

# Senate Mail Running Heavily Against War

## THE MILITANT

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### Huge Berkeley Walkout Protests Vietnam War

BERKELEY, Calif., Feb. 9 — Between four and five thousand students at the University of California here walked out of classes this afternoon to attend a rally against the war.

The walk-out climaxed three days of intensive antiwar activity at the Berkeley campus. On Monday and Tuesday, students attempted to turn their classrooms into discussions on the war. Four hundred teaching assistants voted to endorse this plan for classroom discussions, and they were held in over one-third of the classes. Some teachers took votes on the question.

The Vietnam Day Committee, which organized all of the activities, prepared a packet of literature on the war, which was passed out to the students.

The VDC has held rallies almost every day for the past week, of 500 to 1,000 students. The administration claims this is a violation of the rules about speakers, but the VDC has been able to hold every rally it has planned.

However, the administration is bringing three students up on charges as a result of VDC activities, including Bettina Aptheker.

The VDC now plans to hold a student referendum on the Vietnam war.

NEW ORLEANS — A very successful teach-in on the Vietnam war was held at Tulane University here Feb. 5. Sponsored by the Tulane Liberals Club, it was attended by more than a thousand for most of the night. It went on until five in the morning.

Defending U.S. intervention were John Piercy of the U.S. State Department; Edward S. Butler III, executive vice president of the Information Council of the Americas; Dr. Henry L. Mason, professor of political science at Tulane; Matt Daley, Tulane graduate student; David Treen, local attorney and Frank Hicks, professor of history at Southern University.

Opposing the U.S. role in Vietnam were Dr. George Kahin, professor of political science at Cornell; Oretta Castle, former CORE field secretary; David McReynolds of the War Resisters League; Nancy Gitlin of Students for a Democratic Society; Albert

(Continued on Page 4)

By Barry Sheppard

There is a deep and growing discontent and apprehension over the Vietnam war among the American people. This fact is reflected in the mail citizens are sending their senators, mail which the senators say is running heavily against escalation of the war.

Senator Morse read into the Congressional Record 450 telegrams he received after he blasted Johnson's course over nation-wide TV on Jan. 30. All but four supported "my opposition to the unconstitutional and illegal war in south Vietnam" Morse reported.

Over the same weekend, Senator Fulbright received 1,000 letters, praising him for his criticism of the war, and about 20 opposing him from a pro-war position. "In the country stores," writes Roy Reed in the *New York Times*, "one can hear it said frequently that America has no business in Vietnam or in any other foreign country. Some of that persuasion have been heard praising Senator Fulbright recently for what they regard as an effort to 'get us out of Vietnam.'"

#### 100 to 1 Against

Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic leader in the Senate, reports he is receiving mail and telegrams from all over the country that is more than 100 to 1 against escalating the war. Gaylord Nelson, Senator from Wisconsin, says his mail is 10 to 1 in the same direction. Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts has been receiving 80 to 100 letters a day, with the trend "substantially" in opposition to escalation.

Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota received 450 supporting telegrams and one dissenting phone call when he proposed on Jan. 31 that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee undertake a critical review of Vietnam policy. Walter Mondale, the other senator from Minnesota, who is not a critic of the administration, reports his mail is 6 or 7 to 1 against escalation.



WAR SCENE. GI tries to fix wound of Vietnamese child. Civilians are principal victims of U.S. aggression.

These figures were reported by E. W. Kenworthy in a *New York Times* article titled "Senate Mail is Heavily Against Escalation of War."

"A sampling of senate offices indicated that the strongest opposition, as reflected in mail and telegrams, was in the Midwest and Mountain states," Kenworthy says. "However, senators from the Eastern Seaboard reported that their mail also was 'substantially' or 'predominately' against the bombing of north Vietnam and the fur-

ther addition of ground troops."

The antiwar movement can take encouragement from the fact of widespread discontent and opposition to the war indicated by these figures. The movement now has the responsibility to reach out and organize this growing discontent into active opposition to the war. The best way to do this is around the clear demand of "bring the troops home now," a demand which will find an echo in the hearts of tens of millions of Americans.

### Plan to Picket LBJ in New York

NEW YORK — There will be a massive anti-Vietnam-war demonstration here Feb. 23 when President Johnson appears in New York to receive a "freedom award" at a Freedom House dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria.

The award to be given Johnson is inscribed: "Lyndon B. Johnson — Freedom at home was never more widely shared nor aggression more wisely resisted than under his leadership."

Picketing will begin at 6:30 p.m. Wed., Feb. 23 at the Waldorf, 49th St. and Park Avenue. A rally will follow nearby at which a freedom award will be given to Julian Bond on behalf of all the young people in this country fighting for human rights and an end to the war in Vietnam. The demonstration is sponsored by the Feb. 23 Demonstration Committee, A. J. Muste, chairman, 5 Beekman St., N. Y., telephone BA 7-6960.

### Little Light Shed by Malcolm X Murder Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Feb. 8 — During 13 days of testimony in the Malcolm X murder trial, nine eyewitnesses to the assassination of Malcolm X have taken the stand and been cross-examined at length. But little progress has been made toward discovering the truth about what happened on Feb. 21, 1965 in the Audubon Ballroom where Malcolm X was shot, and the motive behind the assassination.

A complicating factor in the trial is the crucial role in the proceedings played by the police and district attorney's office. Though they are the ones who represent "the people," they can hardly be considered impartial, and some people suspect agents of the police were implicated in the murder.

The most powerful people who run this country had a motive for having Malcolm X murdered at least as strong as that of the hierarchy of the Black Muslims. And they were in a much better position to get away with it. Right-wing and racist groups had motives as well.

In the last speech he delivered at the Audubon Ballroom on Monday, Feb. 15, the day after his house had been bombed, Malcolm X accused Elijah Muhammad of ordering the bombing of his home,

but he went on to say that a situation had been created in which anyone could murder him and the Black Muslims would be blamed.

Alex Haley reports in the epilogue to *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* that Malcolm told him in a phone conversation on Feb. 20 that he was going to state he had been hasty to accuse the Black Muslims of bombing his home. "Things have happened since that are bigger than what they can do. I know what they can do. Things have gone beyond that," Haley quotes Malcolm.

More than any other individual, Malcolm X was a threat to those who wish to maintain the status quo in this country. Peter Sabbatino, one of the defense attorneys for Talmadge Hayer, asked George Whitney, one of Malcolm's followers, during cross-examination, whether he ever heard Malcolm say that people interested in narcotics might gun him down. "He said that people who were interested in keeping the status quo might gun him down," Whitney responded.

Malcolm X made an enormous impression in Africa during the last year of his life. Once he split from the Muslims, only 11 months before his death, the goal he set was to link the struggle of Afro-

Americans to the freedom struggles of the colored peoples all over the world. His immediate aim was to get the U. S. government condemned as racist in the United Nations, just as South Africa had been condemned.

He spent five of those 11 months traveling in Africa and the Middle East, meeting heads of state and

high government officials and speaking before student groups. A "truth squad" from the U. S. Information Agency accompanied him wherever he went — slandering him and trying to undo what he was accomplishing. But they didn't succeed. John Lewis and Donald Harris, leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, toured several African countries just after Malcolm had visited them and reported: "Malcolm's impact on Africa was just fantastic. In every country he was known and served as the main criteria for categorizing other Afro-Americans and their political views."

Malcolm X was poisoned while he was in Cairo. His stomach was pumped very soon after he awoke one night in enormous pain. No one else who ate with him was poisoned. He mentioned the incident during the question period at one of the public meetings of the Organization of Afro-American Unity at the Audubon Ballroom in an off-hand way. He was probably embarrassed to speak of his own problems, especially when he was so widely accused by the press of being just a publicity hound.

Just 12 days before his assassination (Continued on Page 3)



Malcolm X



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

After three days on the picket-line, UAW Local 1284 members voted to continue their strike against the Sterling Township, Mich., stamping plant of the Chrysler Corp. About 2,300 workers are involved in the strike and the vote to reject a proposed settlement was 547 to 395.

The strike began on Jan. 28 after Chrysler refused to resolve hundreds of grievances protesting intolerable working conditions.

Another union has announced demands which could "violate" President Johnson's 3.2 percent wage "guideline" when present union agreements expire on April 15. A New York conference of the Textile Workers Union voted to seek 15 percent wage and fringe benefit increases for 40,000 workers in 175 cotton-synthetic plants, and 18,000 in 75 woolen and worsted plants, most of which are located in New England and the middle Atlantic states.

Current pay scales for these workers average a paltry \$1.83 to \$2 an hour.

The former chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic advisers, Leon Keyserling, recently defended the gains won by New York City transit workers after a 12-day strike. Keyserling had been retained by the Transport Workers Union to make an extensive economic study on which the TWU based its demands for a new contract.

He pointed out that "even with the wage increases won in this settlement... the transport workers in every line are 10, 15, 20 percent behind comparable types

of employment in New York."

Keyserling also challenged the phony claims in the boss-dominated press during the strike that wages of TWU members were 20, 50, 60, 80 percent ahead of transport workers in other cities. "On a fair and rational comparison," he said, "the truth of the matter is that of the 14 largest cities in the United States there were 14 of them paying more than New York City, and six of the other eight were clustered so close to New York City that there wasn't any difference."

Commenting on the wages and living standards of New York transit workers, Keyserling declared, "They are seven percent below the minimum health and decency standards set by the New York City Welfare Agency itself."

300 Cuyahoga County Welfare Department workers picketed the County Administration Building in Cleveland, Ohio, on Feb. 3. The demonstration was sponsored by Local 1746, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO). It was supported by candidates for the Cleveland anti-poverty council, representatives of the Cleveland chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, Citizens United for Adequate Welfare, and some students and staff members of Western Reserve University.

Among the union's demands is the elimination of the two lowest pay steps in all job classifications. Local 1746 president William T. McNulty said there would be no further demonstrations if state officials responded reasonably to union demands. "But they have had four months," said McNulty, "and we feel this is a long enough time."

After a year-long organizing drive, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers succeeded in winning a contract with the Universal Manufacturing Corp., in Mendenhall, Miss. The new contract provides wage increases of up to 46 cents an hour and other fringe benefits over the three years the agreement is in effect.

IBEW Local 2198 President Gordon M. Freeman reported the new contract made his local the first union in Simpson County where the Universal plant is located.

—Tom Leonard

## Harlem Antiwar Group Announces Film Showing

NEW YORK — Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam will hold a film showing and party on Saturday, Feb. 12, 9 p.m. at The Place, 100 W. 82nd St.

Information about the committee may be obtained by writing to it at Box 384, Cathedral Sta., New York, N. Y. 10025.

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## WORKERS REJECT POOR PACT

# The Harvey Aluminum Strike

By Gordon Bailly

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 5 — Workers at the notorious anti-labor Harvey Aluminum Plant are displaying militancy, independence and endurance in struggle that has seldom been seen since the Thirties. Not only have they cracked the iron front of their anti-union bosses, but they have fired their International-appointed strike leader and told the United Steelworkers officers to negotiate a decent contract — or else!

Last Sunday they overwhelmingly repudiated an agreement with Harvey reached by Steelworkers representatives after months of struggle, strike and bitter conflict. Nearly a thousand workers voted to reject the contract; only two voted for it. This was the first serious taste of opposition for I. W. Abel, who was elected president of the United Steelworkers of America (USA) last year.

The Harvey strike has been a test case for organized labor. Two thousand relatively young workers, many of them Negroes and women, work for Harvey, who is the 1966 version of Henry Ford. Through intimidation and every open-shop trick, he thwarted four attempts to organize his plant.

Last spring the workers finally won an election certifying the USA as their bargaining agent. Wrestling a union contract from Harvey after this took a long strike and nearly a year of struggle. It was this contract that was turned down by the Harvey workers last week.

### Not the Point

A fairly good wage increase was gained — but this was not the point of workers' dissatisfaction. Seniority, job security, and grievance clauses were far below the standards set in other Steelworkers contracts. Furthermore, 32 strike leaders have been fired by Harvey, and their fate is to be left to the mercy of an arbitration panel.

Basic to the Harvey workers' opposition to the contract is a deep mistrust of both Harvey and the Steelworkers officials. They see that Harvey can undermine the contract at any point and get rid of militants at will. Their mistrust of the union bureaucracy stems from their bitter experiences in the strike.

Although the Harvey strike was crucial to any future organizing drives, every rank-and-file proposal for action to make the strike really effective was turned down by the union officialdom. Court injunctions limited picketing, and no attempt was made to defy the anti-union ruling. As many as a thousand scabs poured into the plant. At one point, John Despol, Steelworkers district representative, tried to work out a special deal to permit key tool and die makers to return to work. By last June the strike was following the classic pattern of betrayal and defeat.

### Struggle Transformed

At this point, the rank-and-file strikers intervened and the struggle was transformed. They set up a "Win the Strike Committee," fired Despol as a strike leader, and proceeded to put mass pressure on Harvey, the scabs, politicians and every other element working for the bosses. In scenes reminiscent of the Thirties, the strikers defied cops and courts in protest picket lines all over town. The fact that the Harvey family is deep in the leadership of the state Democratic Party led strikers to picket the party headquarters and to express their bitterness at the Johnson administration. Pickets were heard to shout that they would never fight in Johnson's Vietnam war.

This resurgence of rank-and-file militancy forced Harvey to bargain with the union. However, International representatives shoved aside rank-and-file strikers and negotiated the contract offered to the workers last week. Both Harvey and the International badly misread the mood of the workers.

They had counted on a five-month-long strike and constant company harassment to wear down the fighting spirit of the workers. They thought that the apathy found among so many unionists today would enable them to sell a weak contract. But they came up against a very different mood among the young Harvey workers.

### Feel Shock

The shock of rank-and-file repudiation has registered all the way back to International headquarters in Pittsburgh. Union officials say they have the right to sign the contract despite its repudiation by the rank-and-file. However, Steelworkers President Abel says they will not do so. One reason for this is the threat of the Harvey workers to quit the Steelworkers and join another union more amenable to their demands. They have talked of the Teamsters and also the Longshoremens.

Harvey has also been shaken up by the militancy displayed by the workers. His union-busting

campaign has cost him heavily. He sees that the workers are prepared to hit the bricks again. Can he afford to take another strike?

### Has Weapons

However, he has some weapons in his hands. Twenty-seven strikers, including Local President Americo Argent, have been sentenced to jail for defying court injunctions and for other strike "offenses." They are due to start serving 45-day sentences Feb. 11. Unless stays of execution can be obtained, the rank-and-file movement may be beheaded at a critical juncture.

Whatever the immediate outcome of the Harvey strike, the labor scene in Los Angeles will never be the same. A new element has moved onto the stage. Young workers who have not experienced the union apathy of the last decades are learning for themselves the lessons of the class struggle. They are displaying afresh the militancy and resourcefulness that is indigenous to the American working class. They are learning that the hidebound bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO have lost all will or ability to lead them in real struggle. But they are also learning that the most obdurate employer can be brought to terms if the workers fight in the right way.

# Arresting Racist Gets Arrested in Kentucky

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Millard Dee Grubbs, a leading segregationist in the South, has been sentenced to five years in prison for engineering the citizen's arrest of a public official.

He and three other members of the National Law Enforcement Committee (NLEC) were found guilty of falsely arresting H. A. Lewis, real-estate director for the Louisville Urban Renewal Agency. They filed notice of appeal.

The NLEC, of which Grubbs is chairman, is a private agency that says it is fighting "socialistic and communistic programs." Grubbs himself is former chairman of the White Citizens Council of Kentucky. He ran for governor in 1959 as the candidate of the National States Rights Party.

In 1954, Grubbs wrote a series of newspaper articles which inflamed residents of suburban Shively against Mr. and Mrs. Andrew E. Wade IV, a Negro couple who had bought a home in that segregated community.

Grubbs charged that the purchase of the house was part of

a Communist conspiracy to establish a black beachhead in every white subdivision." The Wade home was soon blown to pieces in the middle of the night.

### Bought Theory

State's Attorney A. Scott Hamilton adopted Grubbs' theory that the house sale was part of a plot. Instead of prosecuting the bombers, Hamilton lodged sedition charges against seven white persons who had helped the Wades.

These included Carl and Anne Braden, journalists, who had bought the house from the builder and sold it to the Wades. Carl Braden was sentenced to 15 years in prison on the sedition charge. He served eight months but was freed after the U.S. Supreme Court voided state sedition laws.

The prosecuting attorney later shot himself to death. The Bradens are now executive directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a South-wide civil-rights organization.



Carl and Anne Braden

## Weekly Calendar

### BERKELEY

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. A symposium. Speakers: Sue Cloke, S.F. State VDC; Jerry Rubin, VDC; and Paul Montauk, VDC. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 5714 San Pablo Ave., Oakland. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

PARALLELS BETWEEN POLITICS AND PSYCHOLOGY. Speaker: Dr. James G. Whitney. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 5714 San Pablo Ave., Oakland. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### CHICAGO

THE DEACONS AND NEGRO SELF-DEFENSE. Speaker, Ernest Thomas, vice president and regional organizer of the Deacons for Defense and Justice. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

DRAFT RECLASSIFICATION — PUNISHMENT FOR ANTIWAR ACTIVITY. Speakers: Dave Smoller and Ray Leuzana, University of Michigan students reclassified I-A for antiwar activity; and Richard Goodman, Detroit civil liberties attorney. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING: The Civil Rights Movement Today, One Year After Malcolm's Assassination. Speaker: Elinor Letha Broady, human rights fighter and socialist lecturer. Fri., Feb. 18, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

MALCOLM X ON THE WHITE MAN'S WAR. Speaker: Robert Vernon, author of The Black Ghetto. Talk illustrated with tapes of Malcolm X's speeches and interviews. Fri., Feb. 18, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### TWIN CITIES

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING: Malcolm X — The Man and His Ideas. Speaker: Jack Marsh. Fri., Feb. 18 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.



# ...Malcolm X Murder Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

ation, Malcolm X was barred from France. He was to address a meeting of Afro-Americans and Africans in Paris and flew there, but was kept from leaving the airport and forced to fly directly back to Britain by French officials. The reason for this highly unusual act by the French government was never stated, but one rumor was that they feared they would be embarrassed by having him assassinated on French soil.

One other rumor that should be taken note of in another connection is the rumor that was spread among some New York policemen that Malcolm X's group had become an organized criminal gang. I don't know who started to spread this lie or how long before the assassination it was told to police, but it certainly must have "justified" any attacks on Malcolm or his followers to those police who believed the story.

For all of these reasons, there are grounds for suspicion that some agency of the government was involved in one way or another in the assassination, and that those charged with finding the killers may indeed be covering up for them.

The police must have interviewed a great many of the estimated 400 people who were at the Audubon when Malcolm was shot. Did they select the witnesses who could be fitted into the prosecution's story? Some had seen a small part of what happened and couldn't contradict the rest of the prosecution's version. Were others subjected to pressure by the police, to learn to remember what

the police wanted? Other witnesses were confused but open to suggestion by the authorities.

Newspaper accounts of the killing at the time said at least five men were involved in the attack — two in a diversion and three doing the shooting. The police said they were looking for five men. The prosecution now claims only three men were involved, and none of the witnesses has contradicted that in court.

Two of them, however, testified before the grand jury last spring to a course of events involving more than three assassins. The last witness to testify, Charles Blackwell, is one of them. Blackwell was a guard standing in front of the stage, on the left side from the point of view of the audience, at the time of the shooting. He seemed like a very sober, serious, reliable witness as he testified in court to seeing most of the action unfold; and he told it in court just as Assistant District Attorney Dermody said it had happened:

When a scuffle between two men started, Blackwell moved toward the middle aisle, he said. When he reached the first row he heard a blast behind him and saw Malcolm X fall. Then he heard shots, turned and saw the two men who had been scuffling running down the aisle toward him shooting at Malcolm X.

Blackwell identified the two as the defendants Norman (3X) Butler and Talmadge Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagan. Butler pointed his gun at Blackwell and Blackwell ducked to the floor. They both ran past him toward

the rostrum, then turned and ran up the aisle, Blackwell testified. He "gave chase" and then he noticed a man standing four or five rows back who turned and ran into the ladies' lounge. Blackwell identified that man as Thomas (15X) Johnson, the third defendant.

Blackwell's account of the events before the grand jury some time on March 9, 1965, however, was very different, although he identified the same three men. According to this story: Two men started to scuffle. Then something went "pop." It seemed to come from the back of the auditorium. This was followed by a volley of shots, but Blackwell did not see where they came from. Then Butler and Hayer, who were not involved in the scuffle but had been sitting in the first and second seat of the first row, ran up the aisle toward the back where the exit was, shooting over people's heads. He testified that he saw Johnson run into the ladies' room. He could not identify the two men in the scuffle. But it was clear from this testimony before the grand jury that there were two others besides the three defendants he identified.

## Admitted Lying

When he was questioned about the discrepancies Blackwell testified that he had lied before the grand jury, because he was ashamed he had left his post, and did not want anyone to know he had ducked down when one of the assassins pointed his gun at him.

Blackwell said that after the shooting Fred Williams, the previous witness to take the stand and testify against Butler and Johnson, pointed out a sawed off shotgun and a German Luger lying on the floor. Blackwell wrapped the shotgun in his brown suit jacket and gave it to Reuben Francis who was standing on the stage at the time, he explained. Then he picked up a jacket he found on the floor, wrapped the Luger in it and gave this to Francis as well. According to his grand jury testimony Blackwell gave the Luger to a Brother Gene who was also on the stage. Blackwell claimed he was in error when he said this before the grand jury.

The witness testified that he left the auditorium along with Francis and a third man whose car they drove around in for several hours. Francis told him he had left the shotgun in the ballroom behind the stage.

## Description Differed

The shotgun he identified in the courtroom is double barreled, but in his grand jury testimony Blackwell described the weapon as single barreled with one trigger but said he had not examined it closely. It looked like an old-fashioned dueling pistol he said. He was not sure it was a sawed-off shotgun because he'd never seen one before.

The other witness whose grand jury testimony involved more than three attackers is Cary Thomas. The story he told on March 3 before the grand jury is in brief as follows: Hayer and Butler created a disturbance. Hayer became involved in a fight with some of Malcolm X's followers, while Butler and Johnson rushed to the stage and fired guns at Malcolm. Johnson's gun was identified as a hand gun and Thomas did not mention seeing anyone fire a shotgun. Presumably that was fired by a fourth assailant.

The story the prosecution said it would prove involving only three assailants is extremely dubious on the face of it. Why would two of the three killers deliberately attract attention to themselves before they ran down to the stage with guns firing? This would hardly serve as a diversion if they themselves were the gunmen.

Did they have sufficient time after the two shotgun blasts to run down to the stage? The de-



Malcolm X and daughter.

fense attorneys have not probed this question.

Another important part of the prosecution's case which rings false to those familiar with the situation is the claim that the three men were active members of the Black Muslims, and that their motive for killing Malcolm X was his defection from the Muslims. If the Black Muslims decided to kill Malcolm X would they send Johnson and Butler, two well-known local "enforcers" who had associated with Malcolm X and his followers for years?

The defense attorneys have not fully utilized the opportunities they had thus far to make the situation clear to the jury. John Davis, who testified to seeing Hayer run toward the exit firing a pistol, was in charge of posting the guards at the stage. None of the lawyers for Butler or Johnson cross-examined him about the precautions taken to prevent known Muslims from entering the ballroom to attack Malcolm, though they must realize such precautions were taken.

## Important Fact

Hayer's attorney failed to bring out the fact that Blackwell would have known Hayer if Hayer had been a member of the Black Muslims. Blackwell testified he was a member of the Black Muslims from 1959 to 1964 and a lieutenant at the Jersey City mosque. He did not know Hayer, however, when he saw him at the Audubon Ballroom. Cary Thomas testified Hayer was a member of the Jersey City mosque. Hayer denies he was ever a Muslim.

The question of whether or not Hayer is a Muslim is important in finding out the truth about the assassination. Hayer was not publicly known as a Muslim in Paterson, N. J. where he lived. At the time of Malcolm's death, Hayer had been out on bail for about a year on the charge of having robbed a gun store of some 40 weapons. He was shot and captured by the crowd at the scene of the killing. Six witnesses so far, among them George Whitney and John Davis who were closely associated with Malcolm X and had no inconsistencies in their testimony, identified him firing a gun. The weight of evidence thus far indicates that he is a gunman, hired or forced to participate in the murder, but not a member of the Black Muslims.

If that is true, it raises the next question: Who hired him or pressured him to commit murder?

The defense attorneys have also failed to raise any question about the second suspect who was rescued from the audience and taken into custody by Patrolman Thomas Hoy in the Audubon Ballroom.

This suspect was released without his name ever being made public. One of the witnesses to testify on Feb. 4 was Alvin Aronoff, the policeman who was on radio patrol and happened by the Audubon at the time of the murder. He testified that he rescued Hayer from the crowd outside the Audubon and then arrested him. He said he didn't see the crowd attacking any other suspect.

This second suspect disappeared from the pages of the press. The first accounts mentioned him, but later stories dropped any mention of his being taken into custody. Surely the defense must be interested in who he is. They might have begun to find out by questioning Aronoff about the policeman who was reported to have taken the suspect into custody. But they haven't questioned the witnesses about a second man being caught by the crowd.

## Different Approach

William Chance, attorney for Butler, has taken a different approach entirely. Some of his questions have been aimed at showing that there was dissension in Malcolm's organization between those who wanted to stress religious activities and those who were interested in politics. He has suggested that some of Malcolm X's own followers were interested in doing away with their leader because of these differences.

One of the witnesses at the trial was allowed by the judge to testify in secret. All spectators, including the press, were excluded from the court.

So far testimony has been taken from eight eye-witnesses who testified in open court, one who testified secretly, one policeman who arrived at the entrance to the building after the shooting, and a civil engineer who constructed a diagram of the auditorium and one of the building. Apparently there are many more prosecution witnesses to come, and the defense may have a number of witnesses as well. It remains to be seen if the questions raised in this article will be answered as the trial progresses.

## Cleveland Cops in Attack On Civil Rights Fighters

By Rachel Towne

CLEVELAND — The beating of two white boys and their father by a group of Negro youths in Cleveland's predominately Negro East Side has been used by police as a pretext for harassment and intimidation of the Negro community. Singled out by police for special attention has been the Jomo "Freedom" Kenyatta House, an independent community center run by Louis Robinson, one of Cleveland's leading civil rights leaders.

Robinson ran as an independent for city council in the last election and came in a close second to the white incumbent. He also supported Carl Stokes, the independent Negro candidate for mayor who just missed winning the election. Donald Freeman, who was fired from his teaching position last year for writing an article in the magazine *Black America*, teaches Afro-American history at the center. The J"F"K House is also the meeting place for the Freedom Fighters, a militant civil rights organization.

The beating of the three whites took place on a Wednesday night. On Thursday morning over a dozen Negro youths were picked up on their way to school and taken to the nearest police station for questioning. On Friday night police broke into a party at J"F"K House. The cops beat one young man with a billy club, said all the men there were thugs and alleged that the girls were prostitutes used to keep the center operating. They took another group in for questioning. All those picked up, except two, were under 18 and should have gone to Juvenile Court, but were held for three hours and then sent home. One 19-year-old, David Morris, was held in jail for three days in spite of the fact that the white family attacked said that he wasn't one of the group which beat them.

Louis Robinson was arrested for verbal abuse of the cops when they forced their way into the center, and also for reckless driving as he pulled up to the curb in front. Ten people, including Robinson and Morris, were charged with disorderly conduct. Attempts to force the signing of phony "confessions" failed. With no evidence to connect those arrested with the earlier beating, not one has even been charged with it.

Both the police station and city hall have been picketed by members of the center, the Freedom Fighters and other groups including the Young Socialist Alliance.

While the press did not mention these demonstrations, they did cover the story. The Jan. 23 *Plain Dealer* carried an editorial entitled, "In Plain Words, They Were Savages." The Negro youths were called a "gang of punks" engaged in "jungle savagery, nothing less." A *Cleveland Press* editorial on another incident in the same neighborhood referred to "savage youth on the prowl" and concluded with "let's face it with appropriate action."

It is interesting to note that the North American Association for the Preservation of White People held a benefit for the white family involved.

The J"F"K House has always had a hard time staying open. It is supported by its members and directors, who have very little money. It is possible that the combination of harassment, legal battles and financial difficulties will close it. But even if the racists succeed in closing the center, how successful will they be in dealing with the anger and disillusionment which arise out of an incident such as this? How can they guarantee that these and similar occurrences will not erupt into another Watts?

## The Origins Of Materialism

By George Novack

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# THE MILITANT

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345

Monday, February 14, 1966

## The Tricontinental Congress

A World Outlook analysis of the Havana Tricontinental Congress in our last issue noted that there were contradictory aspects to that anti-imperialist gathering. On the one hand a program calling for revolutionary struggle against imperialism, pressed by the Cubans, was approved by the Congress. On the other hand, in a speech to the Congress containing a militant call for such revolutionary action, Fidel Castro also included a slanderous attack on an integral part of the revolutionary movement, the Fourth International.

Commenting on this, the World Outlook article posed the question of whether or not the revolutionary aspect of Castro's speech and the approval of such a course by the Congress would be taken up by the various Communist parties. This question was posed in light of the notorious class-collaboration policy pursued by the various CPs.

Insofar as the American Communist Party is concerned, the answer is already quite apparent. At least two correspondents were at the Congress for *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party. They sent a report to the issue of Jan. 23 which was devoted to Castro's speech.

Several paragraphs were devoted to his statement that the Congress represented an achievement of unity of the movement. The rest of the article was devoted to his attack on the Fourth International.

There was not a single word in that initial report about Castro's call for revolutionary struggle or about the resolutions adopted containing that viewpoint.

In the five issues of the paper that have appeared since that time there has not been a line about the activities of the Congress. (There was a feature interview with a delegate about conditions in his country.)

Clearly, for the CPUSA, the resolutions calling for revolutionary struggle against imperialism were so many pieces of paper to be cynically filed and forgotten.

## ...Walkout at Berkeley

(Continued from Page 1)

Nelson of Spartacist and Dr. Richard Schechner, Tulane drama professor and editor of the *Tulane Drama Review*.

The antiwar speakers walked all over the prowar people. By 1 a.m. the government defenders had granted that the U.S. position in Vietnam is illegal and immoral and relied only on the "national interest" argument. (The State Department man had left by 9 p.m.)

A parade and demonstration against the war is slated for Saturday, Feb. 12. A parade permit has been secured.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A group of veterans protesting the Vietnam war here Feb. 5 in front of the White House handed over their discharge papers, campaign ribbons and medals to be returned to President Johnson as an act of disassociation from the government's Vietnam policies. They were supported by a picket line of several hundred persons protesting the war in general and

the resumption of the bombing of north Vietnam in particular.

Some 40 veterans, one by one, dropped their papers into a box in front of the White House, most of them making brief statements as they did so. White House guards refused to receive the papers. A spokesman for the Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, a New York City group which had scheduled the demonstration, said another attempt would be made in the future to hand them over to President Johnson. The veterans carried an American flag of the Revolutionary War period and signs that said "U.S. 1776 — Vietnam 1966."

NEW YORK — Some 1,000 persons picketed in front of the United States Mission to the UN here Feb. 5 to protest the bombing of north Vietnam. The demonstration was sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

DETROIT — On Feb. 1, some 250 people marched in downtown Detroit in a hastily-called demonstration to oppose the resumption of bombing of north Vietnam, despite cold weather and snow.

The demonstration, called by the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam in conjunction with other groups, was a success by Detroit standards, partly because the committee had set up telephone chains in advance to deal with such a contingency.

Prominent was a huge banner reading "Bring the troops home now!"

BOSTON — On Feb. 1, the day after the resumption of the bombing of north Vietnam, 100 people marched here against the escalation of the war.

Signs carried read "Bring the troops home now" and "Stop the bombing."

# Malcolm X Speaks

After giving an educational talk on Africa at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity on Dec. 20, 1964, Malcolm X began to introduce Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Mississippi and the Freedom Singers, whom he had invited to the meeting after appearing with them at another rally earlier in the day.

### Installment 16

#### A STORY, A PARABLE AND A SUGGESTION

We have a lady that I want to introduce you to, who I think is one of the best freedom fighters in America today. She's from Mississippi, and you've got to be a freedom fighter to even live in Mississippi. You've got to be a freedom fighter to live anywhere in this country, but especially Mississippi. This woman has been in the forefront of the struggle in Mississippi. I was on a program with her this afternoon.

As I mentioned there — and you'll probably read about it tomorrow; they'll blow it up, and out of context — what we need in this country (and I believe it with all my heart, and with all my mind, and with all my soul) is the same type of Mau Mau here that they had over there in Kenya. Don't you ever be ashamed of the Mau Mau. They're not to be ashamed of. They are to be proud of. Those brothers were freedom fighters. Not only brothers, there were sisters over there. I met a lot of them. They're brave. They hug and kiss you — glad to see you. In fact, if they were over here, they'd get this problem straightened up just like that.

#### The Parable

I read a little story once, and Mau Mau proved it. I read a story once where someone asked some group of people how many of them wanted freedom. They all put up their hand. Think there were about 300 of them. Then the person says, "Well, how many of you are ready to kill anybody who gets in your way for freedom?" About 50 put up their hands. And he told those 50, "You stand over here."

That left 250 sitting who wanted freedom, but weren't ready to kill for it. So he told this 50, "Now you wanted freedom and you said you'd kill anybody who'd get in your way. You see those 250? You get them first. Some of them are your own brothers and sisters and mothers and fathers. But they're the ones who stand in the way of your freedom. They're afraid to do whatever is necessary to get it and they'll stop you from doing it. Get rid of them and freedom will come naturally."

I go for that. That's what the Mau Mau learned. The Mau Mau realized that the only thing that was standing in the way of the independence of the African in Kenya was another African. So they started getting them one by one, all those Toms. One after another, they'd find another Uncle Tom African by the roadside. Today they're free. The white man didn't even get involved — he got out of the way. That's the same thing that will happen here.

We've got too many of our own people who stand in the way. They're too squeamish. They want to be looked upon as respectable Uncle Toms. They want to be looked upon by the white man as responsible. They don't want to be classified by him as extremist, or violent, or, you know, irresponsible. They want that good image. And nobody who's looking for a good image will ever be free. No, that kind of image doesn't get you free. You've got to take something in your hand and say, "Look,



Excerpted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Price \$5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

it's you or me." And I guarantee you he'll give you freedom then. He'll say, "This man is ready for it." I said something in your hand — I won't define what I mean by "something in your hand." I don't mean bananas.

So, we are honored to have with us tonight not only a freedom fighter, but some singers on that program today — I think they're all there; I asked them to come out tonight because they sang one song that just knocked me out. I'm not one who goes for "We Shall Overcome." I just don't believe we're going to overcome, singing. If you're going to get yourself a .45 and start singing "We Shall Overcome," I'm with you. But I'm not for singing that doesn't at the same time tell you how to get something to use after you get through singing. I realize I'm saying some things that you think can get me in trouble, but, brothers, I was born in trouble. I don't even care about trouble. I'm interested in one thing alone, and that's freedom — by any means necessary. So I'll bring you now the country's number one freedom-fighting woman.

[Mrs. Hamer speaks.]

Now you see why Mississippi is in trouble. And I hope that our brothers, especially our brothers here in Harlem, listened very well, very closely, to what I call one of this country's foremost freedom fighters. You don't have to be a man to fight for freedom. All you have to do is be an intelligent human being. And automatically, your intelligence makes you want freedom so badly that you'll do anything, by any means necessary, to get that freedom. And I want Mrs. Hamer to know that anything we can do to help them in Mississippi, we're at their disposal. One of the things that we will definitely provide you with,

because I think it's the only real help that you can get down there: You can let those hooded people know that, from here on in, when they start taking the lives of innocent black people, we believe in tit for tat.

If I were to go home and find some blood on the leg of one of my little girls, and my wife told me that a snake bit the child, I'd go looking for the snake. And if I found the snake, I wouldn't necessarily take time to see if it had blood on its jaws. As far as I'm concerned the snake is the snake. So if snakes don't want someone hunting snakes indiscriminately, I say that snakes should get together and clean out their snakey house. If snakes don't want people running around indiscriminately chopping off the heads of snakes, my advice to snakes would be to keep their house in order. I think you well understand what I'm saying.

Now those were twenty-one snakes that killed those three brothers down there. Twenty-one — those are snakes. And there is no law in any society on earth that would hold it against anyone for taking the heads of those snakes. Believe it, the whole world would honor you or honor anyone who did what the federal government refused to do.

We should let them know that we believe in giving them what they deserve. There are brothers around the country right now, a lot of them, who feel like I do, a lot of them who feel like I do. I've even met white students who feel that way. When they tell me that they're liberal, I tell them, "Great, go get me one of those snake heads." I'm sincere about this. I think that there are many whites who are sincere, especially at the student level. They just don't know how to show their sincerity. They think that they're showing sincerity by going down there and encouraging our people to be non-violent. That's not where it's at. Since they're white, they can get closer to whiteness than we can. They can put on a sheet and walk right on into camp with the rest of them.

I'm telling you how to do it: You're a liberal; get you a sheet. And get you something up under that sheet that you know how to use, and walk right on in that camp of sheeted people with the rest of them. And show how liberal you are. I'll come back and shake your hand all day long. I'll walk you around Harlem and tell everybody what a good white person you are. Because you've proved it. But I don't accept any nonviolent liberals. This doesn't mean that you've got to be violent; but it does mean that you can't be nonviolent.

Next week: Our next issue will be dated Feb. 21, one year after Malcolm's death, and will include an article about an interview Malcolm gave shortly before he was assassinated. The following week we will resume this column.

## Antiwar Protests In South Feb. 12

ATLANTA — Debates, forums and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam will take place across the South on Feb. 12. Activities have been coordinated by the Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Among the cities scheduled to have activities are New Orleans, La.; Tougaloo, Miss.; Little Rock, Ark.; Nashville, Tenn.; Richmond, Va.; Atlanta, Ga.; Gainesville, Fla.; Miami, Fla.; and Houston, Texas.

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## HONOLULU GET-TOGETHER

## The Johnson-Ky Performance

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 8 — The scene went something like this: Seventeen of the 19 members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were questioning the administrator of Johnson's foreign aid program, David E. Bell, about the implications of a Vietnamese escalation, on a nationally televised program. Of the 17, all but one were highly critical of the administration's policies.

The debate was hitting upon one of the most important aspects of the escalation. Senator Clifford Case (R.-N. J.) pointed out that so far no spokesman of the administration had denied the central contention of the Mansfield Report, that the only alternative to negotiations in Vietnam is an "indefinite expansion" of the war in Southeast Asia. Bell conceded, more honestly than any previous administration official, that there was a strong possibility of Chinese intervention.

## He Appears

All at once, the program was interrupted. Before us was Lyndon B. Johnson himself. He was about to fly to Hawaii; he was going to take with him all his top advisers — several of whom had been invited, but refused to testify before the public hearings (Defense Secretary McNamara and Joint Chiefs of Staff head Wheeler); he was going to hold conferences with the top officials of the Saigon regime, including Premier Nguyen Cao Ky; and not only that, he was going to recreate Ky in his own image.

It only sounds fantastic if you haven't been following the Johnson, Johnson and Johnson Circus through the last six weeks of the Vietnamese war. While U. S. ground and air forces have been engaged in the dirtiest and cruellest war in recent history, and on the largest scale so far in the course of that war, the Johnson administration has been pulling every trick in the book to keep public attention distracted from the scene of battle and domestic criticism.

## Reason Why

The latest side show, in Hawaii, was timed to take TV cameras off the highly embarrassing confrontation in Washington and focus them on the new-look "rural reconstruction" program in south Vietnam. Chances are, however, it will fall far short of the purpose.

For one thing, the Hawaii episode itself reflects how deep Johnson's problems are. Johnson took the opportunity to make the sharpest criticism to date of his American opponents of the escalation, and did so in a manner which betrayed extreme fear of allowing the Vietnamese debate to go any further.

"There are special pleaders," Johnson remarked in his welcome to the Saigon leaders in Honolulu, "who counsel retreat in Vietnam. They belong to a group that has always been blind to experience and deaf to hope. We cannot accept their logic that tyranny 10,000 miles away is not to concern us . . ."

It was an open secret that the Saigon clique went to Hawaii with requests for huge additional reinforcements of U. S. troops: They demanded a total "allied" strength of 1.5 million men; the doubling of U. S. bombing attacks; and the blockade of the port of Haiphong.

This kind of talk hardly proves that the Saigon regime is capable of popular support. It proves just the opposite, which is well known to everyone in the world, that the hated military dictatorship fears an imminent collapse if the U. S. withdrew its forces.

While Ky talked about building a 42,000-man "peace corps" to "pacify" the village regions which are seized from the National Liberation Front by huge American



TOLL. U.S. bombing of north Vietnam is not being conducted without price as indicated by wreckage of this shot-down U.S. plane.

"search and destroy" operations, it was revealed that he intended to increase the police force in Saigon alone by 72,000 men.

New York Times correspondent Charles Mohr, who has recently been in south Vietnam, wrote the following description of the war from Honolulu, Feb. 6: "It is felt in Saigon," Mohr stated, "that the Johnson administration cannot, even with the best of intentions, guarantee the allegiance of the Vietnamese to their government merely by pumping more money and technical skill into south Vietnam to give people the 'better life' of which officials speak."

"At least 20 to 25 percent of the country's area," Mohr continued, "is so firmly in control of the Vietcong guerrillas that no civic and political programs are possible there at all. Other areas are so sharply contested that for the time being pacification and rural improvement workers cannot operate . . . The Vietcong have a loyal, dedicated and highly disciplined underground political structure that operates in the heart of Saigon itself and in thousands of hamlets. So far the peasants have shown little inclination to inform on this structure and to help the government actively."

## Most Important

This is the crux of the problem for U. S. imperialism in south Vietnam, and much more significant than all the rhetoric and back-slapping about civil-action programs, was the single statement from White House press-secretary Bill Moyers that the "other prong" of U. S. policy in Vietnam would be "moving steadfastly ahead on the military front in defeating the Vietcong and punishing the aggressor." (New York Times, Feb. 8.)

The Gavin-Ridgeway argument has been flatly rejected by the Johnson administration. Hanson W. Baldwin, the Times military specialist who has consistently voiced the most accurate predictions about the future of the war, stated this in so many words, Feb. 8:

"There is virtually unanimous agreement in Vietnam and in Washington," Baldwin wrote, "that the main-force units, or full-time elements of the Vietcong must be broken up and crippled . . . There is also virtually unanimous agreement that the use of static defenses only and the limitations of American efforts to existing en-

claves, base areas and tactical areas [the Gavin-Ridgeway proposal] could have no sound military objective. Such a policy, officers say, would resign the strategic initiative to the Vietcong and would permit the enemy to build his base areas at will."

Even the Gavin-Ridgeway plan (Gavin was Army chief of planning during the Korean War, and Ridgeway, Army Joint Chief of Staff) included reinforcement of U. S. troops to a level around 500,000 and foresaw a long period of struggle ahead including continued bombing even to achieve this. The Johnson plan plainly calls for a much larger troop escalation, massive combat and genocidal bombing.

## They Plan on a Long Stay

In the official 14-point statement of the position of the Johnson administration on "negotiations" with regard to the Vietnam war, point seven reads: "It wants no military bases in Southeast Asia." Point eight even implies readiness to withdraw U.S. troops: "It does not want a continuing American military presence in South Vietnam."

Among the American forces in Saigon, however, the attitude is quite the opposite to the one expressed in these fair statements.

Writing from Saigon Jan. 24, Robert Guillain, special correspondent of the Paris Daily Le Monde reported the following:

"We'll still be here in five years, in ten years, in twenty years, if it's necessary." Those are the literal words of all the Americans I questioned concerning their long-range plans, whether it was decision-making leaders, civilian administrators or soldiers of all ranks. One of them reminded me of the declaration made by Mr. Goldberg, ambassador to the United Nations: 'The United States remains ready to withdraw its forces as soon as South Vietnam is capable of determining its own future without foreign intervention.' But this official added his own personal commentary:

"It will obviously be a good ten years before South Vietnam can do that." Another official, talking about the bay of Cam-Ranh, said: 'There's a naval base big enough for our Pacific fleet. We will still be there twenty years from now, believe me.' A third one, commenting on President Johnson's 'peace offensive,' declared: 'Leave? That's unthinkable now. We will leave only when we have cleaned up, protected and reconstructed this country enough so it will be safe from danger.'

Guillain quotes an American as summing up the situation in the following words:

"The United States can't sign a promise to leave unless it makes it years from now. The North Vietnamese can tell their people, 'Wait another ten years and the United States will leave.' Conclusion: negotiations were doomed to fail from the beginning. In reality, there is nothing to negotiate."

## Polish Authorities Jail Trotskyist for His Views

World Outlook — Last May a Warsaw court sentenced two youths to prison. Karol Modzelewski was given a three-and-a-half-year sentence, Jacek Kuron three years. The case attracted international attention in view of the fact that the crime involved was political dissidence with the Gomulka regime and Karol Modzelewski was the son of Zygmunt Modzelewski, Foreign Minister in the Polish government from 1947 to 1951.

The young rebels were opponents of capitalism and firm believers in communism. Their difference with the regime was over such issues as the right to discuss 'freely.

Apparently their views reflected rather widespread sentiments among student circles. A group had formed around these leaders and documents had been circulated.

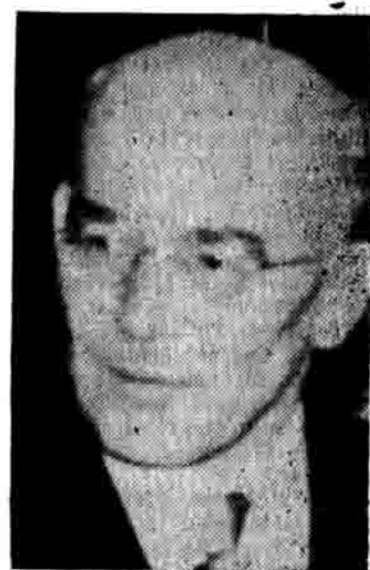
## Little Written

Since their imprisonment, little news has appeared about them. Recently the Paris weekly *Nouvel Observateur* referred to them in an article signed by Claude Roy, who visited Poland not long ago. His snide remarks about "visionaries" and "lunatics" reflect the official view of the bureaucrats, who are so fearful of political dissent that they will not permit even madmen to voice it.

Another case connected with this one, but involving an avowed Trotskyist, ended recently in Warsaw. The press has maintained almost complete silence about it. The following brief account, now circulating in Warsaw, has become available to *World Outlook*:

"Along with Modzelewski and Kuron, four other persons were arrested. Their cases were handled separately. Besides their political positions, they were accused of having connections abroad, which they denied.

"The four defended their positions very firmly. One of the men arrested with them, Ludwig Haas, was put on the witness stand. At the time of the entry of the Soviet



Gomulka

troops in Poland, he was arrested as a Trotskyist and deported for more than fifteen years. As a witness, he personally defended the Trotskyist point of view.

"The defendants and the witness gave the old Communist salute, fists clenched.

"When the verdict was handed down, the defendants sang the International. That's certainly the first time since the end of the war that the proletarian hymn has been sung voluntarily in Poland. People in the courtroom joined the defendants in singing and likewise gave the clenched fist salute. Afterward they suffered some reprisals."

## Warsaw Report

On Jan. 13 the Associated Press put the following few lines from Warsaw on its wire services:

"Three intellectuals have been sentenced to three years in prison by a Warsaw court for having circulated tracts advocating overturning the Communist regime. Those involved are the historians Ludwig Haas and Romuald Smiech and the economist Kasimierz Badowski."

Additional information on Ludwig Haas was printed in the February issue of *l'Internationale*, monthly journal of the International Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International:

"Ludwig Haas belonged to the Polish Trotskyist organization before the second world war. When the Soviet troops entered Poland in 1939, he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and deported to a camp.

## More Persecution

"He was kept there for seventeen years. According to the testimony of other deportees, he conducted himself very courageously.

"Upon returning to Poland, he stated openly that he was a Trotskyist. He belonged to a circle of intellectuals where he was noted for his exceptional intellectual level.

"He worked in the history section for the central committee of the Polish trade unions. He published material on the participation of Polish revolutionists in the Paris Commune.

"Thus there can be no doubt that the trial that was just held, like the one in which Modzelewski and Kuron were condemned last summer, were trials aimed against revolutionists, against Communists struggling against a bureaucratic regime . . .

"The fate of Communists victimized in this way by Gomulka is of concern to all revolutionists throughout the world. A man like Ludwig, who spent seventeen years of his life in one of Stalin's camps, cannot be allowed to be locked up again for long years simply because he is a Communist."



# Our Record in Defense of Cuba

By Harry Ring

In his Jan. 15 speech to the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana, Fidel Castro made a savage attack on Trotskyism, falsely asserting: "For if Trotskyism represented at a certain stage an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in later years a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction."

To bolster this baseless charge, Castro cited attacks on the Cuban regime and himself by a number of publications — none of which is Trotskyist. This is not surprising since the publications of the Trotskyist movement — as it exists in reality — have from the outset been in the forefront of the struggle to defend the Cuban revolution.

Particularly significant in this regard is the role of Trotskyism in the United States, the center of imperialist, anti-Cuba reaction. Surely, if Trotskyism were an "instrument of imperialism" this fact would manifest itself first of all in the United States. Yet the record demonstrates the very opposite.

Since its inception in the United States, authentic Trotskyism has been represented by the current that has been constituted since 1938 as the Socialist Workers Party.

No political tendency in the U. S. can match the record of the SWP in its practical and political defense of the Cuban revolution from the outset. And no publication can match the record of *The Militant* in this respect. These are the highlights of our coverage of the Cuban revolution.

## 1959

It should be recalled that when the Fidelistas came to power their declared program did not go beyond the limits of national independence and capitalist democracy. *The Militant* gave unreserved support to that democratic movement and pointed from the outset to the very real possibility of it going in a socialist direction. Thus in the first issue in which our weekly printing schedule permitted comment, that of Jan. 12, 1959, an enthusiastic front-page story was headlined: "Cubans Oust Batista Dictatorship."

On Jan. 19, while the commercial press pointed in hypocritical horror, we declared: "Batista's Henchmen Executed for Torture of Cuban People." An editorial in the same issue said: "... what has begun is a social revolution

## Publications On Cuba

In addition to distributing many works on Cuba published by other sources, Pioneer Publishers published the following on Cuba:

"The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought" by Fidel Castro.

"Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism."

"The Road to Revolution in Latin America" by Fidel Castro.

"The Second Declaration of Havana."

"The Truth About Cuba" by Joseph Hansen.

"In Defense of the Cuban Revolution" by Joseph Hansen.

"The Theory of the Cuban Revolution" by Joseph Hansen.

"Trotskyism and the Cuban Revolution" by Joseph Hansen.

"How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination" by Harry Ring.

**Dobbs Opens Campaign With TV Defense of Cuba**  
Cubans Roar Approval For Summary Justice  
Cuba Sets Example for U.S. In Stamping Out Illiteracy  
Revolutionary Cuba Answers OAS  
The Second Declaration of Havana  
Special Feature: Full Text Guevara's Letter to Castro

**Castro's Reply On Plane Incident**  
What Dorcos Really Said  
COMPLETE UN SPEECH OF CUBA'S PRESIDENT  
American People Oppose A Military Attack on Cuba  
Return Guantanamo To Cuban People!  
Castro's Challenge to Johnson  
U.S. PRESS SKIPPED THIS PART  
UN Pickets Condemn Moves to Crush Cuba

**Kennedy Threatening New Anti-Cuba Moves**  
Get U.S. Troops Out of Cuba, Dobbs Urges on TV Network  
Nationalizations Crack Power Of Wall St. Monopolies in Cuba  
Why Cuban People Back Castro Regime  
Franco's Emissary Gets Boot Cuban People Cheer Ouster  
84% in Rural Areas Favor Castro Govt.  
Pro-Cuba Rallies Abroad — Exclusive 'Militant' Reports  
Four Indicted in Test Of Cuba Travel Ban

**White House Held Guilty In Rupture with Cubans**  
Complete Text of Castro's Speech on UN Inspection

that will move sooner or later toward the expropriation of imperialist property and capital, the nationalization of the economy and the emergence of a labor movement with socialist consciousness and aims."

On June 22 we hailed the adoption of the Agrarian Reform law in an article headed: "Castro Hits Wall Street Where It Hurts Most."

## 1960

In our issue of Jan. 11 we reported a statement by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP, then opening his campaign as SWP presidential nominee against Kennedy and Nixon. Dobbs said: "The question of United States policy toward Cuba should be made a central issue in the 1960 elections. Lies and slanders circulated by the imperialists should be exposed and they should be told: 'Hands off Cuba!'"

On Feb. 1 a front-page editorial demanded (and this was the first time anyone raised this demand): "Return Guantanamo to the Cuban People."

And on Feb. 22 when the press was howling about Cuba's new trade relations with the USSR, a *Militant* editorial said: "In turning toward the Soviet Union with friendly interest, the Cuban people are taking a direction that corresponds with the deepest needs of their revolution. Every revolutionary socialist will greet this with satisfaction..."

On April 11 we carried the first dispatch from Cuba by our editor, Joseph Hansen, who went there with Farrell Dobbs to study the revolution first-hand.

The following week we featured a statement made by Dobbs on his return calling for a policy of friendship with Cuba. This was to be a central theme of his election campaign. On radio and TV and through press interviews across the country he told the truth about Cuba as he had seen it first hand.

Throughout the campaign we carried such headlines as "Dobbs Opens Campaign with TV Defense of Cuba — Million Hear L. A. Telecast"; "Dobbs Plays State Dep't Cuba Policy — Urges Amity in TV Appeal"; "Dobbs Urges La-

bor to Block Anti-Cuba Drive"; "Get U. S. Troops Out of Cuba, Dobbs Urges on TV Network."

This campaign was noted by Castro himself. On his return from the UN in November of 1960 he told a Havana rally that while they heard only of the two big-business candidates and their hate-Cuba campaign, there was a third candidate that they didn't hear about because of his lack of access to the major propaganda media.

Following this, the Nov. 13 issue of the noted Havana weekly, *Bohemia*, carried an article on the elections entitled "Two Against One." It contrasted the virtually identical reactionary programs of Kennedy and Nixon to the progressive stand of Dobbs. "Standing up against the well-heeled hack and the Catholic millionaire," *Bohemia* declared, "the socialist Dobbs presented a really new program. During his three coast-to-coast tours, he made it clear that he was fighting for peace... for economic security and equal rights. And he was speaking for a real revolution, for the socialization of North America."

On July 25, in reply to the frame-up charge that Cuba's new relations with the Soviet Union constituted a "hemispheric threat," we declared: "The Cuban people are entitled to seek and accept help from any source to defend themselves against economic reprisals or armed intervention from abroad. This is the mark of the independence they have made such sacrifices to win."

Our lead article Oct. 3 reported Castro's speech to the UN: "Castro Tells World How U. S. Bled Cuba."

On Oct. 24, a banner headline reported: "Cuban Government Captures Invaders from Florida Base — Sweeping Nationalization Law Answers Plot of State Dept."

## 1961

On Jan. 2 we featured a unique expose by Joseph Hansen: "The Truth About Cuba's Electrical Workers." It documented from the Cuban counter-revolutionary press the charge by the Cuban government that the counter-revolutionaries were behind difficulties being created by the union bureaucracy as well as actual acts of sabotage.

The following week we carried the text of Foreign Minister Raul Roa's speech to the UN documenting U. S. plans for an invasion.

On March 20 and 27 Joseph Hansen reported from Mexico City on the Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty convened by Lazaro Cardenas and others and which declared solidarity with Cuba.

We warned April 17: "Kennedy Presses Plans for Attack on Cuba."

And on April 24, our next issue after the invasion, a declaration by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party appeared under a two-inch block-type banner headline: "STOP THE CRIME AGAINST CUBA." At the time we were publishing only four pages because of financial difficulties. That issue was expanded to eight pages with seven of them devoted to articles on Cuba.

In a May 21 review of the U. S. press reaction to the invasion, *Bohemia* commented: "What the U. S. News and World Report was proclaiming an heroic deed, *The Militant* was indicting as a crime. This is a modest socialist tabloid edited in New York... Its truth remains compressed in four pages."

On Oct. 23 we reported an SWP mayoralty election rally in New York where Julio Medina, then leader of the July 26 Movement in this country, declared his support for the SWP ticket on the basis of its record in defense of Cuba.

We featured an extensive report Dec. 25 on Fidel Castro's speech declaring his adherence to Marxism-Leninism. In this we refuted the widespread lies in the capitalist press about what he actually said.

## 1962

On Jan. 15 we front-paged Cuba's plans to wipe out illiteracy. We published the complete text of the Second Declaration of Havana March 5 and it was then rushed into print as a pamphlet.

On April 7, we featured the text of the March 13 speech by Castro, "The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought" plus an analysis of his speech denouncing the bureaucratic prac-

tices of CPer Anibal Escalante. The texts of both speeches were then published in pamphlet form.

On June 3 we replied to a frame-up attack on Trotskyism by the Havana CP daily, *Hoy*.

The text of Cuban President Dorticos' speech to the UN on the eve of the "missile" crisis appeared in our Oct. 22 issue.

Our Oct. 29 issue carried the banner headline: "Stop the War Drive." And on Nov. 5 we reported the television speech by Carl Feingold, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from New York, made at the peak of the crisis. He urged mass demonstrations against U.S. aggression.

On Nov. 12, again exclusively, we carried the full text of Fidel Castro's speech rejecting UN inspection, and the text of Cuba's five-point program for peace.

Our Nov. 26 issue carried the text of Castro's letter to U Thant on U. S. violations of Cuban airspace and on Dec. 3 the text of Cuba's proposal for mutual U.S.-Cuban inspection.

## 1963

We printed Jan. 28 the full text of Castro's speech on "The Road to Revolution in Latin America."

On April 1 we carried an exclusive feature setting the record straight on an interview with Castro by Claude Julien in *Le Monde*. The U. S. press had misrepresented the interview as an attack on Khrushchev.

In another exclusive on Sept. 16, we printed the text of a Radio Havana interview with Felix McGowan, then a Catholic priest, in which he said that in Cuba he had found "Christianity in practice."

## 1964

Our Jan. 12 issue featured a summary of Castro's New Year's speech including generally unreported information on Cuba's successes in breaching the U. S. economic blockade through trade agreements with England and other countries.

On March 30 we carried the text of a Detroit radio interview with Vernel Olsen, chairman of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee, who had just returned from Cuba.

## 1965

We began the year with the text, in our Jan. 4 issue, of Che Guevara's UN Speech denouncing U. S. intervention in the Congo.

On March 22 we reported on Fidel Castro's March 13 speech denouncing Moscow and Peking for failing to unite in defense of Vietnam. The full text was published in our issue of April 19, which was sold by the thousands at the Washington March protesting the Vietnam war.

Castro's indictment of U. S. aggression in the Dominican Republic was reported in our issue of May 10.

On July 26 we published the text of his denunciation of the Boumedienne coup in Algeria.

Again exclusively, on Oct. 18 we reported what Castro really said in his challenge to Johnson to open the doors of the U. S. to Cubans who wanted to come here. In the same issue we carried the text of Guevara's letter to Castro on his decision to leave Cuba to pursue revolutionary activity elsewhere.

## 1966

We rounded up the available news on China's reduction of trade with Cuba in our Jan. 10 issue. And on Jan. 24 we reported — again, to our knowledge, exclusively — Castro's report of the facts of the Chinese-Cuba agreement on the exchange of sugar and rice on which the Chinese reneged.

On Jan. 31 we reported the available facts on Castro's attack on Trotskyism.

We shall continue to remain unconditional defenders of the Cuban revolution and shall strive to remain a principal source of information about the revolution.



# 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.]

## Help Morton Sobell

New York, N. Y.  
In this 16th year of imprisonment of my innocent husband, Morton Sobell, we are once more going into the Federal Court in New York City in an attempt to secure a hearing. A new book on the case, published by Doubleday and written by Walter and Miriam Schneir, *Invitation to an In-*

quest, has revealed new documented evidence of forgery, perjury, and suppression of evidence on the part of the FBI and the U. S. prosecutors including Roy Cohn.

The Rosenberg-Sobell case has troubled the conscience of our country and the world for many years. Today such reputable publications as *Newsweek*, *Chicago Daily News*, *Washington Evening Star*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and many others are calling for a re-examination of this case.

I urgently request that all those who are concerned with this important question of justice write to U. S. Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, Justice Department, Washington, D. C., urging that he support our petition for a hearing. Any additional information and printed forms urging this may be obtained from the Sobell Committee, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10011.

Helen Sobell  
(Mrs. Morton Sobell)

## Effect of Transit Strike

Minneapolis, Minn.

I am writing to relate to *The Militant* readers a local incident which I think reflects some of the magnitude and meaning of the recent New York transit strike had on workers elsewhere. Being this was a most effective and powerful strike — and a success for the transport workers involved — many workers followed and supported this strike wholeheartedly.

I work in a warehouse where the Teamsters (Local 239, Minnpls.) have recently organized the 25-30 warehouse workmen and freight handlers. The workers and their business agent drew up their contract with their local demands and conditions, somewhat along Teamster contracts of similar warehouses.

The company has refused to accept the Teamster contract proposal. The company demands another contract and an open-shop work situation. There is discussion now among these Teamsters as to the next move. Threaten to strike or strike is the line of their discussion.

Last week when the union steward and the business agent were confronting the company officials, throughout the warehouse, during the breaks, inside the toilet or among any group of two or three workers there, the slogan was repeated over and over — We Want Quill! We Want Quill!

I thought this quite significant here in an isolated warehouse in Minneapolis — a seemingly provincial midwestern city with populist sentiments still very strong — that these workers followed, supported, and now advocate similar forceful and effective actions in their local struggle.

And I think that this was not an isolated, unique feeling expressed among workers either. I think this successful strike and presentation of organized labor power will have a positive effect on the proposed rail strike too. If Quill and his fellow leadership defied the injunction and went to jail to facilitate the strike action and could do it under pressure, other large industrial union memberships are going to seriously question why their leaders can't do the same.

Jack Marsh

## Hot Air Specialists

New York, N. Y.

When it comes to prosecuting a war half way around the world you can't beat LBJ for ruthless efficiency. But when it comes to domestic programs and problems Johnson is efficient only in the area of hot air production. Two newspaper items will give you an illustration of what I'm talking about.

The Jan. 31 *New York Times* reported that an Office of Economic Opportunity survey indicated that over half of the poor "had not heard about a Government anti-poverty program." As an indication of how effective his supposed anti-poverty drive is, Johnson ought to rename his program "the secret war on poverty."

The same article indicates that the Medicare program is also not being made effectively available to those it is supposedly designed to help: the aged. The *Times* says that "apparently more than a million persons over 65 years of age have not exercised their right to sign up."

In another article in the same issue of the *Times* it is reported that the federal government's fallout shelter program is being run with hopeless inefficiency. Granted that this program never offered any more than a false security under the cover of which Washington could merrily go about its policy of continually bringing the country to the brink of nuclear disaster.

Nevertheless, just to make the ridiculousness of it all even more obvious, here's what the *Times* reports: "If there were a nuclear attack today, Mr. Cooney (New York City's Civil Defense Director) said, New Yorkers would be better off taking shelter in a building with a grocery store than in one of the unstocked buildings designated as a shelter." It seems that 12,000 out of 19,000 of the city's fallout shelters have no food, no water and no medical supplies. Thus, if by some miracle you should survive a nuclear blast in a fallout shelter you would in short order starve to death or die of thirst.

The hot air behind the fallout shelter program is even more deceptive than that behind the so-called anti-poverty program. And neither of them is designed to produce on their alleged goals.

Arthur Maglin

## Students Flunk Out

Cleveland, O.

Inspired by your front-page Johnson quote of Dec. 27, 1965, in which he said, "No matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant; impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife," I gave my college English class an exam in which I asked them to show how the statement was

or was not chauvinistic.

I did not identify the author of the statement nor the date on which it was made. I used Webster's definition of chauvinism as "militant, boastful, and unreasonable devotion to one's country, race, or sex."

Out of 30 students answering the question, only one was disturbed by the racist term "yellow dwarf." The other 29 students spent the entire 50 minutes defending America's right to and need for "superior air power" and justifying the statement in general. One student even went so far as to say that the person making the statement was *certainly* not a patriot (maybe he was a Communist), for he had the nerve to imply that America *wasn't* first in air power!

B. G.

## Fan Mail Dep't.

London, Ont., Canada

Enclosed is \$3.00 plus exchange to renew my subscription to *The Militant*. Your full coverage and commentary on the Negro struggle, the colonial revolution, and the antiwar movement are very inspiring to a young socialist in a very conservative area. I particularly liked the articles on American history and the biographical sketches of important revolutionaries. I am late in sending in my renewal and I hope I don't miss too many issues.

G. N. A.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

NEGRO COED DEFIES ALABAMA LYNCHERS AND RACIST OFFICIALS — Autherine Lucy spent this week fighting lynch mobs and racist officials of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa for her elementary right to study in a public school. While she was facing the racist mob almost alone Adlai Stevenson, the leader of the Democratic Party, was making a speech in Los Angeles, Feb. 7, expressing the view that desegregation should "proceed gradually" so as "not to upset, overnight, traditions and habits older than the republic."

Stevenson, banner-bearer of the Democratic party and supported by the Negro and labor leaders, made it absolutely clear that if elected president, he would not use the power of his office to provide protection to the Negro people in the South who are in a life and death struggle with organized terrorists.

Asked by a minister at the Los Angeles meeting if Stevenson would use "the Army, Navy and FBI" to enforce the integration decision of the Supreme Court, the Presidential aspirant replied no. Action of that type, Stevenson said, "brought on the Civil War."

Autherine Lucy applied for admission to the University of Alabama in 1952. Legal action was started when she was refused admittance. She finally won a Federal Court order prohibiting the school from barring her on racial grounds. She attended her first class on Friday, Feb. 3.

Over the week-end the organizers of the mob violence — mysteriously unidentified, but undoubtedly the White Citizen Council elements who have replaced the KKK in the South — began to gather the forces for their lynch party. Autherine Lucy was not intimidated and defiantly returned to her classes on Monday, Feb. 6.

A howling, jeering pack of about 100 men were waiting on the campus for her. When they learned that their victim had eluded them, they took out their ugly rage on the automobile of the Dean of Women, Mrs. Sarah L. Healy, who had undertaken to escort Miss Lucy from one classroom to the other. Mrs. Healy's car windows were broken. Glass was shattered throughout the interior.

Later in the day the racist gang had grown into a lynch mob of about a thousand, throwing eggs and rocks and mud at all who got in their way. They chanted, "Ho, ho, ho, Autherine must go." The bulk of the mob was distracted from its prey by an elderly Negro man who appeared on the scene as a decoy. The mob went after him and Autherine Lucy was able to escape from the school with her life. — Feb. 13, 1956.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Note to Cliff Dwellers** — "The three bears have better living quarters than most people, according to Arnold Friedman of Pratt Institute . . . Friedman said that zoos are better designed than high rise apartment buildings where people are stacked row on row in cubicles. Mr. Friedman observed that zoos have to be well designed environments to keep animals alive. He inferred that the effect of environment on human beings may be less obvious than the effect of a zoo on the three bears, but it deserves investigation." — The Feb. 3 *New York Herald Tribune*.

**Progress Report** — The Georgia state legislature is considering establishment of a committee to study the problem of mental health in the state. Wonder if they've heard of the dictum: Physician, cure thyself.

**Un-Catholic?** — The Most Rev. Egidio Vagnozzi, the Vatican's apostolic delegate to the U. S., hit out at priests who become "militant" unionists. The *Wall Street Journal* interpreted his comments as a Vatican attack on the striking faculty members at St. John's University.

**Demand Rights** — Twelve Negro members of the St. Petersburg, Fla., police force have filed suit in federal court under the civil rights act. They charge that being compelled to work primarily in Negro areas of the city hinders their opportunity for advancement in the department.

**Pedagogy Dep't** — Some parental protest was registered when 14-year-old and 15-year-old Bronx junior high school students were given a personality test known as

the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. Among the questions asked were whether their sex lives were "satisfactory" and if they believed in "the second coming of Christ." One of the purposes of the test, it was explained, is to spot potential drop-outs. It was not said which was the key question in this regard.

**Socialism Anyone?** — New York is the richest city in the richest country in the world. Yet officials estimate that 2.3 million New Yorkers are unable to pay for doctor's care.

**Cramped Quarters?** — If you find your present abode a bit on the small side, consider a castle. Previews, Inc., a real estate outfit that specializes in luxury housing on a world scale, reports a rising market for castles. Prices can be a bit stiff and upkeep is on the high side, but taxes are generally low. The *Wall Street Journal* describes one available place, York

Castle, as "a fortress commanding the Straits of Gibraltar and overlooking the Casbah in Tangiers, Morocco. The castle, built in the 16th century . . . has some modern touches, including a swimming pool lined in 17th Century Moorish tile. The price: \$1 million."

**No TV Shorts** — Carl Lerner who edited the film "Requiem for a Heavyweight" is upset because ten minutes of footage edited out of the original production have been put back in for a CBS-TV showing. The film will run 95 minutes instead of the 85 it ran on movie screens. The reason? Eighty-five minutes is not long enough to provide the requisite number of breaks for commercials.

**Button Bonanza** — Button baron Emanuel Riss is one business man who is not alarmed by the rise of the antiwar movement. He says the "causeniks" have been a shot in the arm for the button business. —Harry Ring

## FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

## THE MILITANT

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## Thought for the Week

"There comes a point of no return in the course of events, and we may well have reached that point in Asia. We may now be committed to a course leading to the death of millions and the destruction of any hope for a new order of law and justice in the world in our lifetime . . . I know as certainly as I know anything in this life that the United States cannot achieve any worthwhile goal from the course it is pursuing in Vietnam" — Rep. George E. Brown, Jr. (D-Calif.) in the House Jan. 31.



## Opponents of War Fight Victimization by Gov't

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — Twenty-nine people were sentenced on Feb. 1 for convictions arising out of a sit-in at the Ann Arbor draft board during the Oct. 15-16 demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. At that time, 38 people, including students, nonstudents and faculty, were arrested. Twenty-nine pleaded not guilty, were convicted in Municipal Court, and appealed to County Circuit Court. They were defended by Ernest Goodman, a prominent lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union.

Judge James Breaky handed down sentences ranging from 15 to 20 days in jail and \$70 in fines each. The protesters are appealing to the District Court. Appeal bond has been set at \$500 per person.

An important aspect of the case is the attempt by Selective Service officials to use the draft as a punitive measure against those who protest the war in Vietnam. Fifteen of those who participated in the sit-in lost their student deferments.

One of the students, Douglas Truax, regained his deferment after appealing. Truax retained his own lawyer. The other 14 still remain reclassified 1-A. Several have already appealed to higher selective service boards and have been turned down. These cases will be taken to court by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The students involved urgently need funds for the cost of appeals. Send contributions to: Ann Arbor

Defense Fund, c/o Sam Friedman, Voice Political Party, Student Activities Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

### Slate Berkeley YSA-DuBois Debate

BERKELEY — The first meeting of the new Friday Night Socialist Forum here will feature a debate between Peter Camejo, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Dynamite Hallinan, leader of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. The meeting will take place Friday, Feb. 11, and the topic will be "Will Working in the Democratic Party Aid the Antiwar Movement?"

On Feb. 18, there will be a symposium on "Perspectives for the Antiwar Movement." Speakers: Sue Cloke, San Francisco State Vietnam Day Committee; Jerry Rubin, Vietnam Day Committee; Paul Montauk, V.D.C. Dr. James G. Whitney, a psychiatrist, will speak on "Parallels Between Politics and Psychology" on Feb. 25. All meetings will be at Debs Hall, 5714 San Pablo Ave., Oakland, and will begin at 8 p.m.

### A Highly Educational Weekend

## Young Socialists Hold Gathering

NEW YORK — Over 100 young people from the East Coast participated in a Socialist Educational Weekend here on Feb. 5 and 6, sponsored by the New York Young Socialist Alliance. They came from Boston, Philadelphia, Washington and New York to attend the lectures and discussions, and to consider some of the problems of socialism in greater depth.

The spirited weekend began on Saturday morning with a two-part lecture by George Novack, author of *The Origins of Materialism* and editor of the soon-to-be-released book *Existentialism vs. Marxism*. Novack traced the development of society from the early stages of savagery to the stage of capitalism and the socialist revolution. Pointing to the responsibilities of the new generation, he emphasized the need for young people today to fight for socialism as the only real alternative to nuclear annihilation.

#### Drain on Economy

Herman Porter, staff writer for *The Militant*, discussed the effects of the war in Vietnam on the U. S. economy. One of the things he pointed out is that the war in Vietnam is a drain on the economy, a drain which the American people will begin to feel as taxes rise to pay for the war and inflation lowers purchasing power.

Saturday's session began early in the morning and went until supper time, with discussion and questions about each lecture. In spite of the intensive schedule, there was a party on Saturday



Photo by Finer

**SOCIALIST EDUCATION.** Jack Barnes, national chairman YSA, speaking at educational weekend gathering in New York.

night at the new Militant Labor Forum hall, where all the sessions were held.

Sunday morning, Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, spoke on the topic "Which Way for Today's Radical Youth?" Barnes discussed the other radical youth organizations, and the programs they offered in opposition to revolutionary socialism. In an often

amusing way, he explained the need for the kind of program and organization represented by the Young Socialist Alliance.

The weekend was the most successful educational conference yet held by the YSA on the East Coast. The general feeling among participants as they scattered to their home cities was that it helped strengthen the YSA on the coast.

## Guess Which Half of Wage-Price Controls Really Works

By Dick Roberts

In the 1966 State of the Union message, and in the Economic Report to Congress which was submitted Jan. 27, Johnson made it clear that one of the cornerstones upon which he hopes to continue to build the "Great Society" in the forthcoming year, is that American workers stick to the "wage-price guideline."

The wage-price guideline policy was originally proposed in 1962 by the Council of Economic Advisers to President Kennedy. According to them, inflation could be prevented if workers' salaries do not rise by more than the national long-term average annual increase in productivity.

On the price side, they argued, "over-all stability" was the important thing. The guideline would provide that industries whose productivity is increasing faster than the average rate should cut prices; those whose productivity is increasing more slowly than the average should raise prices; and those with the same productivity growth as the national average should maintain stable prices.

On the face of it, this might sound like it would be all to the good of the workers. Everything else being equal, if workers produce more, they would get higher wages, and prices would be adjusted in such a way that profits would remain the same — and inflation would be prevented.

But even assuming the guidelines are followed by the companies, which they aren't, they freeze the ratio between wages and profits, guaranteeing the bloated profits the owners of industry are currently sucking out of the labor of American workers, and denying the workers any betterment of their condition relative to the capitalists. The lowest-paid workers would be hit the hardest: Someone making \$1.25 an hour could only get a 4c raise under Johnson's wage guidelines.

This was one of the issues in the transit workers' strike. The transit workers wanted equal wages with other city workers. While they didn't win full equality, the gains they did make had to "violate" the wage guidelines.

But the facts are that in actual practice the guidelines are intended to keep wages down while profits soar.

From one end of the country to the other, ever since the Kennedy council set down the guidelines, companies have been raising prices. Has anyone heard of any company lowering prices, the way the council suggested, because in some year they increased productivity greater than the guideline level?

The answer to that question is obvious. If a company did that, it would cut into profits, and there's one law in this country which commands a great deal

more respect from businessmen than the price guideline, and that is the law of profits.

If we take a closer look at things, it is easy to see how the wage-price guideline works out in practice. The original 1962 guideline was fixed at three percent, based on a five-year average. In 1964, this level was raised to 3.2 percent, because of the increased productivity in 1964, raising the new five-year average.

If the same method were used to calculate the guideline this year, it should be raised to 3.6 percent, because productivity increased again last year. But instead of doing this, the Johnson administration figured out a new way of calculating the guideline. They pushed the number of years taken into consideration back a couple of years, so that the long-run average would stay low. By this reasoning, any year productivity increased, Washington could push the average back to include a recessionary period, and thereby keep the level down.

Even the *New York Times*, which can hardly be considered a newspaper sympathetic to workers, pointed out the hypocrisy of this method. "Mr. Meany," the *Times* stated editorially Jan. 30, "is right in pointing out that the administration has had to do some statistical juggling to maintain the 3.2 percent yardstick . . ."

#### Price Inflation

But statistical juggling is only the beginning of the fraud. Besides arbitrarily fixing the level at the lowest it can get away with, Washington omits to take into consideration a basic fact that is of the utmost importance to workers. This is the actual inflation of prices.

The fact is the consumer price index increased two percent in 1965, and will probably increase faster this year due to the Vietnam war. This means that while wages increased an average of

four percent last year, the actual purchasing power of the dollar declined, and the real increase in wages was only two percent. That is considerably lower than the wage guideline.

Not only this, but corporation profits were at an all-time high in 1965: Johnson boasted that they increased an average of 20 percent. That estimate, by the way, appears to be a little on the low side, taking into consideration the annual reports of corporations which have begun to come out this month.

#### Prices Ignored

Ford Motor Company, for example, listed a profit increase of 39 percent in 1965 — almost 20 times the rate of increase in workers' salaries. That increase happened to be on the order of \$200 million — meaning that individual Ford owners raked in tens of thousands of dollars in increased profits, compared to the couple of hundred dollars a worker might have averaged in raises last year.

But that's only the beginning of the Ford story. If you read a little further on in the report, you find that while profits increased 39 percent, sales per unit (total cars, trucks and tractors worldwide) increased only 16 percent. This huge discrepancy between increased sales and increased profits can only be accounted for if Ford prices went up, or the productivity of the industry increased, or a combination of both. There is no other source of this extra profit.

Most likely, the greater part of the increased profit came from increased productivity. But what happened to the wage-price guideline? Did anybody find a '65 Ford around selling for about 20 percent less than the '64 line? Not quite. The fact of the matter is, when it comes to raking in millions in profits, corporations pay absolutely no attention whatso-

ever to the price side of the guideline. Ford may have done a little better than some, but it isn't by any means alone in this category.

Roger M. Blough, chairman of United States Steel Corporation, gave a press conference Jan. 25, to unfold the successes of his company in 1965. According to Blough, profits increased 16.3 percent, while sales rose only 8.1 percent. When questioned about the discrepancy, Blough retorted, "It's about what we'd expect. Normally you'd expect an increase in sales to result in a rise in earnings." The ratio, Blough commented according to the Jan. 26 *New York Times*, "was not unusual for us."

Some other major corporations marked the following increases for 1965: General Motors, 23 percent, (bringing in the fantastic grand total of \$2.1 billion in profits, alone — more than the total income of all the governments of the entire underdeveloped world); Cities Service, 23 percent; Alcoa Aluminum, 25 percent; Magnavox, 70 percent, and so forth.

Johnson's wage guidelines are designed to benefit the owners and bosses. They should carry no more weight in any wage negotiations than New York Mayor Lindsay's pompous threats during the transit strike — namely, none whatsoever. The example the transit workers set in this regard is a good one.

We may not deceive ourselves by assuming that the industry of the United States and Western Europe is not planned. It is planned, and most elaborately. But who plans it and for what ends? It is planned by the owners of capital and for the individual profit which the enterprises bring. This may lead to much prosperity, but it also may and does lead to financial crises, to poverty, to exploitation and unemployment, and to crime. — W.E.B. DuBois



Lyndon Johnson