who has written an informative and important report published in the June, 1965 issue of *The Realist*.

The article reprints two letters, one of which was given to Henry by Lt. Col. Montez Arache, military commandant of the constitutional forces in Santo Domingo, and, like most Dominicans, a Negro by U.S. definition. It is addressed: "Listen: American Negro Soldier." It says:

"We Dominicans are fighting for our freedom from social injustice, from racial discrimination. We are giving our lives so that our sons will have what we have never had: WORK, FOOD, EDUCATION, SECURITY. We have been oppressed for centuries and now we have the chance to win our long cherished DEMOCRACY UNDER A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT and leaders chosen by our people.

"You, American Negro Soldier, have been sent by your Government to suppress our movement, to help Wessin y Wessin and Imbert Barreras, two Fascist Generals who follow the teachings of Trujillo, a dictator who murdered our people for thirty long years with the support of your State Department in Washington. But we have the truth on our side. We are on

the right side of History. We are willing to die for our cause.

"We don't want to be your enemy. We don't want to kill you. We don't want you to murder us with your big tanks and your deadly planes and weapons. American Negro Soldier: We are your brothers. We have the same color.

"Open your eyes, American Negro Soldier. Back in Mississippi and Alabama, in Little Rock, in Selma, your brothers, sisters and parents are being killed by the same white men who are sending you to die in this island.

"Your white masters are sending you, American Negro Soldier, so that you forget what they are doing right now to your family back in the Deep South. They want you to forget that back home in Dixieland you can't sit beside a white man; that you can't go to school with him; that you are not wanted; that you are not loved.

"Our cause here is the same as your cause back home. You have Martin Luther King and the Bill of Rights. We have Juan Bosch and our Democratic Constitution. So lay off, American Negro Soldier. Point your gun at your own white oppressor. Don't shoot at your Dominican brother."

The second letter is from an American Negro soldier, to his wife. It is addressed "Dear Daphne." Excerpts follow:

"I am writing you this letter with a heavy heart. I regret having to write you such a letter but if I don't tell this to some one I am going to drive myself crazy thinking about it. I was a witness to a demonstration today and I

learned a little more than I knew before about this fight that we have committed ourselves to. This demonstration was one of the saddest things that I have ever seen. There were all old women and young girls.

"They were singing that they wanted us out of here. And I think that these people were right to protest our being here. We have killed their children and their men and women. These were people who were fighting for something that they thought was right. If we had never come here I feel that these people would have been better off. There would have been far less death, less hate for the American people. I fear that our country has made a great mistake . . .

"I saw a lady die in the dusty streets of Santo Domingo because someone did not look where they were shooting their guns. I saw four men die because a loyalist soldier thought that they were rebels and didn't wait to ask questions . . .

"Even after seeing all this death and hate, over here, I can still see the word prejudice. Even here in this bloody and war-torn land the white still hate the black. The white people own all of the villas and stores and the black people work for them and live in the slum areas. Even with the revolution going on, this place is just another Alabama . . . We are the black underdog no matter where we go.

"I think that this thing is nearing an end. Now maybe we can resume our life where we left off at. And keep struggling at this mean white world."

Background to Protests That Are Shaking Greece

(World Outlook) — For somewhat more than a year a certain amount of political freedom has existed in Greece, after many long years of repression. On Feb. 16, 1964, the Caramanlis regime was defeated at the ballot box despite scandalous electoral frauds. Power passed into the hands of George Papandreou, leader of the Center Union Party and a liberal in terms of Greek politics. This turn resulted in the restoration of democratic rights to a certain degree. The labor movement breathed more freely. The legalization of the Communist Party was considered possible.

But Greece is the only country in the Balkans where capitalism was maintained following the war. With the political and material assistance of British and American imperialism, including armed force, the reactionary monarchy was restored to the throne, the church was bolstered and the army was shaped up to highly reactionary specifications.

To these reactionary forces, democracy represents a standing threat. Their fear of democracy is not without a real basis. At the end of World War II, the Greek workers stood close to taking power, failing only because its leadership bowed to pressure from Stalin and paved the way for the landing of British troops who then participated in a civil war that eventually crushed the proletarian forces and guerrilla fighters.

Papandreou's victory last year was a welcome sign of the revival of the Greek proletariat. The regime itself, however, was clearly an unstable one. While the workers sought to utilize the relatively democratic atmosphere to maximum advantage, the officer caste busied itself with conspiracies to liquidate the Papandreou regime.

When Papandreou sought to block these plots by at least naming a new minister of the armed forces, he ran into resistance from the monarchy. The proposed change was scarcely a radical one, since Papandreou's candidate for the post was a member of his own Center Union Party. The monarchy, however, decided to utilize the issue to oust Papandreou. King Constantine provoked Papandreou into a hasty resignation; and, in a move that had evidently been worked out well in advance by his advisers, appointed George Athanasiades-Novas, a member of Papandreou's own party, to replace him as prime minister.

The move thus had elements of a coup d'état, with the 25-year-old king serving as ostensible director of the operation.

The labor movement was alarmed. Papandreou's ouster might well signify a return to the McCarthyism of the Caramanlis period. A wave of protest swept the country. In Athens July 16 demonstrators were in the streets and the police were trying to club them down. It was reported that 108 had been injured, half of them being police. This was followed by a demonstration July 18, involving 25,000 participants. In Salonika, 3,000 demonstrators staged a rally near the university. They carried banners condemning the "royal coup d'état in Greece," and American policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. At Heraklion in Crete, several thousand persons attended a meeting at which speakers denounced the "government of the king."

Greece may face a turning point. The reaction is pressing for a return to a regime like that headed by Caramanlis. To maintain itself it would inevitably prove to be even more ferocious and bloody. To meet this threat effectively, the masses have no choice but to move forward, bringing down the monarchy. This opening political wedge would put in question the entire present social and economic system.

Thus, at one of the extremities of Europe, the social equilibrium threatens to be upset. Workers everywhere should watch events in Greece now with the closest attention and be prepared to demonstrate their solidarity with the Greek people in their struggle against the threat of another wave of McCarthyism in Greece.

Canadians Aid South African Apartheid Foes

The struggle to bring the truth about South Africa to people in this hemisphere was given a significant boost when the Canadian Alexander Defense Committee enlisted a number of distinguished Canadians to its list of sponsors, including Northrup Frye, the internationally known literary critic and author.

Alexander Defense Committees were organized in a number of countries to defend Dr. Neville Alexander, a brilliant scholar, and 10 other Africans who were railroaded to prison for terms of five to 10 years for "sabotage." The committees have broadened their work to expose the victimization of all political prisoners in South Africa.

In this country, the Alexander Defense Committee seeks the support of all people who want to bring out the truth about South Africa. Funds, which are urgently needed, should be sent to: Alexander Defense Committee, P.O. Box 345, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.

Two Pamphlets By Rosa Luxemburg

The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions

paper \$1

Socialism and the Churches

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Pioneer Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Harriet Tubman: Abolitionist

By Sylvia Weinstein

The history of slavery in the United States and the original colonies is a history of rebellion, either by uprising or escape.

In the last analysis, credit for the end of chattel slavery in the U.S. must be given to the black people themselves, who developed the political and theoretical leaders of the antislavery movement and who made the slave system falter and break down.

Harriet Tubman was one of these leaders. She was born around 1823, a slave, in the state of Maryland. As with all slaves, she was property and was treated as such. She worked the fields and, when the season was over, was hired out to other masters to do anything demanded of her. Even as a child, however, she would run away from a particularly cruel master. Her mother would always receive her then, and do her best to keep the punishment down.

When about 16, Harriet Tubman received a blow on her head while helping another slave escape. It affected her the rest of her life, leaving not only a visible scar but an even greater hatred of her enslavement. She knew then that sooner or later she must escape or be killed for rebelling against this life.

Escapes

Others had escaped and made a new life in the North. Around the age of 25, she made her break, first trying to convince her brothers to join her. They declined and she had to leave without them.

She made her way through swamps and forests, hiding during the day in friendly homes, until she reached the North. Once there, she made the acquaintance of that band of people who were to put their shoulders to the wheel of history and push mankind forward a giant step — the abolitionists.

To her, freedom was not just for herself, but for every black still enslaved. She set to work freeing more of her people. She knew the terrain and the friendly stops of the "underground railway." After working until she made enough money for the trip, she made her way back home to get more of her people. She brought them from the South to Canada and freedom. She didn't trust the United States enough to leave them in this country, even in the North. The federal Fugitive Slave Law and the rewards offered for escaped slaves were too much temptation.

Through the Traps

Once in Canada, she would find work as a cook, washwoman, or anything else to keep her people from starving while they got a start. But it was never long before she took off for the "fiery furnace" to bring out more "black gold."

At this time, besides the U.S. Army, there were armed whites from every city and county patrolling roads, railroad stations and carriage routes leading in and out of the slave states. The reward for a recaptured slave was high. Harriet Tubman, described by her friends as "black as a piece of coal," walked into and through this maze of traps with a price on her head as high as \$40,000, making 19 trips in all. Sometimes she had to point her gun at one of her own people to force him to go on with the dangerous and arduous escape. Babies sometimes had to be drugged to keep them from crying and revealing the hiding place.

Three hundred slaves, men, women and children, were brought into Canada by this woman.

Her great advantage was her knowledge of the racist mind. To a white racist, this small, black woman could be of no danger to



Harriet Tubman

that "superior" race. She looked no more dangerous to the armed and mighty slaver than a Vietnamese peasant woman looks to the armed and mighty invader of Vietnam, the U.S. military, today.

It was this work which drew John Brown to Harriet Tubman. He said of her: "She was the most man I ever met." His name for Harriet was "The General." He confided to her his plans for Harpers Ferry and she intended to join him in this battle. This fact in itself is indication that John Brown's plan was not as "crazy" as the high school history text books make it appear. Had he been successful in his attempt to capture the Harpers Ferry arsenal and distribute the weapons to slaves for guerrilla warfare based in the South's major mountain range, history would have recorded him a military genius. Failure brought him the name of fanatic.

Harriet Tubman advised Brown on the actual attack and helped recruit part of his armed force. The fact that she was sick was the only reason for her not being present at the attack on Harpers Ferry. John Brown delayed as long as possible in the hope that Tubman could join him. He felt she was the only person who could lead a slave uprising during the attack. But finally, fearing

further delay would lead to discovery of the preparations, Brown ordered the attack without Tubman.

Harpers Ferry was not successful in its immediate aim, but it did lead to much sharper division between the pro and antislavery forces, caused antislavery feelings to sweep the country, and hastened the inevitable showdown.

Frederick Douglass was unquestionably the political and theoretical leader of the abolitionists, but Tubman was the movement's tactician of the Civil War. It was she who first pointed out the advantage of using the slaves to fight the Confederate army. She was the first woman on the battlefield. For Lincoln and the whites this might have been a war to save the Union, but Harriet Tubman knew what this war was really about.

Her Accomplishments

She set up the first hospitals and schools for the "contraband of war," the name for the thousands of black slaves who came pouring into Union army encampments. She acted as liaison between the first all-black regiment and its white officers. Her guerrilla experience was invaluable to the Union army. She was given the job of organizing an intelligence unit which was to go as far south as Florida, to encourage rebellion among the slaves and spy on the Confederate forces. Though she could neither read nor write, she would walk into an enemy encampment and come back with the number of troops, the placement of artillery and the best method for attack.

During her entire service with the U.S. Army, she never received more than \$300 from the government. Only long after the war, on the testimony of army officers who had worked with her, did she receive a small stipend on the basis of her war service.

When victory came, Tubman was in the front demanding that the ex-slave, now citizen, be given economic freedom as well as political freedom. She fought against the sellout of her people by the government. She used her own home to house and feed penniless Negroes. A principled woman herself, she could not understand anyone else acting otherwise. She died in 1923, about 100 years old. She will be remembered as one of the greatest freedom fighters of all time.

Questions and Answers
About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and Marxism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

Why does The Militant accept black nationalism uncritically?

This is a criticism which Militant supporters occasionally hear from white liberals and "radicals," sometimes from Negroes who lack "soul" (black consciousness). The criticism tells more about the complaining critic than about The Militant, since there is hardly any force on the Left which has been subjected to more critical analysis by The Militant in the past two years than the black nationalist current, or, more generally, the black ghetto current of black radicalism.

Black militants are generally appreciative of The Militant's remarks, critical or otherwise, on black nationalism and related topics. Malcolm X expressed high regard for The Militant particularly when we expressed some points of disagreement, and more generally for our over-all appraisal, both appreciative and critical, of the general direction of his thinking and attempt to develop a program designed to meet the needs of black people and organize their potential, starting from their present level of "consciousness and present conditions."

Misunderstanding

Part of the complaint voiced in this question stems from misunderstanding of what most black people are concerned about in the area of black nationalism. A whole generation of young black militants living in the Northern urban centers, black people who have all the integration and civil rights they can look forward to, or want, in this society, and are searching for a program far beyond civil rights and liberalism to meet their working-class needs, are attracted to ideas and currents which they term "black nationalism." The outlook of these young black ghetto militants is deeply influenced by current political and social conditions, at a time when no important section of the poor white population is engaged in serious social struggles.

But white critics remote from

this process interpret "black nationalism" to be nothing more than an array of sectarian and exotic grouplets still surviving from the time of Marcus Garvey or earlier, a few oddball right-wing "cullud folk nationalists" or "business nationalists" in Los Angeles and New York, Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam and similar religious cults, etc. These latter are only peripheral and secondary, not the mainstream of black radicalism.

Frankly, many such white "radicals" are loath to recognize black nationalism as a left or radical current at all; they feel that black people should stay in their place and content themselves with civil rights, or else they reduce black nationalism to the small change of a "legitimate desire to see Negroes heading civil rights organizations," race pride, etc.

Uncritical?

Almost invariably, voicers of this complaint consider The Militant "uncritical" because we don't lecture and preach to black people with the kind of *ofay* criticism of black nationalism that the critics want to hear, i.e., criticism which would appeal to white "radicals" but would be meaningless and irrelevant to black people, criticism which would carp at black nationalists precisely for their good points. They complain because The Militant does not screech at black militants and pontificate Negro-white "unity" with as yet nonexistent or few-and-far-between white allies.

Oftentimes, paradoxically, these same critics of The Militant wax livid with indignation if The Militant so much as breathes mild criticism of social figures dear to their hearts (say, civil rights "leaders," government figures of the Soviet Union, white liberals, the Democratic President, or whatever sacred cow they hold in high esteem). These same persons will then complain: "All those Militant people do is criticize, criticize; they never have anything positive to contribute..."

Robert Vernon

THE MILITANT, AUG. 18, 1945:
'THERE IS NO PEACE!'

On August 18, 1945, The Militant printed on the front page a manifesto from the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. World War II had just come to an end with the horrible climax of the two atomic bombs which the Truman administration used against the Japanese people, killing hundreds of thousands of civilians.

In spite of this terrifying climax, the end of the most devastating war in mankind's history brought a period of brief relief and celebration. The very destructiveness of the atomic bomb fostered among many the feeling that war had become so dangerous that there could never be another one.

Today, after two decades of cold war and brinkmanship, the Korean War, the Algerian and Cuban revolutions, and on the morn of the escalation of the war in Vietnam to a new massive involvement — even threatening the nuclear bombing of North Vietnam and China — we know that such illusion was ill-founded. But a Marxist analysis of the imperialist epoch in which we live does not and did

not foster any such illusions.

In this manifesto, the Socialist Workers Party presented the truth about the rapacious nature of imperialism which would drive mankind into new wars, on every continent of the globe, so long as the imperialist system existed.

The manifesto did not herald a new era of peace. The headline on The Militant was: "THERE IS NO PEACE! Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War." Here are some extracts from that manifesto:

"Among the illusions now being sown is the idea that the unlocked secret of atomic energy possesses such ghastly destructive power that the capitalist rulers will refrain from using it in future wars. But the entire history of imperialist warfare refutes this contention.

"Between two world wars the most frightful instruments of death were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! During World War II other death-dealing weapons were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! Demolition bombs of enormous

weight were dropped on helpless civilian populations. Incendiary fire-bombs were used to wipe out whole cities and burn their inhabitants to death...

"To annihilate their opponents, the imperialist criminals will employ every deadly weapon in their arsenals. Let no one deceive himself that the atomic bomb will not be used!

"Let no man deceive himself with the thought that because Germany and Japan have been defeated, a new war, at least during the lifetime of this generation, is unlikely. Capitalist appetites and imperialist rivalries remain. Only the focus of the antagonisms has shifted. War is the end result of the ceaseless capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of influence.

"It is a lie that war can be prevented by treaties and agreements among the imperialist bandits. The League of Nations could not prevent war. It was dead and buried before World War II broke out. The United Nations organization will not be able to prevent a third world war. Its very formula

of 'peace by force' implies war and not peace...

"Honest inquiry leads straight to the conclusion that under capitalism wars are inevitable and inescapable, and that once war begins all the diabolical instruments of killing and destruction are brought into play.

"The liberal fakers are employed, and generously paid, to cover up for capitalism, to mislead the masses by sowing illusions, and thus divert them from the struggle for socialism which alone can end the horrors of war for all time. That is why, while quaking in their shoes at the realization of what the atomic bomb means, they can only mutter the senseless incantation that a new war is 'unthinkable'..."

"Time is of the essence. At an ever faster pace capitalism is rushing mankind toward the last abyss of destruction... This breathing space must be utilized by the progressive forces of society, the working class and its allies, to smash the capitalist system and usher in a socialist society."

Letters From Our Readers

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

One Year Later

New York, N. Y.

It is now a year since my son, Michael, was murdered, together with his co-workers, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman. Many white citizens of Philadelphia, Miss., continue to applaud their murderers — who are still free . . .

I know you agree with me that such terrorism must be stopped,

10 Years Ago In The Militant

ALGERIAN PATRIOTS CONDEMNED TO DIE ON GUILLOTINE — Half a century ago when British imperialism, in the course of the Boer War, announced that it did not recognize the Boer Army — nor the war as a war — but would treat captured Boer soldiers as bandits and murderers subject to execution, a wave of indignation swept the world.

Similarly during the Nazi occupation of France, the executions of captured French resistance fighters were denounced as atrocities.

Recently the French imperialists have been executing captured Algerian resistance fighters on the spot.

Now, the military tribunal in Constantine, refusing to accord Mustapha Ben Boulaid and Ahmed Bouchemal, leading figures in the independence struggle, the status of prisoners of war, has "legally" condemned them and eight followers to the guillotine.

Since French law forbids the death penalty for political views or deeds, the imperialists must resort to the hypocrisy of declaring these Algerian patriots common criminals. — Aug. 8, 1955.

20 Years Ago

ATOMIC BOMBS IMPERIL EXISTENCE OF HUMANITY; NEW IMPERIALIST WEAPON RAZES AN ENTIRE CITY — Barbarous capitalism, which for six years has inflicted upon the world the horrors and cruelties of war on a scale hitherto unknown, this week presented to mankind its newest and most deadly instrument of destruction—the ATOMIC BOMB.

The most closely-guarded secret of the universe, which scientists of many countries labored for decades to uncover and harness to the peaceful purposes of social development, has been dragged to the light by the bloodstained rulers of capitalist society and harnessed to the foul purposes of imperialist war.

Scientists describe the epoch-making discovery as heralding "the age of atomic energy." The vast, long-hidden energy that lies within the atom has at long last been unlocked, not in order that its unlimited power may be applied to easing and enriching the lives of human kind, but in order to snuff them out.

In revealing the great scientific discovery, and announcing that it had already been used to wipe out the Japanese city of Hiroshima, President Truman on Aug. 6 announced to the Japanese people that they now faced "a rain of ruin from the air the like of which has never been seen on this earth." — Aug. 11, 1945.

that racism must be wiped out. But how? I am convinced the answer lies in the person of the Southern Negro himself. His ability to assert himself as an American citizen — to throw off his fears and find his voice — is essential. Yet we all know that 300 years of oppression cannot be overcome without help.

For five years a major source of that help has been the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Last summer, SNCC played the primary role in the Mississippi Project. Its staff and volunteers assisted thousands to attempt to register for voting. SNCC initiated the Freedom Schools, community centers and libraries which have been a means of opening the minds of black Americans to their own worth as human beings and as citizens.

Now another summer is upon us . . . This year, SNCC is expanding its programs in Arkansas, Georgia and Alabama. Several hundred volunteers are also going to Mississippi. Many are traveling to Washington, D. C., to lobby for support of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was born with SNCC's help. In this new party, more than 120,000 people — Negroes and a few brave whites—are finding a means of political expression for the disenfranchised. They are now, by law, challenging the right of the five Mississippi congressmen to retain their illegally won seats. That challenge is living testimony of what can be accomplished when people, kept silent for centuries, start to find their own identity.

For those working in the Deep South, the threat of being jailed, beaten — and murdered — still hangs heavy . . . But you can do something to prevent this.

Lives can be saved by two-way radios installed in the cars and offices of field workers. I firmly believe that Mickey, Jim and Andy would be alive today if they had had such equipment on June 21, 1964 . . . A two-way radio costs \$250 . . . Another important communications link is the Wide Area Telephone Service (WATS line), which connects field offices with SNCC headquarters. It costs several thousand dollars a month . . . No less essential are cars, needed to take workers into rural areas like Lowndes County, Ala., where not a single Negro is registered to vote . . . And workers need their subsistence pay, even though it runs as low as \$10 a week. There must also be money available to bail people out of jail; and bail is set high by racist judges.

These dedicated young workers are our sons and daughters — they belong to all of us. We can't all leave jobs and families to go with them — but we can see that they have the cars, the medicines, the legal aid and the life-saving equipment they need so badly.

Please send your contribution to SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10011. Send not merely what you think you can spare, but far more . . .

Nathan H. Schwerner

Report on Ultraright

Yellow Springs, O.

At a meeting held on the Antioch College campus a couple of weeks ago, Robert Frankel, a staff member of the Anti-Defamation League, pointed out that, since the 1964 Goldwater presidential bid, the ultraright has grown in membership, budget and influence.

Frankel emphasized that the

focal point for the right wing is the John Birch Society. Since the 1964 elections, which the Birchers viewed as an educational campaign, the organization has doubled its membership and budget. Presently the society has an estimated 90,000 members and a budget of about \$6 million a year.

Other right-wing groups (including the Ku Klux Klan) have also grown, although at a slower rate.

Presently, the Birch Society is engaged in a campaign to "Support Your Local Police" against the civil rights movement.

Arthur Maglin

An Urgent Appeal

Shaw, Miss.

We are the members of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. We are on strike now for \$1.25 an hour. We have been working for only \$3.00 a day.

We are asking you all to help us in our struggle. We need food, clothing and money to pay our house rent. We are really in need. We are striking for more money for our work. We do not make enough money to make a decent living. Please help us. Could you send us addresses of others who would help us. Spread the news to all the people, and children.

B.J.M.

A Member of the Union

[We urge our readers to give whatever help they possibly can to the striking workers of the MFLU. Packages of nonperishable foods, clothing and money may be sent to: Miss. Freedom Labor Union, P. O. Box 197, Shaw, Mississippi 38773. — Editor]

UAW Official Speaks Out

Detroit, Mich.

This letter is a kind of postscript to the July 12 Militant

article entitled "Workers Express Antiwar Feelings." In that article Farrell Dobbs describes criticism of the Johnson administration's Vietnam policies which were expressed at a June 22 forum sponsored by the Joint Board of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union.

About three weeks after this forum, Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers and a long-time member of the Reuther bureaucracy, called on the U.S. government to negotiate immediately with the Vietcong without laying down any prior conditions. Mazey made this statement during an address he delivered to the 32nd annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild which was being held in Detroit. The July 15 *Detroit Free Press* quotes Mazey as saying:

"The South Vietnam governments have never had the confidence of the people and the status quo is not good enough to defend."

The *Free Press* article also states that Mazey "launched a general condemnation of the Johnson administration's foreign policy."

It seems to me that Mazey's statement must reflect some fairly substantial antiwar pressure from the ranks of the auto workers. The UAW bureaucrats have been going all-out to promote votes and support for Johnson. It must have taken something mighty powerful to stir Mazey into criticizing Johnson's Vietnam policies.

Evelyn Sell

Marx's Prophecy

Boston, Mass.

Re your "Questions and Answers About Socialism" column in the July 12 issue of *The Militant*:

It is unfortunate that David Stevens, in attempting to answer

the question about Marx and his prophecy concerning the working class, chose the path that he did. His comments about the deprivation which the workers suffer in the advanced Western countries would have been greatly enhanced had he stayed away from the emotional clichés such as "... the worker . . . has grown progressively poorer in some of the best things that are supposed to be free. The very air he breathes is fouled by noxious gases . . . he is robbed of the greenery of nature . . ." — to cite just a few.

Let's face it; Marx did err in his prophecy in that he foresaw the downfall of capitalism by the working class if it continued in the path that he was witnessing at the time. He did not have a crystal ball to foresee all the possible means which could be utilized to satiate the worker, specifically the rise of the unions and increased government intervention. At the time (during the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain), he was correct in his analysis, and even today it applies a great deal to the underdeveloped countries.

Mr. Stevens' answer to the question is seriously handicapped by his emotional harangues and does not come off as convincing as it could be.

P. M.

Our Summer Schedule

During July and August *The Militant* is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated Aug. 23. Weekly publication will resume with the issue of Sept. 6.

It Was Reported in the Press

It's A Great Society — "Despite all efforts of law enforcement agencies and private organizations devoted to the cause of consumer protection, there is a staggering scope to the frauds and deceptive practices which drain millions of dollars from the consumer and make this problem one of the most critical facing the American public," said New York State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz recently. He reported that his office has been receiving hundreds of complaints from victims of airplane charter rackets, referral sales frauds, false advertising, and the sale of shoddy merchandise.

That Pesky First Amendment — Annoyed with press reports that he was contemplating getting rid of Secretary of State Rusk, President Johnson informed two correspondents, in an interview published in the Aug. 2 *Newsweek*, that those reports were false and then snapped: "They don't try you fellows for writing stories to the contrary. They don't shoot you for it. You've got that First Amendment." A few minutes later, in the same interview, Johnson brooded: "Somebody ought to do an article on you, on your damn profession, your First Amendment."

Middle Man — "The South Vietnamese army is suffering from such wholesale desertions that it's risky to arm it. The arms go over to the Vietcong." — Drew Pearson's column of July 27.

Oversight — A baby girl was born 35,000 feet above the Atlantic with the aid of a jetliner crew who followed the precise instructions given by a physician jetting along on a nearby plane. A spokesman for the Civil Aeronautics Board commented: "We have no regulations against people being born and we have no regulations requiring a carrier to collect a fare from a person not on the plane at the time of takeoff."

Vietnam Escalation Right Up Wall Street's Alley — The Dow-Jones average of 30 industrial stocks climbed 4.39 points, its biggest daily gain in two weeks, as a result of Johnson's double-the-draft talk of July 28. "Wall Street heaved a sigh of relief," was how a vice president of a large brokerage firm put it.

Temper, Temper — The White House felt it necessary to issue a denial recently that its peevish

occupant had called off this year's Medal of Freedom awards because of his anger at cartoonist Herbert Block (Herblock of the *Washington Post*), who had been nominated for an award. The denial would have more credibility if it weren't for a spate of reports coming out of Washington to the effect that "Mr. Johnson is irascible, moody, high-handed, peeved at his critics, and generally hard to live with." Maybe he ought to lay off the root beer and go back to Scotch.

Lesson In Etiquette — The new chancellor of the University of California described last year's massive free-speech demonstrations on the Berkeley campus as "bad academic manners." We are wondering if the administration's suppression of students' civil liberties would be considered "good academic manners."

Ruth Porter

INTRODUCTORY SUBSCRIPTION

To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the antiwar and Freedom Now movements, we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for \$1. (\$1.50 outside of the U.S.)

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Thought for the Week

"How's that for making a war speech sound like a peace speech?" — A comment to newsmen by a White House aide after President Johnson's July 28 speech where he declared how it grieved him to double the draft.

Detroit SWP Candidate Hits LBJ on Vietnam

DETROIT — Robert Himmel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, lashed out at U.S. intervention in Vietnam at a city candidates meeting on July 28, sponsored by the Corktown-Tiger Stadium Political Action Committee.

Himmel denounced President Johnson's statement the same day proposing 125,000 U.S. troops for the war in Vietnam. "This war," he declared, "is a struggle by an oppressed people for freedom. The intervention by the American government on behalf of a hated regime, whose head says publicly that Hitler is his hero, is a crime against the people of Vietnam, the people of America and the people of the whole world." The audience, both Negro and white, responded audibly. Some expressed disapproval, but many, especially the younger people, showed their agreement.

DETROIT — Rev. Albert B. Cleage's militant campaign for a seat on the Detroit Common Council seems to be stirring up widespread interest and enthusiasm in the Negro community, and animosity from the city's white "power structure."

Both Detroit dailies have sounded the alarm about the prospect of a Negro "extremist" being elected to the council. They have pulled out all stops in their efforts to smear and discredit Rev. Cleage. Rather than having the desired results, the anti-Cleage campaign has aroused a positive response among Negroes, who are tired of having the white community tell them who they should or should not be represented by.

Cleage has scheduled a series of five debates with incumbent councilman Thomas Poindexter, an open racist. The second of these took place July 29, before a large Negro audience of over 300.



Robert Himmel

Poindexter made a feeble attempt to show how "unprejudiced" he was by telling how he used to "eat in the kitchen with the Negro help" when he was a child in his father's hotel.

Cleage responded with an effective and scathing attack on "kitchen integration" and expressed the feeling of the entire Negro community when he said that "we are tired of eating in the kitchen. From now on we're going to eat in the dining room."

Cleage's campaign is centered around the demand for Negro representation on the council and against police brutality. He has condemned any "biracial" slates where Negro aspirants for the council team up with white incumbents. His attack is against the total city administration, the so-called "liberals" as well as the open reactionaries, and he urges Negroes to vote only for Negroes in the primary election of September 14.

Berkeley Maps New Protest on War in Vietnam

BERKELEY—The Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) here has called Oct. 15 and 16 to be days of protest against the war in Vietnam. A community protest meeting is planned for Oct. 15, and Oct. 16 is projected as a day of massive civil disobedience.

The VDC was founded in early May to organize the May 21-22 teach-in on the Berkeley campus. That teach-in lasted 35 hours, bringing at least 35,000 people to the event.

The VDC maintains a full-time staff of four and a permanent office. They say that their "present activities are all building toward Oct. 15 and 16 . . . All groups in the United States are asked to join . . . in organizing protest activities on these dates. Groups outside the United States are asked to support us by organizing massive demonstrations in their own countries."

An International Teach-in, which was originally scheduled for Oct. 15, has been set for Oct. 8 in Toronto, Canada. The International Teach-in is being organized by the teachers who organized the National Teach-in in Washington last spring.

The Vietnam Day Committee says that it is "opposed to American intervention in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and wherever else it may occur. Revolutionary struggles for self-determination are sweeping the world today. American suppression of these movements, we believe, is immoral and a threat to the peace of the world . . . The struggles in America against racism, poverty and bureaucratic conformity are part of the same movement as the struggle against American militarism."

For more information, contact Vietnam Day Committee, 2502 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 4, Calif.

Opponents of Vietnam War Picket Governors' Parley

By Larry Seigle

MINNEAPOLIS — Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, speaking at the National Governors' Conference here last week, was confronted with a spirited, chanting picket line outside the plush Radisson Hotel where the meeting was held. For two successive days more than 100 members of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam marched in protest against U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Demonstrators carried signs with such demands as "Withdraw Troops from Vietnam," "I Won't Die for Gen. Ky," and "Vietnam, Dominican Republic, Where Next?" The event marked the first organized protest ever aimed at Humphrey in his home state.

The Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam was organized after the April 17 March on Washington, and has been built chiefly by those who went on the March from Minnesota. The committee includes members of the Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, DuBois Clubs, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and other groups. While centered in Minneapolis, it receives support from all over the state.

The group publishes a newsletter, the Crisis, and is now conduct-



Hubert Humphrey

ing a summer program of weekly seminars dealing with Vietnam and questions facing the growing antiwar movement in this country.

Another demonstration is set for Saturday, Aug. 7, to coincide with the Assembly of Unrepresented People which will meet in Washington on that date. The committee will send representatives to the Assembly along with a Declaration of Peace prepared by the committee.

Miss. Rights Fighters Urge Opposition to Vietnam War

AUG. 2 — A letter suggesting opposition by Mississippi Negroes to the draft for the Vietnam war has been published in the official newsletter of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which is distributed across the state. Written by Joe Martin of McComb, Miss., and Clint Hopson, a student from New Jersey, the letter was first circulated by the McComb branch of the MFDP. The letter said:

"No Mississippi Negroes should be fighting in Vietnam for the white man's freedom, until all the Negro people are free in Mississippi. Negro boys should not honor the draft here in Mississippi. Mothers should encourage their sons not to go . . .

"Refuse to Fight"

"No one has a right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other colored people in Santo Domingo and Vietnam, so that the white American can get richer. We will be looked upon as traitors by all the colored people of the world if the Negro people continue to fight and die without a cause.

"Last week a white soldier from New Jersey was discharged from the army because he refused to fight in Vietnam; he went on a hunger strike. Negro boys can do the same thing. We can write and ask our sons if they know what they are fighting for . . .

Lawrence Guyot, state chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, said publication of the letter did not mean approval of the proposals by the party. It is obvious, however, that the spirit of the letter represents a widespread and rapidly growing sentiment among young Negroes — and other youth as well — of revulsion against the criminal war of aggression by the U.S. capitalist power structure in Vietnam.

The letter urging opposition to the draft appeared after the body of a Negro GI killed in Vietnam had been returned to his home in McComb, Miss., where he had participated in antisegregation actions in 1961. Guyot commented that it

is easy to understand why Mississippi Negroes, "themselves the victims of bombings, terrorism and harassment," should resent the death of a Mississippi Negro killed while fighting for America overseas.

Antiwar Sentiment

Another indication of the antiwar sentiment is an article in the July 31 *National Guardian* by Pieter Romayn Clark, a youth who reported for the draft and expressed his opposition to the war while waiting in the induction center. He said his attitude received friendly response from the other young men there, but was a great shock to the military officials. "They rushed me through some tests," he said, "and had me fill out some papers. I refused to sign the loyalty oath, which has all kinds of peace, civil rights and progressive groups listed as subversive . . . Finally I was sent to the security officer, who told me that I needed a security clearance and would not now be drafted . . . I was told that they would call me and for me not to call them, and that I should go home — which I did."

Slate N.Y. Benefit For Malcolm's Widow

The New York Committee of Concerned Mothers will sponsor a program on Sunday, Aug. 18, to benefit Mrs. Malcolm X. Lena Horne, Dizzy Gillespie, the Bill Taylor Trio, Max Roach, Abby Lincoln, Billy Frazier, and John O. Killens will perform at the "Lawn Jazz Festival" on the grounds of Mrs. Juanita Poitier's home in Pleasantville, N. Y. Tickets and reservations may be obtained at the office of Flo Kennedy, 8 E. 48 St. Telephone PL 9-3223 for information.

'Life with Lyndon in the Great Society'

A Missing Weapon in War on Poverty

[The following excerpts are reprinted from the July 15 issue of "Life With Lyndon in the Great Society," a weekly newsletter by Jack Minnis, which is widely read among civil rights workers in the South.]

In connection with Lyndon's great Howard University speech of a month or so ago, we thought his recital of the plight of American Negroes in the Great Society more or less adequate. But we thought his proposal to do nothing but hold a conference in the fall demonstrated beyond a doubt just what a phony is the Great Society and its daddy, Lyndon.

Now we're beginning to get reports about the plans which are being laid for the Great Fall Conference at the Washington Ranch. It seems Lyndon has assigned three of his top white house assistants to confer with "experts" on the problems of American Negroes.

Who are these "experts"? They're the same old crowd — sociologists, psychologists, authors, churchmen and civil rights "leaders."

We've been convinced for a long time that the only qualified experts on poverty are poor people. And all of these experts that we've consulted on the causes of poverty agree on one single cause — they ain't got no money.

Now that may sound sort of silly to a fellow like Lyndon, who's got \$10 million or so in his kick, and getting more all the time. It's true that no great philo-

sophical principles are involved — no great ideas of how the government can help the poor folks. There's just one simple idea behind the whole thing. Poor people will remain poor until they get a chance to get some money, and then they won't be poor any more.

That's the idea Lyndon's war on poverty has avoided like the plague. All the great schemes for helping the poor folks come down to putting money into the hands of those who already have plenty. What the poor folks get is "culture," "training," "guidance," "counseling," etc. Try to buy a loaf of bread with that; or pay the dentist to fix your kids' teeth; or buy them some decent clothes to wear to school; or pay the landlord so he won't throw you out on the street; or pay the gas company so they won't turn off the heat in the dead of winter. Just try it.

Lyndon's Experts

Of course, the experts that Lyndon talks to and listens to will explain that you can't just give poor people money because it would "kill their initiative" and make bums of them. It'd ruin their moral character. Lyndon and his experts always figure that poor folks have to *earn* money, not just receive it.

What we wonder is how the rich folks, like Lyndon and his friends, are able to preserve their moral character and their initiative, in the face of the hundreds of millions they get from the U.S.

government. It must be very trying.

Lyndon's concern for the poor was reflected in the testimony of his Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz, before a Senate committee that's considering a bill to bring more workers under the coverage of the federal law that requires an employer to pay his workers at least \$1.25 an hour.

Wirtz said that Lyndon is not trying to get a higher minimum wage. Wirtz's own department has put out figures showing that a family of four have to have at least \$6,000 per year in order to maintain what's called a minimum adequate standard of living. Working 40 hours a week, a man making \$1.25 per hour has a gross yearly pay of \$2,600. That's less than half what Wirtz says he needs.

Furthermore, under the minimum wage bill that Lyndon is backing, 4.5 million more workers would come under the present \$1.25 minimum wage. But 70 per cent of those workers are already receiving better than the minimum.

As soon as Lyndon's bill is passed by the Congress, as it doubtless will be, you can bet that he'll be on TV all over the country, sticking out his chest and braying about what he's just done for the poor folks.

In the interest of avoiding arrest under several different laws, we'll refrain here from suggesting what the poor folks ought to do for Lyndon.