

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 37

Monday, October 18, 1965

Price 10c

Special Feature: Full Text Guevara's Letter to Castro

— See page 3 —

GET OUT OF VIETNAM



FACE OF THE ENEMY: Vietnamese women, children and elders huddle together as U.S. Marine holds a rifle on them.

By Clifton DeBerry

As presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers Party in 1964 and its candidate for Mayor of New York this November, I feel obligated to make my views on the war in Vietnam perfectly plain.

I believe U.S. intervention in Vietnam is one of the most shameful episodes in our nation's history. This undeclared and illegal war disgraces the American people in the eyes of the rest of the world and is utterly alien to the principles of democracy and our best revolutionary traditions. It should be stopped without further delay.

After the Second World War Nazi leaders were tried, found guilty, imprisoned or executed for their murderous mistreatment of the Jews and the conquered populations of Europe. With grave deliberation I charge the present political and military heads of the United States, who have ordered, organized and escalated the war, as responsible for equally criminal policies in Vietnam.

This government is not telling our people the truth. American soldiers are not being sent across the Pacific to bring the blessings of freedom and democracy to Vietnam, as they are told. That is a hoax. The Vietnamese have been fighting for over twenty years to liberate themselves from foreign oppressors. They seek national independence, unity, their own freely chosen form of government, land reform, a new and better economic and social order.

After defeating the French in 1954, the South Vietnamese saw their homeland sliced in two and a new master, the American imperialists, impose a series of puppet dictatorships over them. They had no way of expressing their will but to take up arms for their freedom, just as the Patriots of our own country fought for seven years against the British overlords. Their cause is just. It has won the support of the Vietnamese masses and sympathy and solidarity from progressive-minded governments, forces and individuals the world over.

The right in this colonial and civil war is on the side of the Vietnamese rebels. The freedom fighters of the National Liberation Front are striving at heavy cost to throw off the cruel and bloody ruling clique in Saigon, led by General Ky, admirer of Hitler. They want to drive out the arrogant U.S. militarists who have hired these traitors to slaughter their own people.

The revolution in South Vietnam will not be crushed by foreign force. It is part of the irrepressible uprising of hundreds of millions in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America who are resolved to suffer indignities and misery no longer. They want

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How It Feels Not to Be Sent to Vietnam

By Harry Ring

Joe is a young Negro who just got out of the army, and he's a very happy man. He had just one month left to serve when his outfit was put on a 100 percent alert for duty in Vietnam. He sweated bullets until they announced that those with 30 days or less to go would not be sent over.

At the outset of this interview, Joe stressed that the majority of the men where he was stationed wanted to go and that there wasn't very much talk against the war. But as we talked more it became evident that this was only one side of the picture.

Most of those who want to go to Vietnam, he explained, are young kids who don't know any better and old-timers doing a 20-year enlistment hitch.

Why do old-timers want to go? "Why not? If they didn't see things that way they wouldn't have enlisted to begin with. These guys who enlist are generally ignorant. They talk to some recruiting sergeant and it's like talking to the personnel man at First National City Bank. They should talk to

me, I'd tell them."

"Besides," he added, "they get swept up in this esprit de corps bit. Every time a group leaves the band comes down and plays all that marching music."

On general principle, Joe doesn't go for the army outlook. He says a lot of other guys don't either. "You know," he said, "this fallacy that it's an honor to die for your country. People are aware of it now. They give you a lot of medals when you're dead. There's some people around idiotic enough to take this 'code of honor' bit seriously, about being ready to die for the flag. Not me. When they made us recite it in unison like school kids, I didn't open my mouth. Neither did some of my friends. But we weren't typical. We were the rebels."

"After all," he said, "this is the 'new' army. They want you to think — at least on paper."

"You know," he added, "I had a sergeant tell me what a great man Hitler was. And this man is going to tell me to go out and risk my life."

Discrimination in the army?

"That's for damn sure. A lot of the officers are Southerners. Negroes don't get fair treatment on promotions. We had one colored officer in our outfit. They confined him strictly to one job — dealing with drunken sergeants."

What about the men who didn't want to go to Vietnam? "It was mostly the colored guys. Some of the white kids are scared, but the Negroes feel most strongly about it."

"They aren't about to go out and look for the Viet Cong like the white cats. They couldn't care less if they were in Los Angeles. Some of them kid about it. A guy says, 'Maybe if I'm captured, I'll sing some jazz to them.'"

Joe added an interesting point. Discussing the Berkeley demonstrations that tried to stop troop trains, he said the men in his outfit, including those who didn't want to go, resented it. They got the mistaken notion that somehow the demonstrations were aimed at them rather than at the politicians responsible for sending them.

They're not against the teachings and rallies. When SANE

filled Madison Square Garden a while back they thought that was great.

The men at his camp got a picture of what it was like in Vietnam from letters from a few guys who had gone over and from one who was sent back after his father died.

This fellow told them it's a strange kind of war, with no front and no rear, only a perimeter with duty on the outer edge extremely

dangerous. Some of the 18-year-old panic under fire and he said the army is now sending those under 19 back home.

"From what I hear, there's more firing and casualties from our side than anywhere," Joe said. "Guys panic. It's a very strange kind of combat. You never see anything — but you see the bodies the next morning."

"Then you get officers with no

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A Special Offer To Antiwar Demonstrators

For only \$1 you can get a special introductory combination subscription to the bi-monthly magazine, the Young Socialist, and The Militant. The Young Socialist is the most widely read radical youth publication in America. You will get the Young Socialist for six months, and The Militant for four.

Send your name and address (including zip code), along with your dollar, to: Young Socialist, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.

Committees to End War Spread Across Country

By Doug Jenness

At Carleton College in southern Minnesota a group of students recently went through the dormitories asking fellow students to join the Carleton Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Similar scenes are being repeated on campus after campus throughout the entire country.

Since the fall semester began a few weeks ago, thousands of students have organized or joined committees to end the war in Vietnam. At San Francisco State College where there was no committee against the war in Vietnam before this fall, an active and growing committee with over 100 members now exists. It raised over \$75 in two days by selling literature and buttons at tables set up on the campus.

About an hour's drive from San Francisco in San Jose, Calif., at the state college there, a Committee to Oppose U.S. Intervention in Vietnam was born in August and has grown rapidly. It is holding a large street meeting on Oct. 16 as part of the International Days of Protest.

Further east at the University of Kansas, a small group of students have begun organizing a committee against the war.

In Minnesota, the Minneapolis Committee to End the War in Vietnam is sending organizers out to various campuses in the state helping to form committees. As a result new committees are being organized at St. Olaf, Macalaster, and Carleton Colleges. The Minneapolis-based committee has also established ties with the Northern Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam organized by students from Superior State College in Wisconsin.

Over \$150 was recently raised by the Minneapolis group at a buffet supper held in a local church.

In New York City, a number of community committees against the war have existed through the summer carrying out many activities. Although these committees are still active, they have not experienced the same growth as the campus committees. The Columbia Committee to End the War in Vietnam jumped from the couple of dozen members it had during the summer to nearly 200 members now. Last week 400 people gathered for an outdoor rally on the campus called by the committee. Over \$100 was raised by a collection from those present and a number of students added their names to the committee's mailing list.

A new committee of nearly 125 has been organized this fall at The City College of New York and a smaller, more recent group has been organized at New York University.

In upstate New York at the State University in Buffalo, the new Vietnam Day Committee is organizing a large protest on Oct. 15 and 16 and is proposing a regional organization to coordinate activity in western New York and Ontario.

Rapid Growth

The same rapid growth and birth of new committees is occurring around the entire country — in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Madison, Cincinnati, etc.

This rapid development of local committees against the Vietnam war forecasts a large and exciting convention in Washington, D.C., during the Thanksgiving weekend (Nov. 25-28). The convention, called by the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, will discuss the character and form of a national organization.

Every campus and community committee is urged to bring as many people as possible. Each committee is entitled to two voting delegates for up to one hundred members and an additional delegate for each additional hundred members or fraction thereof.

For information about the convention contact your local committee against the war in Vietnam. The following are some of the major committees:

New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam, P.O. Box 19249, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 3616 Baring St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Cambridge-Boston Citizens Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 19 Inman St., Cambridge, Mass.

Minneapolis Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1819 16th Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.

Chicago Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill.

Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 2649 Hampshire Rd., Cleveland 6, Ohio.

Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, 2407 Fulton St., Berkeley, Calif.

Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 204 Marion St., Madison, Wisc.

GROWING STUDENT RADICALISM

What Is the New Left?

By Barry Sheppard

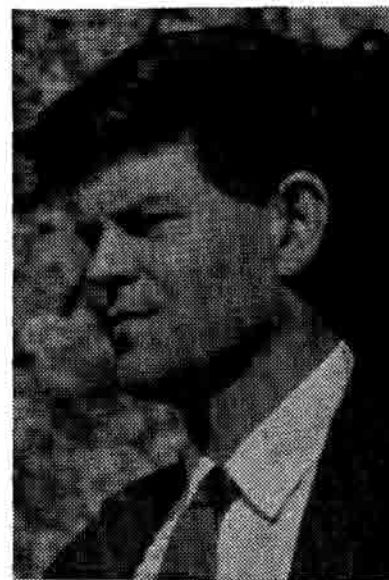
In recent months articles have appeared in the radical press and even in the slick weeklies about the New Left. The term "New Left" is used in different ways by different authors, but all are referring in one way or another to the development of a new generation of student radicals.

The new campus radicalism has emerged from the civil rights struggles of the past five years, and from campus free speech fights like the battle which enveloped the Berkeley campus last year. The impact of the colonial revolution — especially the Cuban revolution — is another important factor. But it is the war and revolution in Vietnam which has the center of the stage at the present time. More students have been radicalized and organized around the fight against this dirty war than any other issue.

Repulsed by Society

The new radicals are repulsed by the society around them. Racism disgusts them. They revolt against the manipulation of their lives by the bureaucratic Establishment of the university and society in general. Cold war lies about the internal and external "Communist Menace" do not frighten them into silence, unlike the generation of the fifties. They are becoming increasingly aware of the reactionary nature of U.S. foreign policy and its wars.

In place of the American world of hypocrisy, war, and racism, the new radicals look to a world of human brotherhood, honesty and peace. They want a new and real



Staughton Lynd
New Left Spokesman

democracy, where the people truly make the decisions which affect their lives, and are not manipulated cogs in a bureaucratic machine indifferent or hostile to them.

A number of the young radicals have drawn socialist conclusions and have joined one or another of the socialist groups. Some have joined the pro-Moscow tendency represented by the DuBois Clubs. Very few are signing up with the pro-State Department Young Peoples Socialist League. These two tendencies stand on the right wing of the socialist groups; both support the Democratic Party and believe in a coalition with its liberal wing.

The American Way of Life

Ever Tried a Shahtoosh Bathrobe?

I've never stayed in Dallas any longer than it took to change buses, but now I would like to visit there and make a tour of the famed Neiman-Marcus luxury department store. Obviously, at their prices, I won't do much shopping but I assume it doesn't cost anything to look.

Before doing the store I would like to meet one of the Neiman-Marcus advertising copy writers who I suspect once worked for a company that sold me a 69-cent record brush for the arm of my phonograph. The brush proved less than useless (instead of picking up dust it simply packed it down into the grooves of the records), but I was fascinated by the marvelously imaginative blurb on the card that accompanied the brush. It explained that the brush hairs came from the ear of a goat to be found only at the lofty heights of the Himalayas.

Neiman-Marcus Goats

Now I find that these same goats (whom I had cynically assumed to be the product of a humorous adman's imagination) also work for Neiman-Marcus.

I learned this from a glowing description of Neiman-Marcus wares that appeared in the *New York Times* just before it was struck.

Among other things, the store offers "1,500 bathrobes made of shahtoosh, a fur the Ibex goats of the Himalayas rub off their necks and onto rocks only in the month of May." (My brush was probably cheaper because the hair from the goats' ears was available all year round.)

Neiman-Marcus features other, less esoteric items, although some of them obviously aren't intended for wide sale. Like the his and

her airplanes, \$324,000 the set. But then there are more down-to-earth items, such as hand-knitted and appliquéd après-ski sweaters (with hoods) at \$250, unlined ladies' silk pants for \$60, and flower-printed cashmere sweaters with matching cashmere stockings, \$165.

Also available are high-priced items like cat's eye diamond necklaces at \$110,000, with other jewelry running a bit more.

But one of the problems of being a storekeeper is that you tend to get bored, no matter how good your stock is. "You sell a \$200,000 necklace today and there's no excitement," says store president Stanley Marcus. "It isn't news. It's not a regular thing, but it's not unusual."

I'm not much on jewelry either, but I sure would like to lunch at the store's snack bar. (It's really a fancy restaurant but I like to think of it as a snack bar.) Anyway, the *Times* reports: "The menu lists such dishes as jellied avocado soup, red snapper poached in white wine with dill hollandaise, and the Fresh Flower Pot. The last is a baked Alaska served in a miniature flower pot topped with two red roses. The pièce de résistance, however, is lemon velvet ice cream (flown in from California) served in a brandy snifter with candied violets."

As my luncheon guest I'd like to bring along an old *Militant* subscriber from West Dallas. She once wrote us a letter describing the street in the slum area where she lives as one without pavements and where the people still buy their drinking water by the barrel.

—Herman Chauka

In a few cities the pro-Mao, pro-Stalin Progressive Labor Party has attracted some young people.

The most serious and stable group has been formed around the revolutionary socialism of the Young Socialist Alliance.

(The DuBois clubs, YPSL and YSA are politically associated with the Communist, Socialist and Socialist Workers parties respectively.)

The vast majority of the new radicals, however, do not consider themselves socialists. Although it by no means can claim most of the new radicals as members, the largest organization of radical students, the Students for a Democratic Society, does reflect the thinking and attitudes of many of the new radicals.

The New Left in this sense does not refer to all young radicals, but to an ideological tendency, represented by the majority of the leaders of SDS, as well as by other independent radicals. They view the socialist parties as the "Old Left," and to one degree or another reject these parties as failures, as ideologically and morally compromised, and as "theoretical" and dogmatic.

Denigration of Theory

The SDS proposes to build a radical movement first, through various kinds of actions and organization around "bread and butter" issues, and hopes that politics will evolve naturally out of this movement. Marxist theory is identified with dogma, and rejected.

This denigration of theory, history and clear politics is the most negative aspect of the New Left. It is a dangerous prejudice rooted in the backwardness of American political life and social and philosophical thought. The relative conservatism and quiescence of the American working class in that past decade and a half have strengthened this prejudice by making Marxist theory seem utopian.

The positive side of this attitude toward theory is the rejection of the dogma long palmed off by the Communist Party as Marxist theory. Until the last decade, the CP dominated the left in the U.S. The ideological twists and turns of the CP as it faithfully followed the changing line from Moscow, its shameful apologies for the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution and the other crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, repulse the New Left, but it has yet to distinguish between this kind of Moscow-dogma and scientific thought about history, society and politics.

Ready for Action

The readiness of the New Left to engage in action and to fight the system far outstrips its ideology. This is its most positive side, and in my opinion, its most important side.

In their actions, especially against the Vietnam war, the new radicals are throwing themselves into sharper and sharper conflict with U.S. imperialism and its political parties. Discussions ranging from demonstration tactics to ultimate goals in the fight against the war are revealing divergent points of view of different tendencies, Old Left and New, within the movement. Divisions are taking place which cut across the generations. In short, politics and political discussion have already entered the movement.

The problems being raised range from how to best organize the antiwar movement to debate on the relevance of theory. One of the most important questions is the discussion about coalition politics. We will discuss this and other questions facing the new generation in subsequent issues, and attempt to outline the positions and proposals of the different tendencies.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

WAR IN VIETNAM: The Problem and the Solution. Panelists: John Maher, Research Director for SDS; Gershon Horowitz, Socialist Workers candidate for Cambridge City Council; and a representative of Cambridge Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

PROBLEMS IN INDONESIA. Speaker: Rod Holt. Sunday, Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Aup. Militant Forum.

LOS ANGELES

WAR ON POVERTY? OR, WAR ON THE POOR? Speaker, Hayden Perry. Fri., Oct. 22, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his biweekly radio commentary. Tues., Oct. 26, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., Oct. 27, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

No forum Oct. 15 in support of International Day of protest.

OCT. 22. Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party speaks on What Program for the Antiwar Movement. 704 Hennepin. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

IS THE UNITED STATES AN AGGRESSOR NATION? A debate between: Hedda Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Comptroller, and Dennis Wadley, Americans for Democratic Action. Fri., Oct. 22, 8:30 p.m. 116 Action Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: I. B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement of South Africa. Thursday, Oct. 28, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine Sts. Contrib. Aup. Alexander Defense Committee.

Your Help Is Needed

Beginning January 1966, the Post Office requires that we include the zip code number with all subscribers' addresses. If we don't have yours, would you please drop us a card at once. We can't promise it will improve speed of delivery but it will help us avoid unnecessary headaches.

U.S. PRESS SKIPPED THIS PART

Castro's Challenge to Johnson

[The following are excerpts from the speech delivered by Fidel Castro in Havana on Oct. 3.]

Castro's remarks are particularly noteworthy in that they dispell the propaganda myth that it was Cuba and not the U.S. which cut off emigration into this country in 1962.]

I feel obliged to begin with a theme not directly related to the reason for this gathering.

It stems from what we stated on Sept. 28, in regard to something that has been happening for three years, and that was used by the enemy in a treacherous way to wage a campaign against the revolution — the case of the individuals who, when the flights between Miami and Cuba were suspended, were left with one foot here and the other foot there . . .

We made a very clear and very concrete second statement in order to settle the question once and for all. And today the cables are already bringing the news of the United States Government's final answer in this respect . . .

They say in essence: "President Johnson" — this is an AP cable — "President Johnson announced today that he would obtain a diplomatic understanding with Cuba so that Cubans who wish to leave their country can seek asylum in the United States."

This statement about diplomatic understanding means an agreement on this problem through diplomatic channels.

He said: "I have requested the State Department to seek through the Swiss Embassy in Cuba, which is in charge of U.S. affairs, the agreement of the Cuban government in a request to the President of the International Red Cross Committee . . ."

And another cable, longer than the other, added that Johnson stated, "When many of the citizens of a regime voluntarily choose to abandon the land in which they were born for a home where there is hope for them, their decision reveals that the regime has failed. The future has little hope for any government when the present does not permit any hope for its people."

Answers Charge

He stated that "the refugees would be welcomed in the thought that some day they might return to their country to find it cleansed of terror and free of fear . . ."

He also speaks of the Red Cross. Therefore, we believe it necessary to answer Mr. Johnson on these matters that have nothing to do with the question we raised, and to clear up certain pertinent details related to this affair.

In the first place the Yankee cables and many officials of that country, as well as some non-Yankee news agencies . . . apparently due to the constant repetition of this line, still echo the claim that this meant a change in policy



Fidel Castro

regarding those who want to leave the country.

That is absolutely false. From the beginning of the revolution there has been only one policy in regard to this . . . From the beginning of the revolution up until the October [1962] crisis, all those who wanted to go and all those who had received permission from the United States continued leaving this country.

Yankee Hypocrisy

And when, due to the October crisis, they stopped flights to Cuba, the revolutionary government made no change in policy, because nearly 300 persons a month continued leaving by other routes such as through Spain and Mexico . . .

What we have done is to unmask the . . . hypocrisy of Yankee imperialism, the only one responsible for having paralyzed the normal channels for leaving the country . . .

Possibly Mr. Johnson doesn't know that in the United States, when the struggle for independence from British colonialism took place, thousands and thousands of Americans left the country after independence and went to Canada. In all revolutions, whether it was the French revolution, the Russian revolution, or the Cuban revolution, this phenomenon of the privileged classes leaving or emigrating is an absolute historical fact.

Moreover, if the fact of men and women leaving the country in which they were born to go to another country is an indication of the characteristics of a social regime, the best example is the case of Puerto Rico, the island which Yankee imperialism took over and held under a regime of colonial exploitation. As a consequence of this more than one million men and women born in that country have been forced to emigrate to the United States. Mr. Johnson forgot Puerto Rico and the million Puerto Ricans living in New York under the worst conditions, in the poorest districts, doing the most humiliating work.

Red Cross Role

Of course, to bring up the matter of the Red Cross is a little trick used by Mr. Johnson to dramatize the affair. Really, who ever heard of needing the Red Cross to grant a visa or to authorize some planes to land in Miami. Is there any need for the Red Cross? What does the Red Cross have to do with it? This has nothing to do with an earthquake, or a catastrophe, or a war. It's only a simple formality for authorizing the landing of planes and the arrival of ships in the U.S.

There's no need for the Red Cross for that.

At any rate, the Red Cross could

do a much better job in South Vietnam, where Yankee soldiers are murdering thousands, murdering and torturing thousands of citizens. Or in North Vietnam, where the criminal Yankee bombs are dropped indiscriminately, over cities, villages, schools, or hospitals.

The Red Cross could do something in the Dominican Republic, where the invading soldiers perpetrate all kinds of brutalities against the people and where they have seized schools.

Challenges U.S.

It could intervene in the U.S. to prevent that massacre of Negro citizens, as happened in Los Angeles, California, recently. But in this matter, Mr. Johnson, the presence of the Red Cross is not required. It is enough for us to discuss it with the representatives of the Swiss Embassy, who are also the representatives of U.S. interests in Cuba . . .

And now, to speak very seriously on the subject of freedom, I'd like to know if Mr. Johnson could answer a couple of questions.

I ask whether the U.S. is capable of allowing Cubans to visit their relatives in Cuba and return to the United States. I ask whether the United States will permit Cubans who don't wish to live in the U.S. to visit their relatives there and afterwards return to Cuba; and finally, I ask whether the United States is willing to allow U.S. citizens to visit Cuba.

To that same government that speaks of how badly a nation must be going when citizens of that country leave, we could say in reply: a country must be worse off when in spite of being a nation that boasts of being free . . . it is afraid to permit its citizens to visit this country.

We challenge them to permit the representatives of the Negro or civil rights organizations in the United States, to visit Cuba so that they can see how, with the disappearance of the exploitation of man by man, racial discrimination has disappeared in our country once and for all.

'Che' Guevara's Letter to Castro

The following is the complete text of the letter from Ernesto "Che" Guevara to Fidel Castro explaining why he was leaving Cuba. Castro told the Cuban people the letter had been delivered to him last April to be made public at a time of his choosing. He indicated that it had not been made public until now for reasons of Guevara's personal security and that his present whereabouts would not be disclosed for the same reason. He said Guevara had written other letters to his family and various of his comrades and that they would be asked "to donate them to the revolution because we consider that they are documents worthy of being part of history."

Fidel,

At this moment I remember many things — when I met you in Maria Antonia's house, when you suggested my coming, all the tensions involved in the preparations.

One day they asked who should be notified in case of death, and the real possibility of that fact affected us all. Later we knew that it was true, that in revolution one wins or dies (if it is a real one). Many comrades fell along the way to victory.

Today everything is less dramatic because we are more mature. But the fact is repeated. I feel that I have fulfilled the part of my duty that tied me to the Cuban revolution in its territory, and I say good-bye to you, the comrades,

What Fidel Castro Said In His Speech of Oct. 3

By Alex Harte

Fidel Castro spoke in Havana Oct. 3 on the occasion of the installation of the newly established central committee of Cuba's revolutionary party. He discussed the question of Cuban emigration to the U.S. (see excerpt from speech this page); read "Che" Guevara's letter announcing his decision to leave Cuba (see text this page); explained a decision to change the party's name from United Party of the Socialist Revolution to Communist Party; and reiterated Cuba's ideological independence of both Moscow and Peking.

Reporting Guevara's decision, Castro took note of the speculation and rumors in the press abroad that Guevara had been purged. Fidel commented: "What anguish is it that causes them to see everything as a maneuver, as a fierce, frightening, terrible plan? They don't know there is no better tactic, no better strategy than to fight a clean fight and use the truth."

Saluting Guevara as a revolutionary and comrade-in-arms, he declared that when "Che" proposed to go abroad to participate in the struggle against imperialism, "it was our duty to resign ourselves to it" because "we have a responsibility for helping the revolutionary movement to the best of our ability." He added: "That is true liberty . . . those who leave to wield a rifle against the shackles of imperialism."

Explaining why the party had decided to adopt the name Communist, he traced the evolution of the organization since its inception as the Integrated Revolutionary Organization which represented primarily the three principal political tendencies in revolutionary Cuba — the July 26 Movement, the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate. He declared that the name United Party of the Socialist Revolution was no longer adequate since it suggested the past situation of united but different tendencies and not the present and future of the movement as what he declared to be a single revolutionary tendency.

He gave a moving educational description of the meaning of the word Communist, explaining how the capitalist propagandists had taken a word of great nobility and sought to change it into a frightening epithet. Recalling how Marx and Engels chose to describe their great manifesto as Communist, he explained how Communism in its real meaning was associated with the free, classless society that Cuba is intent on building. "From now on, gentlemen of the UPI and AP," he declared, "when you call us 'Communist,' you're giving us the greatest honor you can."

Concluding with a ringing reaffirmation of Cuba's ideological independence, he declared, "our party will be that of a small but free and independent people."

"Our party will educate the masses," he continued, "Our party will educate its militants. Our party and no other party . . ."

"We shall never ask permission of anyone to do anything," he declared. "We shall never ask permission of anyone . . . to be friendly to any party or people."

"It is not easy," he said, "to maintain that line . . . in the face of the complexities of current problems and the present world, but we shall maintain it. This revolution has not been imported from anyplace. It is a genuine product of this country. No one told us how we had to make it. No one shall have to tell us how to continue it."

He reported that the party had decided to merge the papers *Revolution* and *Hoy* into a single paper called *Granma*. *Revolution* was originally the paper of the July 26 Movement and *Hoy* the voice of the Communist Party. The *Granma* was the name of the boat in which Fidel and his revolutionary companions sailed from Mexico to Cuba to launch the struggle that brought them to power.

your people, who are already mine.

I formally renounce my positions in the national leadership of the party, my post as minister, my rank of major, and my Cuban citizenship. Nothing legal binds me to Cuba. The only ties are of another nature; those which cannot be broken as appointments can.

Past Work

Recalling my past life, I believe I have worked with sufficient honor and dedication to consolidate the revolutionary triumph. My only serious failing was not having confided more in you from the first moments in the Sierra Maestra, and not having understood quickly enough your qualities as a leader and a revolutionary.

I have lived magnificent days and I felt at your side the pride of belonging to our people in the brilliant yet sad days of the Caribbean crisis.

Few times has a statesman been more brilliant than you in those days. I am also proud of having followed you without hesitation, identified with your way of thinking and of seeing and of appraising dangers and principles.

Other nations of the world call for my modest efforts. I can do that which is denied you because of your responsibility as the head of Cuba and the time has come for us to part.

I want it known that I do it with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow: I leave here the purest of my hopes as a builder, and the dearest of those I love. And I leave

a people that received me as a son. That wounds me deeply. I carry to new battle fronts the faith that you taught me, the revolutionary spirit of my people, the feeling of fulfilling the most sacred of duties: to fight against imperialism wherever it may be. This comforts and heals the deepest wounds.

I state once more that I free Cuba from any responsibility, except that which stems from its example. If my final hour finds me under other skies, my last thought will be of this people and especially of you. I am thankful for your teaching, your example, and I will try to be faithful to the final consequences of my acts.

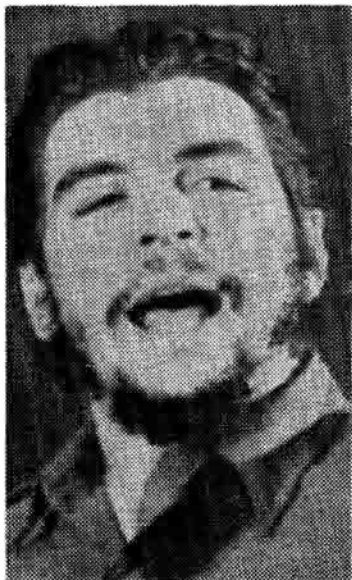
I have always been identified with the foreign policy of our revolution and I will continue to be. Wherever I am, I will feel the responsibility of being a Cuban revolutionary, and as such I shall behave. I am not sorry that I leave my children and my wife nothing material. I am happy it is that way. I ask nothing for them, as I know the state will provide enough for their expenses and education.

I would like to say much to you and to our people, but I feel it is not necessary. Words cannot express what I would want them to, and I don't think it's worth while to banter phrases.

Ever onward to victory! Homeland or death!

I embrace you with all my revolutionary fervor.

"Che"



'Che' Guevara

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, N.Y. 10003. 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, October 18, 1965

... Get Out of Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

to take their destinies in their own hands. The American imperialists are bent on denying their freedom and returning them to semi-colonial submission and domination. That is the central issue in this conflict.

The sturdiest Freedom-Now militants in Watts and Harlem and the Negro draftees who are being punished for refusing to serve in Vietnam have understood the affinity between their own struggle for equality and emancipation within the United States and the struggle of the Vietnamese people. They find themselves fighting for the same aims against a common capitalist and white supremacist enemy. We stand with both of them while they are under fire and their cause is being slandered and misrepresented, as we stand with the tens of thousands of young people who are organizing to demand an end to the war.

The Pentagon propagandists are now trying to incite war fever and cover up their own crimes by raising a hue and cry about atrocities committed by the National Liberation Front. The major unpardonable atrocity in Vietnam is the escalating aggression of the U.S. military machine.

Information that has sifted through the censorship tells about napalm warfare on civilian villages, the use of gas and chemical defoliation, the plight of 600,000 refugees rendered homeless. U.S. news correspondents have filed dispatches about the medieval torture techniques inflicted on prisoners and ordinary peasants by the Ky government troops and pro-Chiang mercenaries.

Never has a government so brazenly defied international law by openly bombing another country without declaring war, as American planes are doing in North Vietnam. They are indiscriminately destroying dams and even mental hospitals. Following the policy of "open target areas," bombers drop their explosives, not on designated military objectives, but on any villages, rice paddies or other working and living places of the peasant population, North and South.

These air attacks on Vietnamese civilians were the real reason behind the killing of two U.S. prisoners by the National Liberation Front on September 26. They were executed after due warning in reprisal for the public shooting by the Saigon authorities of three persons who were called "terrorists" for peacefully protesting in Da Nang against crop damage inflicted by U.S. artillery fire and air strikes.

Already more than a thousand Americans have lost their lives in this military adventure. Over 175,000 troops are committed to the war theater in that area. And there is no end in sight to this escalation. On September 25 Democratic Senator Stennis of Mississippi ominously predicted that the U.S. may have to double its forces to 250,000 men and keep its troops in Vietnam for 15 years.

Polls indicate that large numbers of Americans are distrustful and disturbed about Vietnam, though they are not yet fully alerted to the folly and cost of this war in Asia. Already anguished and bereaved parents have been questioning: "Why did my boy have to die out there — and what for?" They will become still more bitter as the casualties mount in the jungles and highlands of Vietnam and they mourn their needless dead.

The President and Congress give no signs of heeding the uneasiness of the American people or the growing protests elsewhere in the world. Instead, they are planning further acts of aggression which run the risk of touching off a wider war and the use of nuclear weapons. The survival of the human race is at stake.

The only movement that can call a halt to the warmakers must come from the American people themselves. That is why I hail the October 15-16 demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Such nationally and internationally coordinated actions on a more and more massive scale are the most effective way to change Washington's reckless course in Asia.

Let these demands ring out loud and clear from coast to coast on those days so that the message is sure to reach the White House, State Department, Pentagon and Congress:

Stop the war NOW! Withdraw all American troops from Vietnam! Let the Vietnamese alone to run their own affairs!

Special Serial— 'Malcolm X Speaks'

Beginning in our next issue we will present a weekly serialized condensation of the book, Malcolm X Speaks. It will contain extracts from speeches, mostly from the last year of his life, and all of its material that has not previously appeared in The Militant. Malcolm X Speaks is published by Merit Publishers, Five East Third St., New York, N. Y. and may be ordered for \$5.95.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. Grove Press, 1965, xvi + 455 pp., \$7.50.

Malcolm X worked on this book because he hoped "that if I honestly and fully tell my life's account, read objectively it might prove to be a testimony of some social value." That hope is fulfilled; his autobiography is a valuable document helping to explain the development of a remarkable man who had a strong influence on black and white thought in our time.

The publishers say it is "a classic of American testimony, fit to stand beside Frederick Douglass, James Weldon Johnson, Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and the others who have explained what it is to be a black man in white America." This is true, although its literary quality does not compare with that of the writers cited.

Malcolm was not a writer; he "told" this book to Alex Haley. Because Haley did not sympathize with his views, Malcolm stipulated that nothing be in it that he had not said and that nothing be left out of it that he wanted in it. The actual writing and arrangement were done by Haley. As Malcolm had predicted, he did not live to see the full and final version; he was assassinated on the weekend that he was supposed to visit Haley's home for a last reading of the manuscript.

There is another factor that keeps this from being the "definitive" book on Malcolm. And that is the fact that it was completed during a period of great and rapid change in his life and outlook, and does not adequately reflect ideas and positions he arrived at in his final months.

Original Purpose

Originally, it was to be the story of Malcolm the Black Muslim; the first dedication was to Elijah Muhammad and the royalties were to go to his organization. It was begun early in 1963, a full year before Malcolm's break with the Black Muslims in March, 1964, and most of the material was set down in print before the break. If it had been published then, it would still have been a fascinating narrative, but along strictly "orthodox" Black Muslim lines.

Malcolm later wanted to make changes in this part of the book (not in its account of what had happened, but in the opinions and judgments expressed there). However, he let Haley talk him out of making such changes. This was unfortunate, because the book attributes to Malcolm formulations and even concepts that he no longer held at the time of his death. In his epilogue, Haley himself brings up to date Malcolm's changed views on intermarriage; but a gap remains in the book on other, more basic questions.

After the split with Muhammad, three or four chapters were added on, but only the report of the split and Malcolm's first trip to Mecca and Africa in the spring of 1964 can be regarded as in any way satisfactory. His second and longer trip to Africa in the summer is barely mentioned, and there is very little about the crucial last three months after his return to the U.S. — which was the period when his ideas were developing most rapidly (on black nationalism, socialism, etc.).

Until a study of this period in Malcolm's life is published, the new Merit Publishers' book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, and especially its last eight chapters, containing speeches and statements from December, 1964, to February, 1965, are indispensable for understanding the revolutionary direction of Malcolm's thought which the



The late Malcolm X and daughter Ilyasah

autobiography presents only in part, and in some parts unclearly or ambiguously.

The first half of the autobiography deals with Malcolm until the age of 27 — his birth in Nebraska, his childhood in Michigan, his adolescence in Boston, his drift into hustling, narcotics and crime in Harlem, his arrest for robbery before he was 21, his 6½ years in prison and his introduction to the doctrines of Elijah Muhammad. It explains convincingly why this shrewd young man, who had not believed in anything but how to make a fast buck, was so powerfully attracted to the Black Muslims and why he became Muhammad's most dedicated and unquestioning disciple.

Tireless Work

The second half includes Malcolm's picture of the Black Muslims and his tireless work in helping to build it from a small sect into an influential national organization (1952-64), and some of the events in the brief 50 weeks remaining of his life after he left the Black Muslims. The conception of Malcolm held by the masses in the black ghetto — of an uncompromising and incorruptible militant — is fully confirmed in these chapters; and with it is evidence of Malcolm's capacity for continued intellectual growth. Some readers may also be surprised by Malcolm's sense of humor, his modesty, his respect and hunger for education, and his class-consciousness (in relation to the Negro middle class).

Along the way, Malcolm expresses opinions on a wide variety of subjects, most connected with race relations, but not all. Some of these are acute, and others are nothing but prejudices (for example, his unenlightened attitude toward women, which stemmed partly from his experiences as a hustler and was reinforced by Black Muslim doctrine on relations between women and men). His predictions that he would die violently, that he would be killed before this book was published, and that the press would then identify him with hate and irresponsibility, proved to be all too correct.

In addition to the autobiography, the book contains an introduction by New York Times reporter M.S. Handler (marred by the utterly wrong statement that at the end

of his life Malcolm "no longer inveighed against the United States"); a brief after-word by actor-playwright Ossie Davis, explaining why he gave the eulogy at Malcolm's funeral; and a 74-page epilogue by Alex Haley.

The epilogue is quite good where Haley is reporting things he personally witnessed and experienced — how the book was written, the tension under which Malcolm lived, how hard he worked, how he felt most at ease among the masses on the streets of Harlem, how aware he was of a tendency to shut his mind to problems he couldn't solve, etc. It is not so good where Haley touches on things like the organizational problems facing Malcolm and his co-workers, which Malcolm never discussed with him.

Haley carries the story up to Malcolm's assassination and funeral, but this is for the most part a routine summary of the newspaper articles of that time, which were more concerned with sensationalizing the developments than with digging into them. One exception is Haley's report that Malcolm told him, on the phone the day before the assassination:

"The more I keep thinking about this thing, the things that have been happening lately [attempts on his life], I'm not all that sure it's the Muslims. I know what they can do, and what they can't and they can't do some of the stuff recently going on. Now, I'm going to tell you, the more I keep thinking about what happened to me in France, I think I'm going to quit saying it's the Muslims." The next day, an hour before his death, he said the same thing to associates in the anteroom to the Audubon Ballroom.

— George Breitman

Twin Girls Are Born To Malcolm X's Widow

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the 30-year-old widow of Malcolm X, gave birth to two girls on Oct. 7 in Brookdale Hospital, Brooklyn.

Both girls will be named after her late husband, the *Amsterdam News* of Oct. 9 reported. One of the girls will be called Maliki, after Malcolm X's Muslim first name, Malik. The twins are not identical.

EFFECT OF ARMS BUILD-UP

Did Viet War Save U.S. Boom?

[An unusually revealing article, illustrating how much the running of the capitalist economy in the United States now depends on war expenditures, appeared in the *New York Times* of Sept. 24 (international edition). The title itself speaks volumes: "Vietnam War Fuels U.S. Growth — Escalation Provided Life for Expansion as It Faltered." Because of its interest, we are reproducing the full text below.]

[The author, M. J. Rossant, refers in passing to the forebodings of Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., last spring. This authoritative spokesman of the American banks said that the economy was showing signs of heading toward a crash like that of 1929, which ushered in the worst depression in the country's history. These forebodings were wrong, says Rossant, but so were the optimistic forecasts of the Johnson administration. It is now clear, according to Rossant, that the U.S. economy stood at the brink of a downturn — but not a 1929-type crash — at the time Johnson ordered the escalation in Vietnam.]

[Rossant's assertion that Johnson's decision to escalate "had nothing to do with the state of the economy and was completely unexpected by the President's economic advisers," may be taken with a considerable pinch of salt. The truth is, in the light of the available evidence, that the decision to escalate had been taken at least a year before. Implementation was deferred until after the November 1964 election so that Johnson could campaign as the "peace" candidate against Goldwater. It may well be that the signs of sag in the American economy, which so alarmed Martin, were decisive in the timing of Johnson's order giving the green light for the long-prepared plunge into Vietnam.]

NEW YORK, Sept. 23 — It was a close call. Little by little, it has become clear that the longest peacetime expansion in the nation's history was in danger of giving out until the escalation of the war in Vietnam gave it a new lease on life.

The Johnson administration is

Cuba Travel-Ban Case Tried in Federal Court

NEW YORK — The trial of Stephen Martinot, Levi Laub and Anatole Schlosser for defying the State Department's ban on travel to Cuba began in Brooklyn federal court on Oct. 5.

Two of the defendants, Martinot and Laub, are charged with having "conspired" to organize a trip to Cuba in 1963 and having gone there. This was the first of the two student trips to Cuba. Schlosser is charged only with "conspiring" to organize the trip but not with having gone to Cuba.

Philip Abbot Luce, who had been indicted together with the other defendants, and who publicly broke with the Progressive Labor Party, is not being tried with the other three.

Leonard Boudin, general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Joseph Forer, are attorneys for the defense.

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not admitting that the boom came within a breath or two of expiring. But it has let slip a revealing hint or two. The latest batch of economic statistics confirms that activity had slowed down and that a prolonged pause, if not a serious decline, was in the making before Vietnam changed the situation.

The August figures, the latest available, show that after rising sharply in the first eight months of the year the Federal Reserve's index of industrial production leveled off. At the same time, housing starts and new orders of durable goods declined. Personal income rose, but the rate of increase was far below the heady pace recorded in the spring.

Without the recent step-up in military spending, which also boosted business confidence, the slowdown in August would have been much more noticeable. It could have marked the beginning of the end of the expansion. Business spending, which is now climbing, could have slipped. And production might have fallen further as consumers curbed their appetites.

Even with the stimulus of additional spending, business activity will be advancing at a slower rate than it did earlier. But the pause in August now appears to be a catching of breath before going on, more leisurely, to new

heights of activity.

The pause emphasizes, however, that the Johnson administration's confident predictions and careful plans were in jeopardy. Then came the decision to escalate, which had nothing to do with the state of the economy and was completely unexpected by the President's economic advisers. It provided just enough lift to business — and to investor confidence — to keep the expansion going.

The Vietnam build-up also makes clear that both sides in the celebrated economic debate that unnerved Wall Street and enlivened newspapers last spring were in the wrong.

Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., was off base in suggesting that the accelerating pace of the expansion was similar to the 1929 period and that an unsustainable boom might be followed by a bust. Clearly, the real peril was that the boom might simply fade away.

But the Johnson administration was just as much at fault for insisting that things were good and would get better.

The Vietnamese escalation was timed perfectly. It permitted the administration to apply the necessary stimulation without confessing its fallibility. It not only kept the economy from faltering, but salvaged the Johnson administration's reputation.

World Events

Protest Death Sentence

Over fifty leading French intellectuals, among them the eminent Catholic writer François Mauriac, have asked the commutation of the death sentence for two young Quebec *indépendantistes*, François Schirm and Edmond Guennette. The sentence is to be carried out in October. This information was made available by the Committee on Quebec, because the English mass media of Canada have failed to report this fact.

Among those who made this request in a joint letter to Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson and Quebec Premier Jean Lesage were Professor Jacques Berque, the poet Louis Aragon, Roger Gauraudy, writer Joseph Kessel, and the sociologist Michel Bernard. In the letter they protested the fact that the two young Quebec nationalists were judged as common criminals rather than as political prisoners.

Schirm and Guennette were tried in connection with the hold-up of a gun shop. Police had been called, and in the confusion the shopkeeper was killed by one of the young men and an employee was shot by the police. At the trial Schirm made a stirring speech in his own defense, demanding to be tried as a political prisoner, not a common criminal.

Australian Labor Hits War

The federal executive of the Australian Labor Party (ALP)

and the ALP parliamentary group have officially opposed the sending of Australian troops to Vietnam. Regional conferences in Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney endorsed this stand. At one conference ALP parliamentary leader Arthur Calwell was cheered resoundingly when he called for the return of Australian troops already sent. In New South Wales a left-wing amendment was accepted, placing the conference on record in support of the federal leaders' stand.

Learning to Love Bomb?

Human volunteers at a British research center have inhaled radioactive vapor so that scientists could study the effects, reported Britain's Atomic Energy Authority Oct. 7. The results of the "experiment" were not disclosed, however. Nor what they were meant to prove. (That we could stop worrying and learn to live with the bomb?) What we wonder most, though, is how in the world they got those volunteers.

Behind Japan's Depression

The commercial press in Japan is much concerned these days over the country's economic depression, which comes after years of unprecedented boom and lush profits.

Prof. Ryokichi Minobe offered these comments in the September issue of *Bungei Shunjun*: "What crucifies Japanese industry now

Bolivia Rebels Issue Call for Guerrilla War

(World Outlook) — A new test of strength has been taking place in Bolivia between the miners and the ruling military junta. Action centered around the Siglo XX-Catavi mining area. In an attempt to crush the miners' movement headed by trade unionists now in the underground, the junta ordered assaults by government troops and announced Sept. 22 that the mines would be closed down "indefinitely." (Colonel Juan Lechin Suarez announced the following day, however, that they would probably be reopened Sept. 24.)

Violent battles occurred between the troops and the miners, with some thirty reported killed and hundreds wounded.

As a new repressive measure, the junta singled out groups of miners suspected of being ring-leaders and ordered them deported to isolated regions of the country.

The military junta could not "purge" the labor movement of its best known leaders and "reorganize" the mines (through massive layoffs and substantial wage cuts) and at the same time continue to play the game of "restoring" democracy after the downfall of Paz Estenssoro. A direct conflict with the miners was inevitable. The first round occurred last May. The second round, bloodier than the first, came four months later. The junta utilized the intervening period to hit at the labor movement through arrests, deportations and assassinations with the obvious aim of liquidating the most important leaders and cadres.

The murder of César Lora, a Trotskyist leader of the Siglo XX miners, was the most tragic episode of this repression.

On Sept. 4, Hugo Gonzalez Moscoso, secretary of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), the Bolivian Trotskyist organization, was arrested while on the way from La Paz to Oruro. He was held incommunicado.

Lucha Obrera, the official newspaper of the POR, immediately raised the alarm about the very real possibility that Moscoso might be placed before one of the junta's firing squads without so much as

a mock trial. Students and teachers immediately organized a mass demonstration, marching in front of police headquarters and shouting that Moscoso be freed at once. The miners likewise registered strong protests.

The junta and its police finally backed down in face of this pressure and Moscoso was released a few days after his arrest.

Recent reports would seem to indicate, in addition, that the struggle in Bolivia may extend into a new field. Some of the militants who have been black-listed by the junta and forced to flee seem to be resorting to guerrilla struggle. In September the first issue of a small publication called *Pueblo en Armas* (The People in Arms), which lists itself as Organ of the National Guerrilla Command was circulated in La Paz.

One of the militant declarations included read in part as follows:

"To open the country to Yankee colonization, the military have had to destroy the unions, trample law underfoot, murder leaders of the workers. And to increase the profits of the companies, they have had to reduce wages and salaries.

"Bolivians! Let us rise against this macabre situation. Let us save Bolivia from perishing as a sovereign and independent nation. Let us defend freedom and democratic rights.

"The National Guerrilla Command has arisen to carry on this struggle. Today it calls on all Bolivians to organize themselves into armed squads in order to struggle face to face against the assassins! The time has come for armed action."

Another statement, entitled "Guerrilla Warfare Is the Prolongation of the Mass Struggle" declared:

"The legal struggle and mobilization of the masses ran into violence and repression. The military junta has compelled us to resort to armed struggle."

"This does not mean that union struggles and leadership of the workers' movement must be given up. Not at all. That form of struggle continues; but in face of the regime's brutality, it is complemented with armed action and guerrilla warfare. A close relation exists between them, or to put it better, armed action and the mass struggle are two facets of the general struggle for the national and social liberation of Bolivia."

... Interview

(Continued from Page 1)

experience under fire. One guy ordered his men to strip their guns for inspection. The next thing they were being fired on.

"This friend of mine said it was the most horrible thing he's ever seen. It's horrible to see people getting killed this way in this century. We're trying to get to the moon — probably to destroy it — and we have this kind of killing. It's insane."

You can't really know everything the men are thinking, Joe explained. "When you're in the army you have to watch what you say. Lots of people are thinking these days. People are going to school — maybe that's where the army is making a mistake — but you don't have any choice. Take orders or go to jail. If they said take orders or we'll discuss it, it might be different. But they don't."

Some of the men try to get ideas around, he said. Two guys in his outfit got *The Militant* and one the *Village Voice*. They'd pass them around.

Joe described the wonderful feeling of getting mustered out. He chuckled. "The man asked me if I wanted to re-enlist! Re-enlist? Forget it. I'd go on welfare first. Go on the Bowery and be a bum. Sell peanuts!"

—George Saunders

A FOUNDING FATHER

Sam Adams: Revolutionary Leader

By Jack Marsh

It is one of the great ironies of history that the nation born in the American revolution of 1776, which has inspired to one extent or another all the colonial revolutions since then, has now become the chief bulwark of imperialism in the world. This is one of the reasons some modern U.S. historians and institutions attempt to bury and even slander the role of Sam Adams. But the young people in this country now building the movement against the brutal counterrevolutionary U.S. intervention in Vietnam will profit from a study of how Sam Adams organized the unrepresented American people to make the first American revolution.

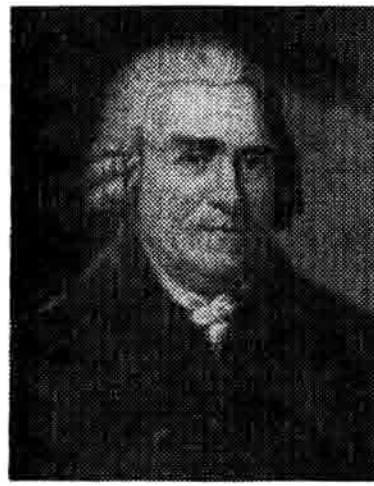
Adams was the organizer and one of the chief theoreticians of the revolutionary movement of 1764 to 1776, the chief political strategist of the movement, and spokesman for the common people in the towns and the countryside in their conflicts with the British. It was the work of Adams and his comrades — for 15 or 20 years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 — that made the victory of the revolution possible.

Sam Adams started out as a student radical. His master's thesis at Harvard in 1743 was entitled "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved."

In 1764, as a member of a local elected assembly, Adams put an important idea into words for the first time: "If taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal representative where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves." This later became the battle cry of the American patriots: "No taxation without representation."

Adams initiated the organization of the most militant sections of the population — mostly artisans, apprentices and such wage workers as existed in the small cities of the time — into revolutionary political groups called the Sons of Liberty.

These local groups exchanged plans and ideas through the Committees of Correspondence across the colonies. None but the most



Sam Adams

militant would serve on the Committees.

In October, 1765, a sort of assembly of unrepresented people took place when Adams, James Otis and other Boston leaders met with delegates from nine other colonies in New York City in what came to be called the Stamp Act Congress. It presented a petition to King George and the British Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act, a harsh and arbitrary form of tax. A struggle was initiated including boycotts and direct action which finally proved the taxes were unenforceable and they were repealed — except the tax on tea.

There followed a period, from 1770 to 1772, of lull and demoralization in the radical movement, a period when reform appeared feasible and more popular than the revolutionary approach. These years of "lull" were the very ones in which Adams did his hardest work to provide the missing elements to the revolutionary organization.

He worked to raise popular understanding, particularly among the farmers, to build a mass revolutionary organization independent of the merchants who were vacillating, and to link up the Massachusetts patriots with a nationwide movement. The revolutionary press, *Boston Gazette*, widened its circulation, and a new radical paper, the *Massachusetts Spy*, was founded. During this period, when those loyal to the British (the Tories) and those

who would conciliate them, held the upper hand, Sam Adams' pen did the work impossible for 10,000 swords to do.

His advice to Committee organizers who expressed doubts was: "Nil Desperandum! [Never Despair] All are not dead; and where there is a spark of patriotic fire, we will rekindle it." He understood that under certain circumstances the apathy of the masses indicates not a conservative mood, but that they no longer place any reliance on words and meetings.

If town meetings were small, he said, it was "partly from the opinion of some that there was no method left to be taken but the last."

The last method was a direct confrontation with British power, something the compromisers could not face. Adams did not fear a split with them when they balked at the necessary steps.

The confrontation occurred in 1773 when Adams organized the Boston Tea Party where the Boston patriots dumped three shiploads of British tea in the harbor to demonstrate opposition to the tax. The British reply was to close the port and the issue was drawn.

Continental Congress

The First Continental Congress met in the fall of 1774, due mainly to the organizational and propaganda work of Sam Adams. It backed Boston, organized relief for the city and proposed a nationwide boycott of British goods. In the Boston area itself, the British troops necessary to police the blockade finally came into inevitable conflict with the inhabitants and the military phase of the revolution was on.

Most historians concentrate on this military history, or the War of Independence, from 1775 to 1781. This seven-year period of guerrilla and large-scale warfare is important but it is really the last stage of the revolution; a revolutionary war against reactionary ruling classes and foreign armies. But politically, the decisive stages of the revolution came before this war.

Sam Adams is the revolutionist without peer in American history. His understanding of the revolutionary art and its associated skills of education, organization and strategy, has never been equalled in North America.

Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and capitalism. 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 do revolutionary socialist fight for reforms? Don't reforms stabilize the capitalist system and work against a social revolution?

The aim of revolutionary socialists is to end oppression and exploitation in all its forms everywhere. We support every movement of the oppressed against their exploiters, and every struggle to improve the conditions of the working peoples of the world. We believe that the abolition of capitalism and the building of a world socialist society is the indispensable means of finally ending exploitation, but there is no contradiction between working for a socialist revolution and working for the end of specific kinds of oppression here and now.

On the contrary, there is no other means through which a social revolution can be made, except through the struggle against the forms of exploitation or injustice people are conscious of. Every victory in such a struggle teaches people one of the lessons that must be grasped by most people before a social revolution can be achieved: that it is possible to win significant gains by organizing and fighting for them. And through the struggle — from both the victories and defeats — they learn other indispensable lessons about the nature of society — who rules, how, and in whose interest.

If there were no fundamental antagonisms in society, reforms leading toward more equality and justice would stabilize society and tend to rule out revolutionary change. But since capitalism is a class society in which the interests of the workers and poor can not be reconciled with those of the capitalist rulers reforms weaken the power of the rulers and strengthen the position of the exploited.

Of course the concessions won in the struggle may have contradictory effects under some circumstances. Some of those engaged in the struggle will see the concessions as the ends for which

they were fighting and cease to struggle. Some concessions will be made to part of the exploited at the expense of the rest and tend to conservatize the privileged section. But these partial gains limit the area of maneuver of the ruling class. When the capitalists' interests are threatened or their profits diminished they are forced to attack the gains people have come to recognize as their right. Those who mistook the concession for the solution of their problem come to realize that it wasn't the solution after all. And the struggle is renewed at a higher level.

It is through this process that the majority of people will come to understand that peace, human dignity and abundance for all can only be won by the working people organizing, taking power into their own hands, and reconstructing society according to their own needs — in short, building socialism.

Moreover, the history of social struggle in this country and elsewhere has demonstrated that significant reforms have been won only by movements in opposition to the system — not by those who give their primary allegiance to the system while they try to improve it. The actions of the people of Watts — despite their lack of organization — will do more to improve the lives of black people in America than all the social work, "war on poverty" projects, and civil rights bills put together.

It has been demonstrated again and again that reforms won under capitalism are always in danger. During the McCarthy era many elementary democratic rights — like the right to hold a job regardless of political beliefs — were lost. They are only now being regained as the struggle of the Negro people for their rights, and more recently the movement against the Vietnam war, change the atmosphere in the country.

Under pressure from the masses, the capitalists sometimes grant reforms, sometimes use repression, and other times a combination of both. In a deep social crisis, when it becomes convinced that reforms will no longer buy off the workers, the ruling class adapts a policy of all-out suppression of the workers' movements through the methods of fascism. If triumphant, fascism means the physical annihilation of all workers' parties, unions, and even social clubs; and the destruction of all democratic rights and reforms won in struggle.

Such social crises, produced by war and economic crises, are endemic to capitalism. The United States is not immune to them. In the long run, therefore, all who support the social reforms won in the past as well as those who advocate new reforms will be faced with the choice of fighting for a social revolution or allowing our most basic rights to be destroyed.

Not only do revolutions support all movements for real reform without reservation, but the actions and ideas of revolutionists are necessary to win and maintain them.

— Herman Porter

"Bolshevism is knocking at our gates. We can't afford to let it in. We have got to organize ourselves against it, and put our shoulders together and hold fast. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy." — Al Capone

Albert Einstein on Socialism

[The following is from "Why Socialism?" by Albert Einstein, published by Monthly Review Press, 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014, available from them at 20c per copy.]

I have now reached the point where I may indicate briefly what to me constitutes the essence of the crisis of our time. It concerns the relationship of the individual to society. The individual has become more conscious than ever of his dependence upon society. But he does not experience this dependence as a positive asset, as an organic tie, as a protective force, but rather as a threat to his natural rights, or even to his economic existence . . .

Unknowingly prisoners of their own egotism, they [human beings] feel insecure, lonely, and deprived of the naïve, simple, and unsophisticated enjoyment of life. Man can find meaning in life, short and perilous as it is, only through devoting himself to society.

The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of the evil . . . The means of production — that is to say, the entire productive capacity that is needed for producing consumer goods as well as additional capital goods — may legally be, and for the most part are, the private prop-

erty of individuals . . .

The owner of the means of production is in a position to purchase the labor power of the worker. By using the means of production, the worker produces new goods which become the property of the capitalist. The essential point about this process is the relation between what the worker produces and what he is paid, both measured in terms of real value. Insofar as the labor contract is "free," what the worker receives is determined not by the real value of the goods he produces, but by his minimum needs and by the capitalists' requirements for labor power in relation to the number of workers competing for jobs. It is important to understand that even in theory the payment of the worker is not determined by the value of his product.

Private capital tends to become concentrated in few hands, partly because of competition among the capitalists, and partly because technological development and the increasing division of labor encourage the formation of larger units of production at the expense of the smaller ones. The result of these developments is an oligarchy of private capital the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked even by a dem-

ocratically organized political society.

This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature. The consequence is that the representatives of the people do not in fact sufficiently protect the interests of the underprivileged sections of the population . . .

Production for Profit

Production is carried on for profit, not for use. There is no provision that all those able and willing to work will always be in a position to find employment; an "army of unemployed" almost always exists. The worker is constantly in fear of losing his job. Since unemployed and poorly paid workers do not provide a profitable market, the production of consumers' goods is restricted, and great hardship is the consequence.

Technological progress frequently results in more unemployment rather than in an easing of the burden of work for all. The profit motive, in conjunction with competition among capitalists, is responsible for an instability in the accumulation and utilization of capital which leads to increasing-

ly severe depressions. Unlimited competition leads to a huge waste of labor, and to that crippling of the social consciousness of individuals which I mentioned before.

This crippling of individuals I consider the worst evil of capitalism. Our whole educational system suffers from this evil. An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success as a preparation for his future career.

I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilized in a planned fashion.

A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman, and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present 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.]

The Great Society

Lynwood, Calif.

What I am about to write may be used in your paper if you think it would be of interest to your readers.

I was hurt on my last job in 1962 and received an award from the insurance company for \$5,800. Since that time I have been unable to find work in the state of California where I have lived since 1934.

My mother and stepfather help me to live now, but the State will

not put me on relief because my wife and baby are in Mexico. I cannot bring them into the U.S. because I cannot support them and they cannot come until I can support them.

I am disabled but the U.S. government will not help me. I am a veteran of World War II. The Social Security will not help me because they contend that I am employable but everywhere I try for employment they contradict the Social Security and say I should get disability payments.

The State of California Rehabilitation program has had me on their list for six months, but I haven't started on rehabilitation yet.

Who qualifies for the Poverty plan? Who helps people like me? How can this government get away with such dereliction of its citizens? Who gives the government permission to keep me and my wife and baby separated?

As far as I can see, the U.S. has gone to hell and is being run by liars and crooks.

How can the U.S. blast other countries for enslavement of its people, when here in the U.S. people can starve, be unemployed, and have to stand indignities because of race and color? I would like to solve my problem if possible. If not, how can I help to solve the problems of all people in my position.

J.W.M.

Church and State Issue

Fort Bragg, Calif.

A matter of vital importance to every taxpayer in the United States is a suit filed in October 1963 in Baltimore, Md., demanding that churches pay taxes on their billions of dollars worth of tax-free religious and commercial property. There are over 70 million people in the United States who do not attend any church, yet they are forced to pay increased taxes on their property to subsidize the churches and their vast real estate holdings on which no taxes are paid.

The most flagrant violator of the tax exemption privilege is the Roman Catholic church which owns more tax exempt property and real estate than any other church or corporation in America. Not only are its churches, schools, convents and luxurious parish houses exempt from the payment of taxes, but huge commercial, money-making corporations are brought under an umbrella of "church property" in order to get favored treatment at the tax office.

If this case ever reaches the Supreme Court it will have no choice but to strip churches of their tax exempt status since it is an indirect subsidy of tax money to promote religion which is in direct violation of the First Amendment to our Constitution. The money that the churches save by not having to pay taxes can be used to promote their religious beliefs. We marvel at the silence and indifference of those who have the most to lose — the taxpayers. WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Jack Odam

Fulbright and Us

Chicago, Ill.

I believe that we all owe Senator Fulbright of Arkansas a vote of thanks for making available to the public the full truth of the Dominican intervention. However,

the readers of *The Militant* knew the full truth three months before Senator Fulbright's public statement.

James E. Brittain

Solid Supporter

Chicago, Ill.

Since getting your paper for the past few months I've really enjoyed every copy. *The Militant* is really a great medium in helping the people to be informed.

A few days before receiving your letter, I renewed my subscription at the Debs Hall here in Chicago. Therefore I would like you to start sending the paper to a friend. His name and address are enclosed.

J.M.

Critical

Seattle, Wash.

My wife picked up a copy of your paper tonight and I thought you might be interested in some rambling criticism of your focus and of your views. The first thing that caught my eye was the phrase on the front page "Published in the Interest of the Working People." I strongly have my doubts that but a very small percentage of your readers have had any contact with "working people." The focus of your paper is the college intellectual furthering the "social revolution," without any idea of what a change in the social and economic structure of the country would involve. Are you interested in the plight of labor? I doubt it. You do have one col-

umn entitled "The National Picket Line" but it is only concerned with some rather reactionary craft unions.

Why don't you send some of your illustrious writers down to the casual labor hall sometime and see what the "working people" think, how they are exploited and actively try to help them instead of flaying away at a foreign policy that is very, very difficult to change or to exert any influence with the policy-makers.

What I am really saying is that it is much easier to sit behind a typewriter, speak to militant college sophomores and have alienated middle class coffee klatches than it is to do the difficult. Have you ever thought about writing a paper addressed to the migrant laborer? I doubt it, I doubt that you have ever taken the time to meet one.

You might be interested to know that there are large numbers of laborers, most of them out of work, who could be easily brought into a movement leading to social revolution. (I bet you're saying "I'll be damned, I didn't know that.")

Why don't you try to speak the language of the "working people," why don't you just try to understand them. Take a walk down to an employment office, maybe even try working next to one (what I am suggesting is a form of integration, take the step—you won't find it is really that bad) then maybe you will be able to turn

out a decent paper.

Oh, one last suggestion: Why don't you look over one of the old Wobbly song books, learn some four letter words, the capitalist is being damned but not in the rhetoric of Marx or Lenin.

I think that you will find that some of the nicest people are "working people" and they don't really need the stewardship of the coffee house liberal.

J.K.M.

[*The Militant* is dedicated to the proposition that the abolition of capitalism requires the leadership of a force with the social and economic weight of the organized working class. We support every struggle of the workers and as they occur report them to the best of our ability. At the same time we support without reactionary prejudice every and all movements that aim in a progressive direction, regardless of whether those waging the fight are workers or students. We further believe it is ducking the issue to talk of fighting the reactionary domestic policy of the capitalists without taking them on also on their equally reactionary foreign policy. We welcome J.K.M.'s statement that there are many unemployed workers who can be brought into a movement leading toward social revolution. We trust he is doing what he can to bring them in. Finally, we know a number of four-letter words but didn't realize rhetoric was one of them. —EDITOR.]

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MOLOTOV'S "CONFESSION"

— With Molotov's confession of "heresy" this week the last of the triumvirate which succeeded Stalin immediately after his death has been officially toppled.

Beria was a scapegoat for the hated police character of the Stalinist regime. He was shot. Malenkov was a scapegoat for the economic difficulties brought on by the mismanagement, sloth and greed of the Soviet bureaucratic caste. He was demoted.

Molotov has apparently been selected as the scapegoat for deep unrest among the Soviet masses, an unrest which gives rise to moods of independent thinking and challenges to the ideological shibboleths of the bureaucracy.—Oct. 17, 1955.

20 Years Ago

GREEK STALINISTS SLAY TROTSKYISTS

— News from Trotskyist sources in Greece indicates that the Stalinist betrayal of the masses in the Civil War last December was accompanied, and in some cases preceded, by a horrible massacre of hundreds of members of the Fourth International. The Greek Trotskyists had already lost many militants in the struggle against the Metaxas dictatorship before the war and against the Fascist and Nazi occupation during the war.

The program of the Greek Trotskyists called for the election of democratically elected committees in the factories and on the land, the formation of workers' militias and the carrying out of a working class policy both before and after the rout of the Nazis. They warned against the reactionary aims of the Allied imperialists and the Greek capitalists and urged the masses to distrust them and to rely only on their own independent strength in the struggle for their emancipation.

For thus seeking to arm the masses against the plots of the bourgeoisie and its British sponsors, the Greek Trotskyists aroused the fear and the hatred of the Stalinists who controlled the ELAS and the EAM (Greek National Liberation Army and Front). Never permitting the masses to determine the policies of the EAM and the ELAS, the Stalinists held these organizations in a bureaucratic vise as the organs of the "People's Front." In this coalition the Communist Party bureaucrats yielded to the policies of Greek capitalism represented in the EAM by lawyers, politicians, old time labor skates, etc.—Oct. 20, 1945.

It Was Reported in the Press

Numbers Game — Just before Fidel Castro offered to make arrangements with the U.S. to admit Cubans who wished to leave the island, U.S. sources were claiming that some 300,000 wanted to leave. When Castro announced his offer, the figure was scaled down to 100,000. The next figure we read was 50,000. Then after Johnson said he would accept the offer, the figure dropped to 15,000—20,000. (In addition, it was said there are people in prison who want to leave.)

News of the Week — Speaking in Cleveland, the president of the International Rotary Clubs, Dr. C.P.H. Teenstra of the Netherlands, proposed that the Rotarians organize their own Peace Corps. He said that the clubs used to carry on a lot of local service projects in fields ranging from education to medicine. "But," he added, "in affluent countries like yours and mine, it is sometimes hard now to find local problems to solve because everyone is taken care of."

No Satisfying Them — Last week we reported that the Ku Klux Klan cancelled a planned rally near Atlanta because the grass was too high in the cow pasture where it was to be held. This week we learn that the bed-sheet boys cancelled out in Clearwater, Fla., on a plot of land which they cleared themselves. All the owner of the land knew was that "a boy came in and said the grand dragon from Alabama had cancelled all further rallies in Florida."

It Figures—Nearly three-quarters of the delegates to the United Nations walked out of the General Assembly in protest when the floor was granted to a representative of the racist South African police regime. Remaining behind to listen to his defense of apartheid were about 32 delegates, including the representatives of United States, France and Great Britain.

Tough-Situation Dep't — Sherman Billingsley's Stork Club, which spent hundreds of thousands of dollars fighting a waiters' union organizing drive since 1956, has gone out of business.

Compensation — A member of the Florida legislature has introduced a bill to provide financial compensation to Robert Watson who spent 26 weeks in jail after being convicted of robbing a store in the town of Mulberry. He was released after another man confessed to the crime. The Mulberry police chief and two patrolmen are now charged with being co-conspirators in the holdup.

Trench Coat — A New York fashion designer is offering a

lynx-lined raincoat for \$1,790. For bright, sunny but cool days there is an all-bead outfit. Coat and dress to match, \$1,750. The latter may require a sturdy back.

Dep't Of Utter Confusion—The Oct. 1 *Wall Street Journal* explained: "Rapid and cheap exploitation of advanced technology bought or stolen from the Western capitalists has about run out. In some fields, such as creating equipment for the outer space race, the Russians now have to do their own pioneering along with us."

Typographical Error? — The *New York Post* reports that Lady Bird planted a linden tree in Buffalo.

City Planners — "City Widens Drive on Wasting Water; Street Flushings Stop; Supply in Reservoirs Will Last Until Spring if Carefully Conserved, Officials Say." — Headline in the *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1939.

A Bomb — A British manufacturer of hydrogen bomb shelters which sell for \$3,360 has gone bankrupt. The firm sold but one shelter in the past three years.

— Harry Ring

INTRODUCTORY SUBSCRIPTION

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Thought for the Week

"Upper class men want to eat well . . . enjoy varied foods . . . Lower middle class men get pretty good food at home too . . . They go to nice eating places for lunches and snacks . . . Upper lower class men are somewhat less responsive to food because what they get is less interesting . . . Dinner is often 'cut up' foods like stews, hamburgers meat loaf; most rarely, steaks, chops or roasts. These blue collar workers tend to feel they eat more to live than for the enjoyment of food." — Revelations in a survey made for the 7-Up Corp.

Georgia Negroes Press For School Integration

By Arthur Maglin

OCT. 12 — Crawfordville, Ga. has become the scene of massive protest by its Negro community to obtain rights that were supposedly granted in the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision. The federal government and the Johnson administration is still doing nothing to enforce that decision.

The Supreme Court's ruling stated that every school in America had to be integrated "with all deliberate speed." More than ten years and four civil rights bills later, only an insignificant minority of Negro children are attending integrated schools in the South.

In Crawfordville, the local government decided to close its one white school rather than integrate it. Now, the 175 white children of Taliaferro county where Crawfordville is located are being bused to segregated schools in surrounding counties.

Since the new school term began, Negroes, most of them school children boycotting classes in the inferior segregated schools, have tried to board the buses. When they have been repulsed by local police and state troopers, they have thrown themselves in front of the buses to prevent them from moving.

Negroes Victimized

On Oct. 5 the grand dragon of Georgia's Ku Klux Klan twisted the arm of a demonstrating Negro youth and hurled him against a state police car. A trooper helped the grand dragon, Calvin Craig, hold the 17-year-old demonstrator, Frank Bates. The demonstrator was arrested and charged with interfering with the operation of a public school. Later, dragon Craig was arrested (but not jailed) for assault and battery.

Hosea Williams, an official of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who has been directing the Crawfordville campaign, said, "In the past two weeks, since our people stopped turning the other cheek, three Negro bus drivers in Crawfordville have been fired. Two school cooks and two school custodians have been fired. The heads of 22 households whose children have been taking part in the bus demonstrations have been fired



Rev. Martin L. King

from various jobs around town.

"Six families have been evicted from their shack homes, and there have been four sudden foreclosures on homes and cars. But the worst thing of all is the beatings — 27 beatings of Negroes and white civil rights workers, by whites, beatings that have not once resulted in arrests." Other victimizations include two Negro school teachers and a Negro principal who have been fired from the staff of Negro schools.

On Oct. 11, Martin Luther King arrived in Crawfordville to confer with Negro leaders.

Johnson Responsible

It is the Johnson administration which is responsible for the beatings and jailings in Crawfordville. Johnson has the power to intervene in the South to arrest and bring to trial all the racist officials and police who have committed crimes against the Negro people. This includes state governors such as Gov. Carl Sanders of Georgia who sends in state troopers to enforce segregation policies.

A government responsible to its citizens would send federal troops to the South to prevent unjust jailings, vicious and unpunished racist violence and to enforce constitutional rights of everyone.

Students Seek U.S. Injunction To Halt Indiana Witch-Hunt

A direct challenge to the constitutionality of state sedition laws has been made in the latest legal action in the case of the three Indiana University students facing prosecution under the state's "Anti-Communism Act." The students, Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham, and Tom Morgan, were indicted in 1963 for their socialist activities and beliefs.

Two faculty members at Indiana University and two citizens of Indiana have joined the three students to request an injunction from the federal courts to stop this prosecution and declare the witchhunt law unconstitutional.

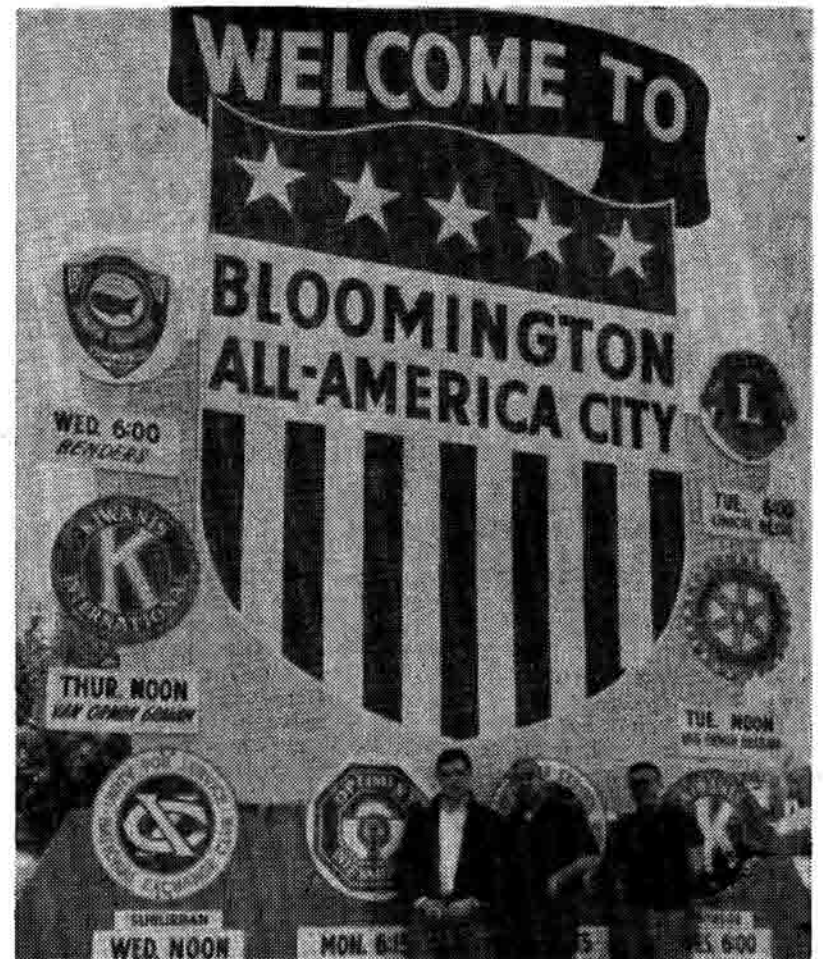
Joseph Schneider, Professor of Sociology; James Dinsmoor, Professor of Psychology; and William and Rhoda Lindner, citizens of Indiana, maintain that the Indiana statute infringes on their constitutional rights of free speech, assembly and association and is a direct violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments. They maintain that the threat of indictment under this law inhibits their freedom of expression and thought.

In addition, the national Young Socialist Alliance and its Indiana University chapter are seeking relief from the damages incurred by the organization as a result of the indictment.

The complaint was filed in United States District Court in Indianapolis, Indiana, October 6, 1965.

A federal ruling striking down a similar law was made in the April, 1965 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. At that time the Court ruled that federal courts may enjoin state criminal proceedings under statutes that threaten to deny citizens freedom of speech. SCCEF, a civil rights organization, was being persecuted by Louisiana's racists under the state's Communist Control Law. The Court declared major sections of the Louisiana law unconstitutional.

The three-year-old case began after a group of students on the Indiana University campus formed an Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose U.S. Aggression and demonstrated against the United States blockade of Cuba in October, 1962. This



GOT 101% AMERICAN TREATMENT. Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt and James Bingham (from left to right), defendants in Indiana "subversion" case, found that prosecutor in Bloomington regards socialist views as high crime.

demonstration was supported by many political groups on the campus, including the university chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The following January, the newly elected county prosecutor, Thomas Hoadley, publicly assailed the demonstrators and announced an investigation of the YSA. On Feb. 18, 1963, he requested that Indiana University withdraw its recognition of the Indiana University chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

When the university refused to comply, Hoadley obtained an indictment against the three officers of the campus chapter, Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and Jim Bingham, on the charge of attending a meeting where "violent overthrow of the government was advocated." The meeting referred to was a public campus meeting at which a national officer of the YSA, Leroy McRae, spoke on the Negro struggle for equality. (The complete text of his speech is available from the Committee to

Aid the Bloomington Students.) When this indictment was quashed on a technicality, the prosecutor returned a second indictment based on another meeting. This meeting was held in a private home May 2, 1963, the day following the first indictment, when the defendants, attorneys, and friends met to discuss their defense.

In direct violation of the defendants' right to plan their defense, the landlord, at the instigation of the prosecutor, eavesdropped on the meeting.

At the same time, prosecutor Hoadley initiated a witchhunt against the YSA. He publicly charged that the organization was "recruiting by using marijuana," was founded by "Moscow trained agents."

In pre-trial proceedings in March, 1964, the section of the law under which the students were indicted was declared unconstitutional by Judge Nat U. Hill of Bloomington, Ind. The prosecutor appealed the decision to the Indiana Supreme Court, which, in January, 1965, reversed this earlier ruling.

The services of Attorney Leonard B. Boudin, who is one of the foremost constitutional lawyers in the country, are being provided for the plaintiffs by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The defendants face from one to three years in prison under the Indiana Anti-Communist Act. Such state sedition statutes endanger the rights of all Americans.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students has been actively publicizing the case and raising money for the defense of the three students. Over 1200 faculty members on 95 college campuses throughout this country and Canada have become sponsors of the Committee. Send your contribution to: Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.



Hoadley

REPORT FROM JAPAN

U.S. Atrocities in North Vietnam

TOKYO — Since the end of September the foreign news editor of one of Japan's largest newspapers has been writing from Hanoi. In his first reports beginning Sept. 25 he presented the claims of the North Vietnamese government that U.S. planes were attacking civilian targets in North Vietnam, including hospitals, but he remained skeptical because of conflicting reports from Washington. In his report published in *The Mainichi* of Oct. 3 Minoru Omori tells about a film he saw of American planes destroying a leper hospital — an infamous attack still denied by U.S. officials.

Omori is a famous newsmen in Japan and had previously been a special correspondent in Washington, D.C. The *Mainichi* newspapers include *The Mainichi*, with a circulation of four million, and a daily English language paper.

In his article of Sept. 25 Omori wrote:

"I was told that a hospital for lepers in Thanh Hoa was bombed. I could not completely believe the story when I heard that American

planes are dropping shrapnel (fragmentation) bombs in quantities. These bombs are intended primarily for killing human beings by scattering small steel fragments over a wide area. After talking to nationals of third countries believed to be neutral in the Vietnam conflict, however, I had to give greater credence to the story.

Bomb Hospitals

"Sometimes I tend to think it [intentional bombings of hospitals and civilian residences] could have happened. For I remember many Japanese civilians were machine-gunned by U.S. fighters toward the end of World War II."

Omori's Oct. 3 article describes the film he saw of American planes flying low and raining bombs and napalm on the patients and nurses of the leper hospital.

The film opened with a scene of the hospital buildings before the attack.

"Then the scene changed to the attack by three to five low-flying planes. Under a rain of shells,

patients with crutches and nurses carrying patients on their backs ran to the shelters. Bombs burst and napalm flared up just in front of them. We could see the leper children and the old people among them.

"I have never seen such a terrible scene on film before," he wrote. "I have never imagined such a terrible scene although I had been told of the great power of rockets and napalm by the U.S. military authorities at the time I interviewed them in South Vietnam."

"I confirmed that the leper hospital was located near the seashore where no one else lived," he continued. "It is possible to think that they mistook the hospital buildings for military buildings, but there were the Red Cross flags on the roofs. In addition, the North Vietnam authorities issued warnings by radio during the ten days the attacks continued."

Hanoi officials said the attacks occurred from July 11 to July 22, destroying 160 buildings, killing 139 and wounding 80.