

# Vietnam Antiwar Revolt Builds Mood in U.S.

## THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 17

Monday, April 25, 1966

Price 10c

## New York Women Slate March Against Viet War

NEW YORK — A Women's March and Rally to "Bring our husbands, sons and brothers home from Vietnam now" will be held on Saturday, May 7, the day before Mother's Day.

The women's demonstration has been called by an ad hoc committee of over 50 women from a wide range of antiwar groups in the city.

"The purpose of the march," said Caroline Jenness, a spokesman for the women's group, "is to show the concern of women in the antiwar movement and of American women in general with the fate of our men in Vietnam. The war in Vietnam is wrong, and it is a crime that American men are dying in this unjust war."

"We want to show our troops that it is we who really support them. Our march will echo the feelings of millions of American women, who want this war ended

and want our boys to be brought back home now."

The demonstration will begin with a rally at 2:30 p.m. at the U.S. armory on 33rd St. between Park and Lexington Avenues. Then the women will march across 34th St., through Herald Square, distributing leaflets and talking with the women in that busy shopping district. The march will proceed up Broadway and then to the Port Authority bus terminal to leaflet servicemen and their families.

Spokesmen for the march are Esther Newill, a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and of the Women Strike for Peace; Caroline Jenness of the Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam and the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now; and Ethel Lobman of the Village View Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

## Judge: Stop Viet War

The following letter appeared in the April 19 New York Times:

There is an old saying "Give a dog a bad name and kill it." Name-calling can be an effective substitute for argument. Senator Joseph McCarthy succeeded in delaying liberal movements by calling liberals "Communists" or "soft on Communism."

President Johnson's statement that we will not "scuttle and run," meaning that we will not withdraw from Vietnam, is more than a brilliant metaphor. It is a stroke of genius. It appears to have persuaded many Americans that there would be something shameful in letting the Vietnamese settle their own affairs. Even Americans who have seen clearly and said plainly that our entering the civil war was a tragic blunder often add that now of course we can't just pull out.

No one doubts that we could blast the whole of Vietnam to bits. To choose an opposite course is not to "scuttle and run" from the relatively puny forces of our opponents.

The recent anti-Ky and anti-American demonstrations in Saigon, Danang and Hue have shown that we have no reason to stay in Vietnam. They have thereby sharpened the contrast between the President's metaphor and the facts. Although it has always been obvious that the generals we support in Saigon were not popularly elected, and just as obvious that they govern only a fraction of South Vietnam, we have tried to justify our interference on their side in the civil war by a more or less tacit assumption that popular support of the generals within the Saigon fraction of the country is clear and that, therefore, we should consider them a "legitimate government" for the entire country.

The premise does not support the conclusion. And the premise itself, if it was ever tenable, has now ceased to be so.

I for one see no remaining reason why our fighting men should not be brought home as fast as our ships and planes can carry them. If the President were to bring them home instead of sending still more of them to kill and be killed in Vietnam and devastate the country, he would lose face with those who, like General Ky, the so-called Premier of south Vietnam, want the United States to attack China, which might lead to the final holocaust.

But the President would gain the esteem of almost all humanity, including most of the people of south Vietnam.

Henry W. Edgerton  
Senior Circuit Judge  
United States Court of Appeals



Photo by Finer

**SOLIDARITY MARCH.** New Yorkers demonstrated April 16 in support of Vietnamese rebellion against war and dictatorship. Called by Fifth Avenue Parade Committee on short notice, with minimum of publicity, 4,500 people turned out for the two-hour march around Times Square.

By Dick Roberts

APRIL 19 — The rebellion in south Vietnam against war and military dictatorship has served to deepen the opposition to the war in this country. This increasing rejection of Johnson's war policies has been manifested in a number of ways. At the very same time, however, the administration has been stepping up its savage bombings of north Vietnam.

An April 17 Gallup poll, published in the New York Herald Tribune, showed that 62 percent of those questioned favored a peace plan suggested in the poll. Only 18 percent opposed the plan; the remaining 20 percent answered "no opinion." While the specifics of the plan were poor, and included UN intervention into both north and south Vietnam, the poll clearly shows that the majority of Americans want the war to end.

### Congressional Experience

The widespread opposition to the war was further confirmed in an April 18 New York Times rundown of the findings of several congressmen during their Easter vacations. These congressmen told the Times that the main problems on the minds of their constituents were the war and the inflation caused by it.

"Although there is general acceptance of the President's position," Alabama Democrat Robert E. Jones reported from the supposedly militantly pro-war South "many now feel that if there is any way to honorably vacate Vietnam, we ought to do it. Some," he added, "are now willing to do it less than honorably."

Representative Lloyd Meeds from the state of Washington de-

clared "a lot of people say let's get the hell out of there." Representative Henry Helstoski from New Jersey explained that he had been so flooded with inquiries about draft exemptions that now he might support direct negotiations with the National Liberation Front to end the fighting.

Even some of the most vociferous cold warriors and usually solid Johnson backers are beginning to voice misgivings about the administration position. When such demagogic Dixiecrats as Senators Richard Russell from Georgia and John Stennis from Mississippi start to waver on a question, you can be absolutely positive there is mass pressure involved.

And this is precisely what has happened. On April 8, Russell, who is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, stated: "If it becomes clearly evident that a majority of the Vietnamese do not want our help, I would favor withdrawing immediately both military forces and economic aid."

The opinion was strongly seconded April 17 by Stennis, chairman of the Senate Preparedness Investigating subcommittee, who stated that if an elected south Vietnamese government were to

ask the U.S. to withdraw it should do so.

From the other side of the southern spectrum came an important announcement on April 13. The executive board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King had adopted a resolution at a meeting in Miami calling on the Johnson administration to abandon the south Vietnam military junta and consider withdrawing from the country.

### First Time

Although King has previously questioned the U.S. role in Vietnam, this was the first time that the SCLC came out as an organization against the war.

The SCLC statement was followed on April 18 by a statement from the Southern Conference Education Fund's headquarters in Louisville, Kentucky, that SCEF also opposed the war. The SCEF statement said, in part:

"We believe that the civil rights movement in the United States cannot remain indifferent to the human tragedy being inflicted upon a people of color in Southeast Asia. . . . We feel especially our responsibility to condemn the use of United States resources by the United States government in the strategic bombing, the napalming, the gassing, the defoliation — in short, the wholesale destruction of people and property in Vietnam."

In spite of the growing resentment to the war, the Johnson administration has been pressing it harder and harder. A single bombing attack against the Mu Gia pass in north Vietnam, April 14, dumped 1.4 million pounds of ex-

(Continued on Page 4)

**"Lyndon takes a highly personal attitude toward Vietnam. He tells visitors the Reds are 'trying to push ME out of Asia.'" The April 15 Wall Street Journal.**



## Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

### INSTALLMENT 25

#### Slumlords and Anti-Semitism

In his talk, "Prospects for Freedom in 1965," Malcolm referred to the slumlords who own the houses in Harlem, "but don't live there themselves; usually they live up around the Grand Concourse [Bronx] or somewhere." In the discussion period first a woman, then a man, objected to this remark.

**Malcolm:** The lady said that she'd enjoyed herself, but she ceased to feel joyful — I'm paraphrasing the question — when I mentioned the landlords living up on the Grand Concourse. Well, they also live other places besides the Grand Concourse. But many of them live on the Grand Concourse. This is no reflection on anybody on the Grand Concourse — only on those who are guilty, only those who are guilty. I imagine if I said Central Park West or Central Park East, someone over there probably would have felt bad. But I can't think of all those places, you know.

Yes, ma'am. (Woman resumes speaking) What did you mean? You see there — you're touchy. You say it sounds like an anti-Semitic statement. Why does it sound like an anti-Semitic statement? Are Jews the only ones who live on the Grand Concourse? You know, you might have some Italians up there, or some Irish, or something else. But if Jews are the only ones who live up there, then you should investigate, and find out why. Now you're going to say I really sound anti-Semitic. No, you let yourself in for it.

When you say that some of the black bourgeoisie also live on the Concourse, the implication of what

you are saying is that some of our own people also are slum landlords. If you noticed, when I made my reference to the Concourse, I didn't say anything about any particular color. I mentioned slumlords and whoever lives up there, I included everybody. Some of you all are on the defensive. I mean this. It's a dangerous thing, you know, to let yourself get to where everytime someone's talking, you think they're talking about you. It's not so good.

Now, where the black bourgeoisie is concerned, and the bourgeoisie maintaining this particular black establishment — Here's a book, called *The Negro Mood* [by Lerone Bennett, Jr.] — one of the best. If you can't find this book anywhere else, you can get it from the Nationalist Memorial Bookstore, up on Seventh Avenue, between 125th and 126th — Dr. Michaux — *The Negro Mood*. There's a chapter in there called "The Black Establishment," and you ought to read it. It tells you how the white power structure downtown controls the black community through the black establishment.

#### Power Structure

And you'll see that it's not the black bourgeoisie that supports the black leaders — it's the white power structure downtown. This is what they mean when they say a "responsible" Negro leader — one that they have put in power and use to maintain the status quo. When they refer to "responsible," that's what they're talking about. An "irresponsible" Negro leader is one who is not inside their bag, you know — he's going somewhere else.

So don't try to put it back on us. No, we'll accept whatever guilt we have, that is, the black community will accept our black bourgeoisie, their mistakes, and all else, we'll accept them all. I don't deny any of it. But when I made my statement, it was blanket. I could have been speaking about Italians, Irish, Polish, everything. But you jumped up. You're sitting on a hot seat. (Militant Labor Forum, Jan. 7, 1965)

### OPEN LETTER TO LBJ

## Sure We Use Cheaper Cuts

Dear LBJ:

I think you ought to know that most American women don't go along with that stuff about not buying expensive goods until the prices come down, or that it won't be guns instead of butter.

American women tend to judge by reality. Every week I, and millions like me, face the nightmare of a supermarket visit. Now I'm not complaining about the "wide aisles," "modern lighting," and "wonderful variety of products available to the American housewife." I fully appreciate the fantastic range of choice, only I can't help wishing it weren't there so near and yet so far out of reach.

You see, most of us started a "buyers strike" long ago — because we just couldn't afford the prices on most of the things we needed. A few months ago things weren't quite so bad. If my husband and I both worked full time, we could feed our four kids cheap grades of steak once in a while, at 79 or 89 cents per pound; in between, we could eat tongue, liver, hamburger, chickens and pot roast, fresh vegetables in season, and doled-out fruit. If I ignored the articles by "experts" telling me that I was a "bad" mother for working and not staying home with my kids, I could tell myself that we were maintaining a pretty good standard of living.

In the last few months, all that has changed. I find myself bending hesitatingly over the meat counter gazing in less than ecstasy at the ox tails, brains and kid-



**WAS CANDIDATE.** Hedda Garza was 1965 Socialist Workers candidate for New York Comptroller.

neys, anticipating the suppressed looks of disgust on my children's faces. Even those "gourmet" dishes aren't cheap any more, and my cheap steak runs over a dollar a pound. I'm in plenty of company, for all around me I hear housewives talking to themselves as they shop: "Don't know what to get anymore"; "These prices are awful!"; "Somebody's getting rich and it sure isn't me."

We've cut back on desserts and fruit is a rarer and rarer treat. My

\$40 food bill has jumped dangerously close to \$60, what a lot of people earn in a whole week, and I'm wondering what the experts will say when my husband and I have to work two jobs each. Now maybe it's not the guns skyrocketing the price of my margarine, but I just don't see how a tax hike will help. You've asked us to hold out on wage raises, but the truth is that it costs me more and more to live each week, and I go to the market with my same old unimpressive bankroll.

#### Price Controls?

I must admit that price controls may not be the answer, especially if the stores get empty and black marketeers get rich; nor am I sure that if you drop the guns I'll get butter (though I'd like the guns to go). And I certainly don't need a tax hike because that would give my children the diet you say they eat in China.

One thing I think you should do is admit that the Great Society is drooping at the ears for most people. Admit there's a problem and then start talking about how to lick it. Just to get people in the mood, and to show that you really have a feel for what's going on, I strongly recommend that we drop the *Star Spangled Banner* and substitute a more representative song. I'm thinking of a fine old folk song. We could get Bob Dylan to record it and your popularity might go up some for getting with the folk craze. The words would fit the truth a lot more than that Great Society bit: My mother gave me a dollar, So I wouldn't holler, But I began to holler, Cause what can you do with a dollar?

Hedda Garza

## Campaign Is Under Way to Collect \$21,000 Socialist Education Fund

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Director

A drive is now under way to raise a Socialist Education Fund of \$21,000 by June 15. More than \$20,000 of this amount has already been pledged by groups across the country and \$600 is being sought in contributions from readers of *The Militant*.

The need and opportunity for spreading socialist ideas are greater today than they have been in decades and the money raised through the Socialist Education Fund will do much to meet that expanded need and opportunity.

After the long period of isolation of the McCarthy era, the revolutionary socialist movement is enjoying a new growth today, most particularly among young people. And, fortunately, the increase in socialist forces comes at a time of the rise of a truly significant antiwar movement. This antiwar movement has benefited greatly from the dynamism and militancy of the many young socialists who have helped sparked its growth.

Because they are not tied to

the Establishment, socialists have been among the most effective in pressing and popularizing militant demands that most adequately express the needs of the antiwar movement. It can be stated as a matter of objective fact that socialists have made a major contribution to popularizing and winning support for the key demand: Stop the war, bring the troops home now!

#### Socialist Task

To make their contribution to the antiwar movement even more effective, socialists have the task of bringing their socialist views to a maximum number of people within the antiwar movement. That means an increased circulation of socialist literature which in turn means a need for the money necessary to finance it. And that, of course, is where the Socialist Education Fund comes in.

If you want to help further that process you can do so by sending your contribution today to: *Socialist Education Fund*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

## 3 Get Life Terms In Malcolm X Case

NEW YORK, April 15 — The three men convicted of assassinating Malcolm X — Talmadge Hayer (also known as Thomas Hagan), Norman (3X) Butler, and Thomas (15X) Johnson — were sentenced yesterday by Judge Charles Marks to life in prison. Each of the defendants indicated he would appeal his conviction.

Peter L. F. Sabatino, Hayer's lawyer, said that he didn't think the jury's verdict had solved the murder case. He pointed to the tremendous disparity in resources of the prosecution and defense. He asked that all of the information gathered by the police on the case be made available to the defense. This includes notes of interviews of about 100 people who were present in the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965 at the time of the assassination, that were never shown to the defense.

#### Denied Motion

Judge Marks denied the motion and said that all documents that should be handed over had been. He pointed out that the Appellate Division could rule otherwise if it wished.

The four Negro court-appointed lawyers for Butler and Johnson and the two white lawyers Hayer retained will no longer be involved in the case unless they are appointed by the higher court. Spectators were searched and the doors to the courtroom were locked during the sentencing. One informed observer said that followers of Elijah Muhammad were not permitted to enter the courtroom though they had attended the trial regularly.

Hayer confessed to the assassination toward the end of the trial, but said he had been hired and was not a Muslim. He said that Butler and Johnson, both well-known Muslims, had nothing to do with the assassination.

## Weekly Calendar of Events

### BOSTON

**MAY DAY SOCIALIST WEEKEND.** Friday, April 29, 8 p.m. — The International Working Class and the Vietnam War; The Effect of American Youth on World Events. Saturday, April 30, 11 a.m. — Socialism and the New Radicals; 1:30 p.m. — American Imperialism; 3 p.m. — Which Side Are You On? Speakers: Fred Halstead, Doug Jenness, and others. 6:30 p.m. May Day Celebration — Dinner, Singing, Dancing. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Contrib. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance.

### CHICAGO

**MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY.** Speaker: Joseph Johnson. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### CLEVELAND

**SOCIALISM AND THE NEW RADICALS.** How this generation can change society. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of *Young Socialist*. Sunday, May 1, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Contrib. 50c. Aup. Militant Forum.

### DETROIT

**THE TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE IN HAVANA AND DEVELOPMENTS IN CUBA.** Speaker: Eric Reinthaler. Fri., April 29, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

**OUR AGE OF WAR & REVOLUTION — MAY MAY 1966.** Speaker: Asher Harer, San Francisco chairman SWP. Fri., April 29, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

**MAY DAY PICNIC.** Join with other friends of *The Militant* in celebrating

this international workers holiday. Sunday, May 1, from 1 p.m. Elysian Park Picnic Grounds No. 1. For information call: AN 9-4953, NO 3-0387, NE 6-2847. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

**NOTE TIME CHANGE. SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE NEWS.** A bi-weekly commentary by SWP spokesman Theodore Edwards. Mon., May 2, 6 p.m. Rebroadcast Thurs., May 5, 1 p.m. KPFK-FM (90.7 on dial).

### NEW YORK

**MAY DAY CELEBRATION.** Dinner, entertainment. Speech by Lew Jones, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, on the Impact of Vietnam on the International Scene. Saturday, April 30, 6 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18 St.) Contrib. \$1.75. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### PHILADELPHIA

**FARRELL DOBBS**, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak on May Day '66 and the Antiwar Movement. Sunday, May 1, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine Sts. Contrib. \$1, students 75c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### SAN FRANCISCO

**FREEDOM 1965.** A tape recording of one of Malcolm X's last major speeches. Tues., May 3, 12:15 p.m. San Francisco State College, HLL 341. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance.

### TWIN CITIES

**MAY DAY CELEBRATION.** Dinner May Day Forum — Party. Saturday, April 30, dinner begins at 7 p.m. Rm. 204, 704 Hennepin Ave., Mpls. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$1,200	\$721	60
St. Louis	150	86	57
San Diego	200	110	55
Chicago	1,800	890	49
Philadelphia	300	142	47
Cleveland	1,000	460	46
Detroit	1,400	508	36
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	361	36
Newark	150	46	31
San Francisco	900	282	31
Oakland-Berkeley	900	250	28
Milwaukee	400	81	20
New York	5,800	966	17
Los Angeles	4,400	536	12
Allentown	175	15	8
Denver	125	5	4
Seattle	500	0	0
General	600	220	37
Totals thru April 19	\$21,000	\$5,679	27



# Why Johnson's Wage Policy Is a Fraud

By Tom Kerry

Congressmen returning to Washington after a 10-day recess, reports the *New York Times* of April 18, disclose that the two issues causing the most concern among their constituents are Vietnam and inflation. There is an intimate connection between the two. For, as the March issue of the *Monthly Economic Letter* of the First National City Bank, New York, points out:

"The major bouts of inflation in U. S. history have been the result of war emergencies, most notably in World Wars I and II and in the Korean War. It is not surprising, therefore," they conclude, "that the military buildup for Vietnam under way since last fall has raised apprehensions of an inflationary outbreak in this country."

## Inexorable Trend

Inflationary increases in the cost of living have already gone beyond the stage of "apprehensions" and promise to accelerate as prices rise and profits soar. In the face of this inexorable trend, Lyndon Johnson's exhortations for voluntary adherence to the administration's economic "guideposts" resemble the antics of a primitive medicine-man seeking to stem the ravages of an epidemic plague by prayer and incantation. The only difference is that with Johnson the performance is a calculated deception.

The aim of the deception is to promote the fiction that the exercise of self-restraint by capital and labor in the area of wages and prices would promote the interests of all. In theory, the administration's "guideposts" are supposed to work as follows:

## Official Standard

Both wages and prices are to be governed by the average rate of increase in the productivity of labor. The official standard used as a guide for the determination of "non-inflationary" wage and price increases was fixed in 1964 at the rate of 3.2 percent. This figure was arrived at by calculating the trend rate of productivity increase



**FOUGHT WAGE RESTRAINT.** Mass demonstration during last January's strike of New York Transit Workers. They won settlement that exceeded Johnson's arbitrary "guideline."

for the five year period prior to 1964.

Again, in theory, those industries which exceeded the 3.2 percent rate were expected to "voluntarily" reduce the prices of their products. Those which fell below were to be permitted to "guide" their prices up to the 3.2 percent level, thus achieving theoretical price stability. On this premise, labor was pressured to keep its wage demands at or below the 3.2 percent level.

It is a beautiful theory but one which can't possibly work under the so-called capitalist "free enterprise" system where prices are largely determined by the "law" of supply and demand. The tendency to get all the market will allow is supposed to be offset by that great economic "regulator"—

competition—the so-called bedrock of the "free enterprise" system. Such "regulation" is largely negated by the monopoly or oligopoly control of decisive sectors of the national economy which operate under the system of "administered prices," that is, price fixing.

Another factor which enters into the determination of the price structure is government "planning" in the form of subsidies designed to create artificial scarcities. The largest single element in the recent increase in the cost of living has been the increase in food prices. The April *Monthly Economic Letter* of the First National City Bank reports:

## 11 Percent

"Largely reflecting higher prices for meat animals, eggs, butter and cocoa beans, the foodstuffs component of the BLS basic commodity index is now some 11 percent higher than a year ago. At retail, prices of red meats are running about 19 percent above a year earlier, with pork up nearly 37 percent."

If one were to apply the criteria of Johnson's "guideposts" to agriculture, food prices should have been greatly reduced over the whole past period. For the rate of productivity increase in agriculture has exceeded that of the industrial sector of the economy. It is estimated that the average rate

of productivity in agriculture has increased some six percent a year since 1947.

Instead of food prices going down they have been zooming up. This reflects, in large measure, government farm policy which aims at creating artificial scarcity through subsidies for crop reduction, stockpiling of butter, wheat, corn, etc., etc. This has been standard government policy for years.

## A "Correction"

To add insult to injury, the bankers argue that the relatively large increase in agricultural productivity should not be included in the determination of the administration's wage "guidelines." Recently, Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers, introduced a slight "correction" in their calculation of the administration's wage "guidelines."

The rate of productivity had increased in the five year period 1961-65 to 3.6 percent. This was 0.4 percent higher than the 3.2 percent figure arrived at in 1964. What the master-minds of the CEA did was to declare that the four-year period did not provide an adequate measure of the productivity increase trend and decided the time span should be the period 1947-65. This brought the rate down to slightly over three percent. When AFL-CIO president George Meany reared up on his hind legs and squawked that changing the arithmetic "smacks of trickery," the First National City Bank took exception and argued:

## More Hogwash

"But even the 3.2 percent figure may be too high to check a long-term upcreep in wage costs. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, output per manhour in the private economy rose by 3.4 percent in the period 1947-65. This figure, however," they contend, "is exaggerated by the six percent a year productivity rise in agriculture over this period. In the nonfarm sectors alone, output per manhour grew by only 2.8 percent a year in 1947-65. Since price supports and other programs prevent the consumer from getting the full benefit of the sharp rise in farm productivity," they blandly conclude, "average prices tend to rise if nonfarm wages rise faster than 2.8 percent a year."

In this game labor can't win for losing! What disturbs the bankers and bosses is that the workers, beginning to see through the "guidelines" shell game, will refuse

to play any longer according to the rules laid down by Johnson's tricky professors. Recognizing this danger, First National City is moved to observe, that:

"Once the inflationary process gets started, the rising cost of living itself becomes the basis for additional wage increases, either through escalator clauses or enlarged union demands."

That they don't like! As a case in point, they cite the example of the recent New York transit strike. Taking that incident as their point of departure they complain that like the New York Transport Workers, "many unions are already claiming the rising cost of living as a justification for wage increases above the 3.2 percent guideline."

This, according to First National City — having only the interests of the workers at heart — would be "self-defeating." Even worse, it would be contrary to the sermons on self-restraint so fervently preached by the Big Wind in the White House. And worst of all, it would, according to the First National City Bank of New York, undermine that "basic truth," enunciated by no less an authority on labor economics than AFL-CIO head George Meany in 1944, to wit:

## Meany's View

"The American Federation of Labor has never agreed to the principle of basing wages on cost of living or on price inflation. The established wage policy of this country," according to labor historian George Meany, "has always been based on raising wages as increases in productivity made this possible. This," he affirmed, "is the only possible basis for an expanding economy with rising living standards."

The policy of pegging wages to increases in the rate of labor productivity has led the unions into a trap. Price control, of the "voluntary" kind as preached by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, as well as that administered by executive decree under Roosevelt and Truman in World War II, is a fraud. In our next article we shall examine an alternative policy capable of providing some measure of protection against the onslaught of inflation.

## May Day Dinner To Be Held in N.Y.

NEW YORK — May Day will be celebrated at a dinner here on Saturday, April 30, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

Lew Jones, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, will be the featured speaker at the affair. He will discuss "The Impact of Vietnam on the International Scene."

In addition, entertainment will be provided by Bill Fredericks, folk singer and composer. Tom Kerry, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, will act as master of ceremonies.

During the dinner, which begins at 6 p.m., Jan Tange will play his guitar. The meeting will be held at the Militant Labor Forum Hall, 873 Broadway. Contribution, \$1.75.

## New York Judge Acquits 3 Who Defied Cuba Travel Ban

NEW YORK — An important victory in the struggle for the right to travel was won April 15 when the indictments against three young people for organizing a student trip to Cuba during the summer of 1963 were dismissed.

Two of the defendants, Levi Laub and Stefan Martinot, were represented by Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) which fought the case. Anatol Schlosser was defended by his own attorney, Joseph Forer.

Corliss Lamont, chairman of the ECLC, issued a statement on the case that reads as follows:

"The ECLC welcomes the decision of Judge Joseph C. Zavatt dismissing the indictments against Levi Laub and Stefan Martinot, two of the 58 students who went to Cuba in 1963. The decision fully justifies the students in asserting their right to travel to Cuba even

though the State Department did not like it. It is another victory for the right to travel.

"The ECLC has been defending the case of the students since 1963 and is now planning to take steps to insist that the State Department act in accordance with the ruling and lift the cloud which it has placed on the passports of the students who went to Cuba in 1963 and 1964."

The court held that Laub and Martinot, who traveled to Cuba in 1963, held valid passports at the time of their departure, and hence they were not guilty of having violated the travel-control law or the regulations made under it. The conspiracy indictment against Schlosser fell automatically.

## No Crime

The court found that the statute and the regulations related only to departures from the United States but imposed no limitation on the ultimate destination of a passenger. Since the defendants and those who traveled with them had valid passports at the time they left the United States, the law was not violated.

"The decision of the court results in the acquittal of the defendants and hence no appeal by the government is possible," the ECLC said. "The decision appears to mean that, at least so far as the Eastern District of New York is concerned, the criminal sanctions against travel to Cuba will not be enforced."

## Army Decides to Free Two Antiwar Soldiers

The U.S. government has apparently decided that it doesn't want an antiwar cause célèbre within the armed forces. On April 14 the Pentagon announced that S. Sgt. George E. Smith and S. Sgt. Claude McClure had been discharged. Smith and McClure had been prisoners of war, held by the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam for two years. They were released by the NLF during the November March on Washington, as a gesture of appreciation to the U.S. antiwar movement.

Upon their release, the two soldiers had said that they would return to the U.S. and speak out against the war. The Pentagon immediately placed them under wraps and said it would prosecute them for furnishing the NLF with documents and statements "inimical to the interests of the United States." Now the brass hats say they can prove nothing, and discharged the two.

## New Catalog

For a list of books and pamphlets on Vietnam, Cuba, socialism, the colonial revolution, Afro-American history, write to:

**MERIT PUBLISHERS**  
5 East Third St.  
New York, N. Y. 10003

## America's Road To Socialism

By James P. Cannon

50 cents

**MERIT PUBLISHERS**  
5 East Third St.,  
New York, N. Y. 10003



# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 30 - No. 17

345

Monday, April 25, 1966

## A Gratifying Victory

A fresh affirmation that it pays to fight for your rights is provided by the victory in the five-year battle to overturn the Arizona State "loyalty" oath. When the Arizona legislature adopted the McCarthyite oath proviso in 1961, Vernon and Barbara Elfbrandt and two other school teachers refused to sign it because it violated their constitutional rights. Represented by the American Civil Liberties Union, they challenged it in the courts.

Meanwhile Arizona officials decided—consistently, perhaps, with the American Way—that they could continue teaching without proper certification of their "loyalty," but they couldn't be paid for doing so. The other two teachers were not in a position to stick with it throughout, but the Elfbrandts held out without pay for five years through loans and contributions from civil liberties partisans and by holding down extra jobs. Presumably, they will now collect some \$60,000 in back pay which they intend to use first of all to repay donors.

In striking down the state oath, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that it rested on the doctrine of guilt by association. At the same time the court limited the scope of its ruling to avoid knocking out similar oath requirements in other states. That means the fight against these anti-democratic strictures must be continued. Meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs. Elfbrandt are to be congratulated on their well-earned victory.

## ...Antiwar Mood Deepening

(Continued from Page 1)

plosives—some of which were timed to go off days later.

Johnson's defense bill passed the House and Senate last month providing the funds and legislative approval for a gigantic escalation of U.S. commitment. The \$13.1 billion bill supports an additional armed services strength of 452,833 personnel, provides 2,005 additional helicopters, 906 new bombers, in addition to \$2.1 billion for munitions and \$1.2 billion for the construction of military bases, airfields and ports throughout south-east Asia.

And meanwhile the bodies of American GIs are piling up on the battlefields of south Vietnam. Right at the height of the anti-American demonstrations in Saigon, Danang and Hue, an AP dispatch from Dinh Gia described the slaughter of an ambushed GI unit. "It was horrible," the AP dispatch reported one GI as saying, "I've never heard such screaming in my life. Many of the wounded were yelling for their mothers. Some of the kids were calling for God..."

April 14, UPI reported that for the first time in the war, more Americans had been killed in a week than south Vietnamese sol-

diers. The figures were 95 and 67. This brought the total of American combat deaths for the first 99 days of 1966 to 1,361, a figure higher than the total number of GIs killed in all of 1965, namely 1,342.

The growing casualty lists, coupled with the five-week crisis in south Vietnamese politics, have led to a new current in American opposition to the war which was typically expressed in the following editorial of *The Seattle Times* for April 14:

"The American people," the *Seattle Times* declares, "will not indefinitely expend blood and treasure to save the South Vietnamese from their follies."

"It is our opinion that an ultimatum should be given to the leaders of the contentious factions to the effect that if they cannot establish a stable government, the United States will have no alternative to a phased and orderly withdrawal of American forces."

The *Seattle Times* editorial bears comparison with a statement made three days later by a 22-year-old Buddhist student to *New York Times* reporter Neil Sheehan. "The American government," the student told Sheehan, "would like to prolong this war and would like to make use of this country as an experiment..."

"We want to have peace because right now we are all exhausted... Look at the corpses on the battlefield. The Vietcong are Communists but they are Vietnamese too. We are the same people."

## Seattle Demonstration Backs Vietnam Revolt

SEATTLE—There was a demonstration in solidarity with the south Vietnamese and against the war here on April 16. The protest was called by the Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The 60 participants carried such signs as "Vietnam for the Vietnamese"; "Bring Our GIs Home Now"; and "Support Buddhist Demands." After marching in downtown Seattle for over an hour, they gathered to hear Lyle Mercer of the CEWW speak.



Rev. M. L. King

## RAMPARTS LIFTS VEIL

# MSU and Madam Nhu

By Dick Roberts

*Ramparts* magazine has done it again. This time the target is Michigan State University, and the subject is MSU's cooperation with Washington to provide a cover for U.S. support of the south Vietnamese dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem. What has gained much publicity for the *Ramparts* article in addition to its details on MSU's role in Vietnam, is that it reveals that CIA agents were on the MSU faculty payroll as assistants in the Vietnam project.

Entitled "The University on the Make," and with an introduction by Stanley K. Sheinbaum of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, this article was written by Warren Hinkle, *Ramparts* executive editor and associate publisher, in collaboration with *Ramparts* research editor Sol Stern, and foreign editor Robert Scheer.

From the start, it is clear that the Sheinbaum-Hinkle-Stern-Scheer team is out to do a well-deserved job not only on MSU itself, but on the "multiversity system" from top to bottom.

The information on the existence and scope of the MSU Vietnam project should become a part of every antiwar activist's basic fund of knowledge. This is how Washington tried to get around the Geneva accords from the very beginning, and how it supported Diem until the middle of 1962.

In May 1955, less than a year after the signing of the Geneva accords, the Eisenhower administration persuaded MSU president John Hannah—a former assistant secretary of defense—to undertake a "foreign study" program in Vietnam. The program would be used as a cover for U.S. provision of arms, money, and experts to the Diem regime.

And the fact of the matter is, the MSU project was never very well disguised. As early as May 31, 1958, Bernard Fall wrote in *The Nation* that American aid to



Vietnam supported the entire cost of the armed forces, nearly 80 percent of all government expenses.

"In terms of personnel," Fall continued, "American commitments are equally far-reaching. USOM [U.S. Operations Mission] provides American technical help in every field of activity. Michigan State U, under a million-dollar-a-year contract to ICA [International Cooperation Administration] runs the administration school and trains the police... and a vast U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group—its exact size classified but including well over a thousand officers and men—trains the Vietnamese Army, Navy and Air Force."

The main new fact in the *Ramparts* article—which was only hinted in Robert Scheer's analysis of MSU's role in the pamphlet "How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam"—is that five CIA men were part of MSU's police-training program, and that they were actually involved in "counter-espionage and counter-intelligence" assignments.

But this fact isn't the only reason that the university rose up in an indignant uproar and berated the *Ramparts* article before it even hit the newsstands.

## Gerassi Describes How U. S. Holds Down Latin America

By Arthur Maglin

NEW YORK—John Gerassi, veteran Latin American correspondent, declared that the only way out for the Latin American nations is simultaneous revolution all over the continent. Speaking at the Militant Labor Forum April 15, he said that while one Vietnam might be considered good for the economy, the United States government might not be able to handle 20 Vietnams all at once.

Citing his experiences as correspondent for *Time* and *Newsweek*, Gerassi told how Washington ensures maximum profits for American businessmen in Latin America by keeping these countries underdeveloped.

What is needed in Latin America, Gerassi said, are socialist revolutions. This would allow these countries to develop their economies and use their resources for the benefit of their peoples.

In a scathing indictment, Gerassi charged that the pro-Moscow Communist parties are a major obstacle to the Latin American revolution. He said they deliberately prevented themselves from achieving power. He explained that this was not unusual in the history of pro-Moscow Communist parties. He cited the examples of the French and Italian parties handing over power to pro-capitalist coalition governments in 1946 instead of taking power themselves.

Gerassi accused the Chilean Communist Party of deliberately torpedoing the victory of Salvador Allende in Chile. Allende was the Socialist Senator who ran against

Frei as the nominee of a left-wing coalition including the Socialist and Communist parties.

The Communist Party scuttled Allende's chances, Gerassi charged, by making a vehement last-minute attack on the Catholic Church, thus alienating Catholic voters. Gerassi said the pro-Moscow Communist parties in Latin America did not want power because this would be inconsistent with the Kremlin line of peacefully co-existing with capitalism.

## Antiwar Teach-In Slated At New York University

NEW YORK—A teach-in on the war in Vietnam will be held at New York University's Washington Square campus on Wednesday, April 27. The teach-in is being organized by the NYU Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

A representative from the State Department has been invited to present the administration's view. Other speakers include John McDermott, associate editor of *Viet Report*; Felix McGowan, former Maryknoll priest now active in the antiwar movement; Ron Wolin of the Veterans and Reservists Against the War in Vietnam; a student speaker and a representative from SNCC.

The meeting will take place at the Eisner-Lubin Auditorium of Loeb Student Center, from 7 to 11 p.m. Admission is free and open to the public.

What really made an impact is summed up in the *Ramparts* title, the charge that MSU was simply "on the make"—and that, as the *New York Times* put it, the MSU project was another example of American universities "compromising scholastic independence in exchange for lucrative Government contracts..."

"The Michigan State professors," Stanley Sheinbaum writes in his introduction, "performed at all levels. They advised on fingerprinting techniques, on bookkeeping, on governmental budgeting and on the very writing of south Vietnam's constitution. One was even instrumental in the choice of the president of south Vietnam. But in all this they never questioned U.S. foreign policy which had placed them there and which, thereby, they were supporting..."

"Within the university only the exceptional faculty member seeks reward and promotions via scholarship and teaching. The easier and even the more prestigious route is that of the new breed professor with his machine-stamped PhD who orbits in the university's stratosphere of institutes, projects and contracts. The student is lowest among his priorities..."

"Where is the source of serious intellectual criticism," Sheinbaum asks, "that would help us avoid future Vietnams? Serious ideological controversy is dead and with it the perspective for judgment."

## Flat Denial

The MSU administrators appointed an official spokesman to deny the charges from first to last. Unfortunately for them, the key man in the whole plot is no longer on their payroll.

Wesley Fishel, the man who was "instrumental in the choice" of Diem, is now working directly for Washington as an adviser on Vietnamese affairs. "Oh sure," Fishel replied to the question of whether MSU knew about the CIA men, "The Vietnamese government also knew it. We never hid anything from President Diem."

Then Fishel went on to do what may well prove to be adding fuel to the fire, and what indicates at the very least, that Fishel has lost touch with student-university affairs. He red-baited *Ramparts* up and down the line. Sheinbaum, Hinkle, Scheer and Stern are "outspoken advocates of the Vietcong," Diem's former adviser declared, and Scheer is a partisan of Fidel Castro.

The only thing bordering on an apology for their dirty work came from acting dean Ralph Smuckler, who indicated that MSU got out of the project as soon as they could, once it had become known the CIA was involved. It's not so, however, according to the *Ramparts* authors.

The actual reason, Hinkle suggests, is that several participants had criticized the Diem regime. They "dared to suggest that the President rid himself of the Nhus." More basic, however, is the fact that by 1962 U.S. planes were napalm-bombing Vietnamese peasant villages, and U.S. "advisers" numbering nearly 5,000 were running a concentration-camp program known as Operation Sunrise. The MSU cover no longer served Washington any purpose.

## Socialism on Trial

By James P. Cannon

Transcript of testimony in first Smith Act trial

\$1

MERIT PUBLISHERS  
5 East Third St.,  
New York, N. Y. 10003



## THIS ONE DOESN'T DEFUSE EASILY

## DeGaulle Sets Time Bomb Under NATO

By Gerhardt Knebel

(World Outlook)—After a long search, it proved possible to find the H-bomb that fell into the Mediterranean following a mid-air collision between an American bomber and a tanker plane. No doubt it was quickly defused.

The diplomatic bomb that de Gaulle placed on the table at NATO headquarters for the consideration of his fourteen allies is a different matter. All of them see it, all of them hear it ticking, but no one knows how to defuse it. No one knows whether it will just give off a harmless cloud of smoke that will finally drift away, or whether it will shatter the whole NATO structure like a blockbuster.

De Gaulle's unvarnished views and opinions were clearly expressed in the French memorandum of March 9 to the members of the alliance:

1. As a member of the Atlantic Pact, France pledges complicity and solidarity with the imperialist industrial countries against the noncapitalist countries and the "third world" of underdeveloped nations. If de Gaulle in theory holds the nation to be an enduring entity standing above its changing social systems, he never-

theless conceives the "grandeur" of France to rest solely on the foundation of monopoly capitalism. He hopes to build French monopoly capitalism at the expense of the workers under a Five Year Plan and with a modern capitalistic national economy erected at the expense of his Common Market partners.

2. France withdraws from the "integrated" military setup of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, withdraws its officers from the unified command units, demands French control over the NATO bases in France and respectfully requests that the NATO High Command and the NATO Central European High Command get out of France. France is willing to leave its two divisions in West Germany under a special provision to be defined later.

The grounds given in de Gaulle's memorandum for his move are very interesting. We can touch on these only briefly.

According to the memorandum, "there is no longer a direct threat in Europe." Secondly, "France has acquired an atomic armament of a type that excludes any form of integration." Finally, the nuclear equality between the USA and the Soviet Union, "which has succeeded the earlier American mon-

opoly, has changed the general conditions for the defense of the West."

If NATO were a defensive organization, as it always used to be pictured, then it is difficult to see how the threat of war in Europe could disappear through the breaking of the American atomic monopoly. Marxists have held that NATO was aimed aggressively at the workers states and that if the danger of war and a "crusade to the East" declined it was due to the increase in Soviet atomic armaments. Is de Gaulle saying this in a diplomatic way?

Leaving this aside, de Gaulle in any case confirms what Marxists and the antinuclear protest movement have long asserted — a war in Europe with all its criminal atrocities has become impossible as a "reasonable" means of settling questions, since any such war would necessarily escalate into an atomic conflict. And de Gaulle confirms the view that atomic arms are in fundamental contradiction to any kind of alliance inasmuch as no member would permit another member to drag it into an atomic war.

Concerning de Gaulle's aims in striking this blow against NATO, speculation has varied. It appears

to us that what he is seeking to do is to demonstrate his independence from Washington in the international arena in a dramatic way. He would thereby open the possibility of playing a greater role in world politics than is justified by French atomic strength.

As an alternative to the "integrated" NATO, in which the United States holds an unassailable leading position, de Gaulle is working for an independent West Europe, federated economically, politically and militarily, but not integrated.

In such a Europe, the leading role would fall to France (along with England eventually), thanks to the "force de frappe" [atomic striking force]. This capitalist West Europe could then nurture the economic and cultural contacts with East Europe that would later contribute to restoring capitalism in that area.

De Gaulle appears to discount the danger that France's withdrawal from NATO might increase the relative weight of West Germany, contribute to its securing atomic arms and lead to the formation of a Washington-Bonn axis directed against the East. He adheres, it would seem, to the concept that the nuclear "balance of terror," as well as common opposition to China, will bring Washington and Moscow into a "partnership" that Washington would not relinquish for the sake of Bonn.

De Gaulle may recall that in its time, bourgeois England joined in an alliance with the feudal powers in Europe against the French bourgeois revolution (thus putting national above class interests). He may calculate on a similar development in the three-cornered rivalry of the U.S., the Soviet Union and China. Unfortunately, the national policies of the leaderships in Moscow and Peking are scarcely designed to discourage such calculations.

Will de Gaulle's grandiose concept of an independent Europe



Charles de Gaulle

(extending some day to the Urals) under French leadership be realized? The first stage — "West Europe" — has already run into insurmountable obstacles. In neither West Germany nor England is there any likelihood of forces emerging in the near future that would seriously oppose American dominance and lend support to de Gaulle.

Yet it must not be overlooked that de Gaulle is basing himself on real, present tendencies of development. The verbal pledges of the other NATO states to continue the integrated military organization even without France do not hide the fact that removal of the French beam has left the framework shaky.

The question of whether or not to follow de Gaulle's example will be carefully weighed in Norway where the leftist Socialist Party, despite its numerical weakness, holds something of a key position. It is well known that Greece and Turkey, the partners in southeast Europe, are antagonistic and both are angry at the U.S. In Italy, in Belgium, in Denmark, the demand to withdraw from NATO will find more of an echo.

Even in West Germany "signals and signs" can be noted, like Adenauer's sudden discovery that the Soviet Union wants peace, or the credits underwritten by the West German government, in open disregard of American wishes, to construct a giant steel plant in the People's Republic of China.

In view of the temporary impossibility of cracking open the East European markets by military force, sharpening capitalist competition necessarily operates as the main divisive factor in the capitalist NATO alliance. This leads to anti-American tendencies and to competition in peaceful penetration of the markets of the noncapitalist states.

This situation opens up new possibilities for action by the socialist left. In England and Germany there is the potential for sharpened struggle against the pro-American policy of the Labor Party and of the Social Democratic Party, for an independent left-wing policy. In France, a struggle for complete withdrawal from NATO and the liquidation of the "force de frappe" could make gains, as could a general struggle in Europe for withdrawal from NATO and for a denuclearized Europe with the perspective of a United States of Europe.

If the left fails in this struggle, then the developments which were given impetus by de Gaulle's move threaten to lead to a strengthening of the national capitalist forces in West Europe (most dangerously in West Germany) and national bureaucratic forces in East Europe, with unforeseeable consequences. There are no grounds, therefore, for complacent rejoicing over de Gaulle's blow against NATO. What should be done is to take active advantage of it for the benefit of peace and the development of socialism.

## REVIEWS and REPORTS

## ADOLFO GILLY, FIDEL CASTRO AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. By Joseph Hansen. World Outlook.

Politics, particularly radical politics, can often be a complicated business. This is particularly true of the political and factional disputes within the radical movement. A current example of how complicated radical politics can get centers around the Tricontinental Conference recently held in Havana and Fidel Castro's attack on the Chinese regime and "Trotskyism."

One of the targets of Castro's attack on Trotskyism, which he slanderously described as an "agency of imperialism," was the Argentine journalist, Adolfo Gilly. Gilly has become well known to the radical public in this country with his writings in *Monthly Review*, particularly his works on Cuba and Guatemala.

In his attack Castro described Gilly as "a well known Trotskyist theorist" and assailed him for pointing a finger of suspicion at the Cuban regime regarding the whereabouts of Che Guevara and for charging that Cuba had not reacted adequately to the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic.

Gilly replies to the Castro attack and offers his assessment of the Tricontinental Conference in the April issue of *Monthly Review*. His views are subjected to an extensive analysis by Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, in the April 15 *World Outlook*, an international labor press service edited from the viewpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Hansen's article is extremely valuable in clarifying some of the confusions and complications of the dispute. It also serves to make clear the differing stands of the authentic world Trotskyist movement and an ultra-left splinter that professes to speak for the world movement.

The purpose of the present review is not to elaborate on the issues in dispute but to indicate the main points.

In his *MR* article, Gilly makes more apparent than he had in previous writings the coincidence



Che Guevara

of his political views with that of the ultra-left split-off from the Fourth International led by the Latin American Juan Posadas. Apart from claiming that its isolated groupings are the Fourth International, this tendency's principal claim to fame is the thesis persistently enunciated by Posadas (and echoed by Gilly) that the atomic razing of Moscow and New York will have the salutary effect of sparking the world revolution.

Gilly, like Posadas, takes a dim view of the Tricontinental Conference although, as Hansen reports, there are novel nuances of difference between them as to its outcome.

Gilly appraises the conference as final proof that Castro has become a servile tool of Moscow. He asserts that as a tool of the Kremlin, Castro had to get rid of Guevara and cites the view of Posadas that Guevara was either assassinated by the Cuban regime or is incapacitated or confined.

He assumes that fundamental differences existed between Castro and Guevara, but offers no hard facts to establish this. He further asserts the existence of a left-

wing, near-Trotskyist tendency of Guevaristas in Cuba which is, according to his theorizing, doing battle against Castro's efforts to peddle the Brezhnev co-existence line. Castro, he declares, is resisting mass pressure to take a revolutionary course.

Hansen's analysis of all this contributes greatly toward an understanding of the present complex developments in Cuba. He cites the record on the established facts of the areas of disagreement and agreement between Castro and Guevara. He traces the evolution of the attacks on Trotskyism in Cuba and examines the meaning of the Sino-Soviet conflict on Cuba's political development. (He throws interesting light here on the uncritical approach to the Chinese by Posadas and Gilly. Posadas seems to feel the Maoists accept his thesis of the beneficial social consequences of an atomic holocaust.)

Hansen also deals with another important development in Cuban politics which Gilly ignores, the sharp polemics with the Yugoslavs.

Finally, Hansen offers a compressed but clear explanation of the specific contribution to current revolutionary theory that has come to be labeled Trotskyism. This contribution, he states, is "not merely unyielding recognition of the necessity for socialist revolution on a world scale — the ultra-left sectarians do this in all sincerity and they should be given credit for it. What Trotskyism offers is a transitional political approach..." He then explains this transitional approach.

Generally only available by subscription (\$7.50 for six months), *World Outlook* is making the April 15 issue with Hansen's reply to Gilly available on an individual basis at 50 cents a copy. It may be obtained by writing to *World Outlook*, P.O. Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010. In New York, it may be obtained at the Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, at 18th St.

—Harry Ring

## Vietnam Trotskyist Dies in France

Luu Thanh Kiem, a 35-year-old Vietnamese Trotskyist leader, died recently in Paris of cancer, the April issue of *Quatrième Internationale* reports. According to the monthly organ of the French Trotskyists, Kiem joined a vanguard revolutionary youth organization in south Vietnam when he was very young.

After the French imperialists launched their war to reconquer the rebellious colony, Kiem became a guerrilla fighter, participating in the struggle for two years. As a guerrilla fighter, Kiem ran across works by Leon Trotsky. These clarified a whole series of problems for him and determined his subsequent outlook.

As he explained the new concepts to his comrades-in-arms, he found himself the object of increasing suspicion and hostility from Stalinists fighting in the same struggle and he returned to the city where he joined the Fourth International. After the Geneva agreement he went to France to study for qualification as an engineer. He was about to return to Vietnam when his lingering illness began.

His last article, against the war in Vietnam, appeared in the October issue of *Quatrième Internationale* under the pen name of Long Tuyen.

The Vietnamese Trotskyists sent a cable from Saigon reading: "Vietnamese comrades regret stunning loss of Kiem. Sincere condolences."

Besides relatives in Vietnam, Kiem is survived by his wife and a newly born daughter.



# Bolivian People Demonstrate In Face of Attacks by Junta

LA PAZ, Bolivia (World Outlook) — April 9, 1952 is a day of historic significance in Bolivia — but with a dual meaning. It is the day which the people and workers commemorate as the beginning of the popular insurrection which led to the downfall of the feudal bourgeoisie and the beginning of the revolutionary period. After the insurrection, however, power passed into the hands of the MNR [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement], a petty bourgeois nationalist party. The masses pressured the MNR into granting nationalization of the mines, agrarian reform, workers control, etc.

The struggle between the masses and the MNR continued until the coup last year which replaced the MNR government with a military junta.

The MNR, for its part, also claims April 9, 1952 as the date marking its rise to power. This year it tried to convert the day into a party celebration and called for the people to turn out to its meeting.

The CODEP (Democratic Council of the People) — a united front of left groups that includes the POR [Revolutionary Workers Party] the Bolivian section of the Fourth International; the PCB, the pro-Peking Communist Party of Bolivia; the PRIN [Revolutionary

Left-Nationalist Party]; and a popular left-wing sector of the MNR — also called for a turnout at its meeting in the "Plaza 14 de Septiembre" located in the most heavily populated area of the city. The MNR, seeing that it would fail if it acted separately, finally joined in the call of the CODEP.

At the time the meeting was to begin, armed plainclothesmen and uniformed riflemen attacked the Plaza with tear-gas grenades. The crowd was dispersed, then it reformed, then was attacked again, repeatedly.

Since it was impossible to occupy the Plaza, groups organized demonstrations in the neighboring streets. They finally converged in the Avenida Tumusla and paraded through the heavily populated working-class districts. The demonstration began with only about 1,000 people but grew to 10,000.

The excited, almost delirious crowd poured through the streets shouting slogans about the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist revolutionary content of April 9 and against the murderous military. Chants were heard like: "The workers to power; the military to the gallows!" Such slogans drowned out and silenced the efforts of the MNR to shout viva's for their leader, Paz Estenssoro.

The demonstrators carried a

Bolivian flag at the head of the procession, then a big placard with the name of the CODEP, followed by a large number of placards of the POR, PCB, PRIN, and the MNR.

The predominance of the POR slogans led the MNR to complain that the Trotskyists wanted to take advantage of the demonstration. This charge met with no sympathy among the people. At the head of the crowd marched the CODEP committee, then the leadership of the POR, followed by the PCB, PRIN, COB [Central Labor Council], and the MNR. In the tug-of-war for leadership of the demonstration and its general orientation, the left came out victorious.

When the demonstrators reached the headquarters of the COMIBOL (Corporación Minera de Bolivia, in charge of the nationalized mining industry) they were met with gunshots and tear-gas grenades. Five were killed and thirty wounded. Police searched the nearby houses where some of the demonstrators took refuge. They brutally beat and arrested the men and women they found.

The column broke up and returned to the heavily populated areas where it reformed. The demonstration ended a little later.

## Junta Afraid

It was evident that the military junta was afraid. Confronted by a mass mobilization the military feels lost and is capable of the worst atrocities. The day before they had passed out revolvers, ammunition and money in an attempt to block the demonstration.

After many years, this celebration of April 9 marked a step forward. It was completely successful. The masses demonstrated their hatred of the military regime and their determination to struggle. Despite the brutality of the repression, the masses returned to the streets. The day of an armed confrontation is nearing which will finish off the fascist generals.

Another significant fact is the challenge to the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois currents like the MNR for control of the streets and leadership of the masses. In this struggle the POR is playing a decisive role. The recent unification of the Trotskyist movement has given the party greater force and weight in the eyes of the workers. In the demonstration the number of POR adherents, placards and leaflets was greater than that of any of the other parties.

Throughout the country the celebration of April 9 was much the same. It proved to be a test of strength between the reaction represented by the military junta and the masses, the latter winning the round. At the same time it was a test of strength among the ranks of the left, the POR appearing publicly as the most solid and aggressive.

## N.Y. Puerto Rican Rally Will Back Dominicans

NEW YORK — In response to the call from the Tricontinental Conference, a march is being planned here in solidarity with the struggle of the people of the Dominican Republic.

The New York chapter of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) together with the Dominican Constitutionalist Front are sponsoring a march on Sunday, April 24. The march will begin at 72nd St. and Broadway at 1 p.m. and proceed to 106 St. and Broadway for a rally at 3 p.m.

Speakers at the rally will include Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of MPI, and Luis Arias, a Dominican revolutionary.

# A London Report On Labor Victory

By John Walters

LONDON — There are important and interesting aspects to the great Labor Party victory in the British General Elections. There is the significance of a social democratic party being elected with such a big majority (overall it is 97) at a time when there is no obvious economic crisis. This indicates a crisis of confidence for the British capitalist class.

Secondly, the increased vote for Labor was gained from all sections of the population, but the largest gain came from the middle-class voters, reflected in the decline of the total Liberal vote. This occurred while the mass of the traditional working-class Labor vote not only held firm but increased.

Thirdly, with such a big majority in Parliament the possibility opens up for some of the "left-wing" members of Parliament to rediscover their principles and backbones. If they do, and in most cases it's a big if, and they start raising opposition to Prime Minister Harold Wilson's pro-U.S. policies on Vietnam, his wage freeze, etc., they will receive support from among the rank and file.

## Another Aspect

This brings me to the fourth aspect of the election victory. It demonstrated that the bulk of the British working class is committed to social change, despite nearly 20 years of economic euphoria. This victory will help generate even more self-confidence and militancy.

The most important aspect of this election victory is that it marks a qualitative change in the British political scene. Contrary to what some commentators have said, the election was not merely an endorsement of Wilson. That endorsement flows from the crumbling of the grip of bourgeois ideas on sections of the middle class and the previously back-



Harold Wilson

ward sections of the working class. This is not to say that it is a realization of socialist consciousness, but it is a first step towards it.

While Labor gained 49 seats and the Liberals two, the Tories lost 51. The overall national swing to Labor was 3.1 percent. Labor won 48 percent of the total vote cast as against 44.2 percent in the 1964 elections. Labor's total vote was 13,027,800, nearly a million more than in 1964.

The election can be seen as an act of class consciousness on the part of the working class, in that there was a determination not to let the Tories back into power. This expressed itself in two ways, firstly in the massive increase in Labor's vote, secondly in the decline in the votes of most of the individual Communist Party and other radical candidates who stood in opposition to Labor. In other words there seemed to be a determination not to split the vote and let any Tory in.

# Right-Wing Regime Continues Mass Killings in Indonesia

(World Outlook) — Reports continue to add new details about the fearful mass slaughter of members or alleged members of the Indonesian Communist Party which began last October, and is still going on. The April issue of Atlas magazine carries an English translation of an article that appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* telling about the killings in Bali.

"Villages were burned, the houses of leading Communists plundered and the Chinese were not overlooked," writes the author, Adelbert Weinstein. "There was a general slaughter. Bali is still gripped by violence."

## Burying Dead

Weinstein tells about arriving in the capital, Denpasar. "All over Bali they were burying their dead. The rampage had begun three days before. There were relatively few victims in Denpasar. Fifty Communists killed, the rest were being held in jail and beaten mercilessly."

In Negara things were much worse. "There were rumors of 16,000 dead. Negara is the Communist stronghold on Bali. At the sound of the name all faces froze. We asked about Negara in many villages and were hesitantly told that the Reds had been mowed down in rows by machine guns, but this turned out to be a legend. However, three thousand Communists were killed there. The accounts imply that the Army took

a direct hand in the mass murder." The reporter continues: "Sesetan is a tragic sight: not a single house is still standing, the wooden huts were burned down, and the stone bungalows of leading Communists were smashed by iron bars."

New York Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger provided further facts in an April 13 dispatch from Jakarta. "It is impossible to give any precise figure on the number slain. One careful diplomatic estimate puts the total at 300,000. Others range higher."

## Offers List

Sulzberger lists what he describes as "many monstrous slaughters" in the twentieth century: "Turkey's Armenian massacres; Stalin's starvation of the Kulaks; Hitler's Jewish genocide; the Moslem-Hindu killings following India's partition; the enormous purges after China's communization."

Sulzberger's reference to "enormous purges in China" after the victory of the revolution in 1949 is highly dubious. He would have been much more accurate if he had recalled the truly colossal slaughter undertaken by Chiang Kai-shek in suppressing the revolutionary upsurge of 1925-27, which bears close resemblance in a number of ways to the current slaughter in Indonesia. In any case, Sulzberger is accurate in adding: "Indonesia's bloody persecution of its Communists rivals these terrible events in both scale and savagery."

# Tricontinental Issues Appeal For Pro-Dominican Actions

The following call for a week of solidarity with the Dominican people April 24-30, was issued by the General Secretariat of the Tricontinental Conference, held in Cuba in January.

When the insurrection of the Dominican people, aimed at the reestablishment of the 1963 Constitution, and against the military forces submissive to imperialism, was already at the brink of victory, the United States ordered the Marines to intervene. By so doing, the U.S. government once again cynically violated the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the OAS. The landing of the Marines on Dominican territory on April 28 filled the peoples of the world with indignation. During the course of the counterrevolutionary war, 42,000 marines were landed, and more than 3,000 Dominican patriots had fallen victim to aggression.

The Dominican Republic has become a country administered by the U.S. government, which makes use of the UN as an instrument at its service and mobilizes its Latin American lackeys through that Colonial Ministry known as the OAS in order to create a regional counterrevolutionary army. The governments of Brazil, Nicaragua, Honduras, Paraguay and Costa Rica have lent themselves to the maneuver. Trying to conceal those who are truly responsible, these governments sent troops to suppress the Dominican people in their struggle for freedom and independence.

What is taking place in the Dominican Republic is a sample of what imperialism is willing to do in Latin America and in the rest of the world. That is why it is so necessary to struggle with decision against the aims of imperialism. The FIRST SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA, in support of the struggle of the Dominican people, resolved to proclaim April 24 to 30, which marks the anniversary of the main battles of the insurrection and of the defense against aggression, as Dominican

Solidarity Week, in repudiation of the Yankee aggression from which the Dominican people is suffering.

Therefore, fulfilling the agreement of the Tricontinental Conference, we address this appeal to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and to all the peoples of the world, to:

- Organize in their respective countries from April 24 to 30 the Week of Solidarity with the Dominican People;

- Demand that U.S. imperialism and the governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Honduras withdraw their troops from Dominican territory;

- Energetically condemn the creation and the operations of that regional counterrevolutionary army known as the Interamerican Peace Force;

- Firmly support the Dominican people in its struggle for freedom and independence;

- Intensify and broaden the movement in favor of solidarity and support, in favor of political, moral and material aid to the Dominican people in their struggle. To carry out these aims by all possible means; to organize protests, condemnations, meetings and demonstrations against Yankee aggression, as well as to provide the Dominicans with all possible material aid.

We call upon the National Liberation Movements to intensify revolutionary struggle in their respective countries, in the awareness that the best fighting solidarity that can be offered to another people engaged in struggle, is to achieve one's own liberation.

We call upon the peoples of the world to put forth the following slogans during the week of April 24 to 30, and to keep them alive after that date:

- REPUDIATE THE AGGRESSION OF U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS OAS PUPPETS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC!

- GIVE OUR UTMOST FOR THE VICTORY OF THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE IN ITS JUST STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE!

—Havana, March 1966



# 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.]

## Pedro Albizu Campos

New York, N.Y.  
April 21 will be the first anniversary of the death of Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, the father of Puerto Rico. No man has ever sacrificed so much for the liberation of Puerto Rico as has Pedro Albizu. His revolutionary fervor and his popularity among the masses is unequalled. His wisdom lives in the hearts of all freedom fighters struggling for the self-determination of Puerto Rico.

Some day, in a new society, history will echo his name. Albizu died from the strain of continuous experiments performed on his body by the American government. Yet, to the last second of

his life he resisted the brutal torture he had been facing. Beaten, tortured and crippled, he was still able to write letters to the Puerto Rican independence movement outside the walls of prison, lifting the momentum of the struggle.

Today the struggle continues as vigorously as it did in Albizu's day. And in a small country in Southeast Asia a brave people apply Albizu's words in practice: "La Patria es el sacrificio y el valor." (The fatherland is sacrifice and valor.)

I want to take time out on this day to thank the many American friends who have supported and aided our just cause.

Yours for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam,

Alfredo Peña

## Aid for Anti-Fascist

New York, N.Y.  
I should like to appeal to your readers to help save the life of a militant young Spanish anarchist, Francisco Abarca.

In October of 1963 he was arrested in Belgium (where he had sought asylum) as a result of an extradition order issued by the Swiss government which charged him with an attempt against Iberian Airlines. (A valise had caught fire on an airport runway, harming no one and damaging nothing. It was charged that this incident was part of a series of terroristic acts allegedly planned by the Iberian Liberation Council.)

Thanks to a vigorous campaign for Abarca's defense, the Belgian government was forced to deny the extradition order and to free him.

Arrested again by the French police by virtue of an international order issued by the *Juge d'Instruction* at Geneva, this young militant is again in danger. If the Swiss succeed in extraditing him from Belgium, how can they refuse an extradition order on the part of Franco?

Let us do all we can to free Francisco Abarca.

Send your protests to the Minister of Justice, 13 Place Vendôme 75, Paris 1.

More information may be obtained by writing the *Comité International de Soutien aux Antifascistes Ibériques*, 5 rue Aubriot, Paris IV.

Ruth Porter

## Assails Support to Malcolm

Philadelphia, Pa.  
I have just begun reading *The Militant* and, with a few reservations, think it an excellent newspaper. But after having read and admired most of your articles, I was surprised to see that you approve of Malcolm X and "black nationalism."

"Black nationalism," better known as bigotry to those not euphemistically inclined, is a movement that encourages inter-racial hatred in the camp of labor. Rather than unite workers to further their common interest, it divides them and serves the

bourgeoisie admirably.

An interview with Martin Luther King would be more in keeping with your principles since he, in promoting racial harmony, advances the cause of socialism. But if you do continue Malcolm X *Speaks* I hope you will be fair and give Robert Shelton and the KKK equal time.

Daniel Murphy

[We, of course, disagree emphatically with Mr. Murphy. Malcolm X was a vigorous opponent of the KKK and racial bigotry, and urged black people to unite and defend themselves against such monstrosities. He was not opposed to unity between black and white workers against their common oppressors but believed, entirely correctly in our view, that black people had to first unite and organize themselves under their own leadership before there could be a meaningful and effective alliance with white workers. We believe his efforts to unite black people for a struggle against the racist system contributed greatly to their advancement and to the cause of socialism.—EDITOR.]

## For Liberty

Youngstown, Ohio  
I was introduced to your publication by a friend of mine who subscribes. While I am a conservative and devout capitalist and therefore disagree with many of

## Thought for the Week

"Sao Paulo is really the town of hard work and money. People go to Rio to have a good time. I love Paris because I am most at home here, but London is more fun. The best time that I ever had was in New York last September when Fiona Von Thyssen and I went to all the Yé Yé dancing places. We wore blue jeans and no jewels at all."—Princess Virginia Ira von und zu Furstenberg, as quoted in an April 14 dispatch to the *New York Times*.

the social reforms you support, I must hail you and all your subscribers for breaking the barrier of news control in the U.S.

I am bothered by this accelerating trend towards blind patriotism. I am directing my words to those people who would have all antiwar demonstrators thrown in jail or to the front lines to be "executed" by the V.C., these people who claim to be 100 percent Americans. What is 100 percent Americanism? Is it conforming to all government policies on the assumption that government is all-knowing? Is it loyalty based on prejudice against all other races? Is it resorting to any means to protect American capitalist imperialists? If so, I'm against it.

Blind patriotism which contains itself within certain natural or man-made boundaries can only result in the same type of supernaturalism practiced by the Nazi Germans who believed that they were the only people worthy of living comfortably and that all others should be reduced to slaves

or shot.

Don't misunderstand me. I have nothing against loyalty where that loyalty is to people on the basis of merit and not to where they live, where it is to ideas or even ideals. My philosophy is exactly represented in this quote which, sorry to say, I don't know the author of: "Where liberty dwells, there is my country."

And if I cannot dissent from government policy without being labeled communist or traitor then there is certainly no liberty here. When I speak out against my government it is not because I wish I were born in China instead of the United States. It is because I am concerned about tomorrow's citizens. I don't want them forced to become sheep in the government's pasture, grazing on government hand-outs, or fattened for the slaughter in war zones to protect the political futures of a few elite bureaucrats. And if this is un-American, then I'm sorry.

Enclosed is a \$1 contribution.

J. Arthur Frazier

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**STALIN'S ANTI-SEMITIC BLOOD PURGES ADMITTED BY JEWISH PAPER IN POLAND**—Stalinist sources in Poland and New York have now confirmed Leon Trotsky's charge that Stalin's murder-machine in the Soviet Union systematically committed the most monstrous anti-Semitic outrages. The Jewish paper, *Folksstimme*, published in Warsaw, Poland, on April 4 revealed the tragic facts of the mass slaughter of the leaders of Jewish cultural and political activity in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist purge of Jews occurred in two waves: in the Thirties during the infamous Moscow trials and in the period following World War II up to 1953.

In another development, the Moscow trials of 1934-38, in which all the old leaders of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin were liquidated with Leon Trotsky as the principal accused, were admitted to have been frame-ups with Stalin as the master architect. This admission comes from Khrushchev in his speech at the closed session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union last February. Borba, a government paper in Yugoslavia, published extensive excerpts from the Khrushchev report in which it was admitted that Stalin personally directed the purge of old Bolsheviks in the Thirties, fabricated the confessions, obtained "through the crudest kind of pressure . . . by physical means," . . . — April 23, 1956.

## 20 Years Ago

Pfc. Charles Ferguson, 27-year-old Negro veteran and one of two brothers murdered on February 5 in Freeport, L.I., by a Jim-Crow cop, on April 15 was completely cleared by an army investigation board of a charge of "misconduct."

Charles and three other brothers, returning from a family reunion, had protested the refusal of a white restaurant proprietor at the bus terminal to serve them coffee. After their departure, the proprietor called a cop, Joseph Romeika, who trailed the unarmed brothers, lined them up against a wall at the point of a gun and cold-bloodedly shot to death Charles and Alonzo, seriously wounded Ships Cook 3/c Joseph and jailed Richard, 3rd Army combat veteran. — April 27, 1946.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**View from Dallas**—The Council of War Veterans of Greater Dallas is against antiwar demonstrations. In a unanimously adopted resolution, it expressed the view that "many of the so-called peace demonstrations and protests are Communist, Nazi or fascist inspired."

**Close Figuring**—The *Wall Street Journal* disclosed that manufacturers like the new short skirts because they use up less material.

**In LBJ Land**—The state of Texas is planning a Lyndon B. Johnson state park across the way from the LBJ ranch. Meanwhile Lyndon dropped in at his old alma mater, Southwest State Texas College. Among other things, he discussed plans to move a two-story house he lived in as a student onto a campus site.

**Testimonial**—Maybe it was tongue-in-cheek, but the April 9 *Chicago Daily News* offered this editorial comment on the revelation about the Green Berets peddling phony "Vietcong" flags stained with chicken blood: "... they provide an insight into the quality that makes a fighting outfit great. Ingenuity is a key to survival, and if the Green Berets hadn't already proved it on the battlefield, they've proved it now."

**Crusading TV**—Britain's Independent Television Network broke ground by showing a docu-

mentary entitled, "The Vatican's Millions," a study of the fabulous wealth of the Roman Catholic Church. There were a few deletions made, such as references to the church as "a big business corporation" and suggestions that some Vatican investments went into war industries. Also, the film was not shown in the Midlands and southern region of England, including London, where the bulk of the country's Catholics live.

**Go, Man!**—Eunice Gore says he was inspired to run for governor of Alabama by a divine revelation. He flipped his hat into the ring after reading a verse of scripture that revealed: "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run that ye may obtain." Eight other aspirants for the Democratic nomination are apparently similarly inspired.

**Against Non-Exclusion Policy**—A member of the Young Americans for Freedom complained bitterly in a letter to the *New York*

*Daily News* that their Union Square demonstration in support of the Vietnam war had been "infiltrated" by American Nazis who got all the publicity. He said next time "these Nazis try to infiltrate us, they'll be in plenty of trouble."

**Georgia Culture**—It's not just cotton pickers who get low wages in Georgia. The minimum wage for members of the Atlanta Symphony is \$75 a week.

**He Did, It Did**—The following letter appeared in the *Akron, Ohio, Beacon-Journal*: "I was told in 1964 that if I voted for Barry Goldwater that taxes would go up and there would be further war in Vietnam. They were right—I voted for Goldwater and taxes have gone up and there is more war in Vietnam."

**Eye-Catchers**—A New York advertising firm speculates that the rise in vandal damage to its subway posters is because "slogans used in advertising are catchier and get more attention these days."

—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

873 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10003

Name .....  
Street ..... Zip .....  
City ..... State .....

If you enjoy reading *The Militant* and are interested in what the young socialist movement is thinking and doing, you will want to subscribe to America's leading young socialist magazine

## THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

\$1 a year (six issues)

Send your dollar to

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

Name .....  
Street ..... Zip .....  
City ..... State .....



## Lindsay: 'Cop Trouble?' Tell It to Police Dep't'

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — The problem of police brutality is an acute one in this city, particularly for Negroes and Puerto Ricans who are the principal target of "foul-mouthed, club-swinging, trigger-happy cops."

Because of this problem, the demand of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities for an independent, civilian police review board became an important issue in last November's mayoralty election.

Liberal Republican John Lindsay made a lot of political capital out of the issue. While dodging the specifics of just what kind of a board should be created, he definitely created the impression that he favored some kind of independent body. Such a board "should have its own office and staff, so that a citizen with a complaint need not go to the Police Department," he declared in a campaign speech last May.

Such declarations made it possible for civil rights organizations like CORE to join the pro-Lindsay coalition of businessmen, some union officials, liberals and even a good section of the radical movement. James Farmer, then CORE national director, was a Lindsay enthusiast.

### The Deal

Now Mayor Lindsay, safely in office, is getting down to brass tacks as to what kind of police review board he favors. This is the deal:

A) Take the present worthless board of three police officials and jazz up its image by adding four civilians to it.

B) Make sure that the racist cops and Birchers who are violently opposed to an independent board don't get too excited by authorizing the police commissioner to select the civilian members of his board.



John Lindsay

C) Assign policemen to act as investigators of civilian complaints!

This last bit of frosting on the cake was explained with a straight face as necessary because the city's finances are in such bad shape that there isn't enough cash around to hire civilian investigators. (This was announced the same day it was reported that socialite Sharmon Douglas has been put on the municipal payroll at an as yet undisclosed salary to entertain visiting VIPs.)

In a bitter comment on Lindsay's proposal, Roy Innis, chairman of Harlem CORE, branded it "a cruel hoax" and an "affront to the intelligence of the black community."

We submit that the same goes for the advice offered by those leaders who tell the black community that it can solve its problems by voting for capitalist politicians like John Lindsay.

## THEY DEMANDED THEIR RIGHTS

# Calif. Grape Pickers March

By Hal Verb

SACRAMENTO, Calif. — The Delano grape strikers' historic 25-day 300-mile march to the Sacramento Capitol steps ended Sunday, April 10, with its leaders threatening to call a general farm labor strike if the State did not heed their demands for collective bargaining rights and union recognition. At a mass rally held that afternoon in the tree-shaded Capitol Park an estimated 10,000 were on hand to cheer the grape strikers and listen to various speakers denounce the State for its failure to answer the strikers' demands.

The march grew in numbers from the original 67 grape farm workers who began the "pilgrimage" from Delano under the banners of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the American flag, the Mexican flag and dozens of red pennants with black eagles — symbol of the National Farm Workers Association. The NFWA was founded in 1962 by Cesar Chavez and is comprised mainly of Mexican-Americans.

### Union Recognition

Grape workers have been striking vineyards in the rich and fertile San Joaquin Valley's Delano area since Sept. 8, 1965. They have demanded union recognition, improved housing and working conditions, and more pay.

The first major break in the solid line of resistance of the powerful growers was reached when Schenley Industries on April

6 agreed to recognize NFWA as the sole bargaining representative of its field workers. The gigantic DiGiorgio Corporation had offered to allow farm workers to vote on whether they wanted to be represented by a union but Cesar Chavez rejected the offer because, he said, it was a "booby trap full of preconditions" — one of them being that only strike-breakers would be allowed to vote.

Governor Edmund G. Brown was a special target of the marchers. His promise to speak to the strikers but only on the Saturday before the final day of the march or on Monday (the day after the Capitol rally) was ridiculed. Some marchers kept up a constant chant along their trek shouting (in Spanish): "Governor Brown: today — there is no tomorrow!"

### 7,000 March

This writer joined the march at approximately 9 a.m. Sunday in the climactic last five miles at a stop-off point in West Sacramento where the marchers held Easter services at the Our Lady of Grace School. There, newcomers to the march arrived in cars and chartered buses to swell the ranks of the grape strikers to some 7,000 before beginning the five mile trek to their destination. Included in these supporters were people from all walks of life such as civil rights workers, students, teamsters, and clergymen.

As the final five mile leg of the march got under way at 11

## AND IT'S NOT EVEN A LAW

# Detroit Cops 'Stop and Frisk'

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, hotly pursuing the political support of the Negro and liberal community in his bid for a seat in the U. S. Senate, has now publicly renounced his demand for a stop-and-frisk law.

On Nov. 18, 1965, Cavanagh called for a state law allowing police to stop and search citizens on "reasonable suspicion." The Mayor asked Corporation Counsel Robert Reese to draft state legislation patterned after a stop-and-frisk law which went into effect in New York on July 1, 1964.

There was immediate opposition to such legislation from the local civil rights groups. Detroit Negroes insisted that a stop-and-frisk law would give police further license to harass the black community. Mayor Cavanagh insisted, "It's a good law and citizens need it for their protection."

A city crime conference was scheduled in order to bring all protesting parties together and brainwash them into supporting stop-and-frisk. Opposition to the law remained so intense and became so wide-spread that the crime conference was never held. Cavanagh began to backtrack on his stand and in January he denied that he had really asked for such a law. "I proposed that our corporation counsel take a look at a possible piece of legislation," he explained soothingly.

### Bill Killed

In a March speech, State Supreme Court Justice Theodore Souris stated that a stop-and-frisk law was clearly unconstitutional. Nevertheless, State Senator Raymond Dzendzel (Democrat from Detroit) pushed a bill in the Michigan legislature calling for stop-and-frisk. On April 1 Dzendzel's proposal was killed in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Several days later Cavanagh hailed the death of stop-and-frisk.

Several important points are raised by this furor over stop-and-frisk in Michigan:

First, the most vocal supporters of stop-and-frisk legislation have been leaders of the Democratic Party in Michigan: Mayor Jerome Cavanagh and State Senator Raymond Dzendzel.

### Negro Vote

Second, Mayor Cavanagh's retreat on stop-and-frisk was an obvious political maneuver to swing more support to his bid for the Democratic nomination to the U.S. Senate. His opponent for the nomination, former governor G. Mennen Williams, has the backing of many Negroes and Cavanagh is trying to cut into this support. The question comes up: What kind of legislation will Cavanagh propose when he is no longer worried about courting the support of Detroit's large Negro population?

And last but certainly not least, the plain truth of the matter is that stop-and-frisk is being used every day by Detroit police—constitutional or not!

John Millhone, chief editorial writer of the Detroit Free Press, gave an account of what he saw

and heard when he rode along with two police officers on a normal night's cruise around the city. He reported that he personally witnessed several stop-and-frisks during this police unit's eight-hour shift. "Other policemen throughout the city were making other stops and other frisks," Millhone explained. "They are routine . . ."

"The law wouldn't give policemen a new, expanded power. It would put into writing one already exercised."

This Free Press editorial writer stated what people in the black ghettos of America have known for a long, long time: The police work inside the law or outside the law as it suits their purposes. In the North as in the South, the badge is higher than the law, higher than the Constitution, higher than the politicians' promises of a fair deal and a Great Society.

A do-it-yourself project is in order. A do-it-yourself political movement independent of the maneuvering, double-talking politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties. A do-it-yourself protective movement to shield ghetto residents from criminals in general and from the criminals-with-a-badge especially.

## Benefit in New York Aids Legal Defense of Harlem 6

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK — A benefit performance to raise support for the appeals of the murder convictions of the "Harlem Six" held here April 17 was impressively successful. Town Hall was filled, and considerable funds were raised by the Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience, the committee organizing the defense of the six youths.

The evening featured a dramatization of the book *The Torture of Mothers* by Truman Nelson, which tells the story of the six young men from Harlem who were victimized by the New York police and unjustly convicted of murder.

The mothers of the defendants sat on the stage during the dramatization. The story was told largely in the voices of the young men themselves, recorded on tape.

Civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn spoke, explaining how he had become involved in the case and how the youths had been denied legal representation of their own choosing.

William Stringfellow, attorney and author, spoke as a representative of the Charter Group, and Abbey Lincoln and Max Roach performed a selection from "The Freedom Now Suite." Nathan

Schwerner, father of one of the three civil rights workers who were murdered in Mississippi in the summer of 1964 spoke. Truman Nelson, who was in the audience, was introduced and said a few words, and the evening was capped with a performance by Dick Gregory. Actor and playwright Ossie Davis moderated.

The six young men — Daniel Hamm, 19, Wallace Baker, 20, Robert Rice, 18, Walter Thomas, 19, William Craig, 18, and Ronald Felder, 19 — were sentenced to life imprisonment last fall for the murder of Mrs. Margit Sugar in the Sugar's used-clothing store.

### Obtain Confessions

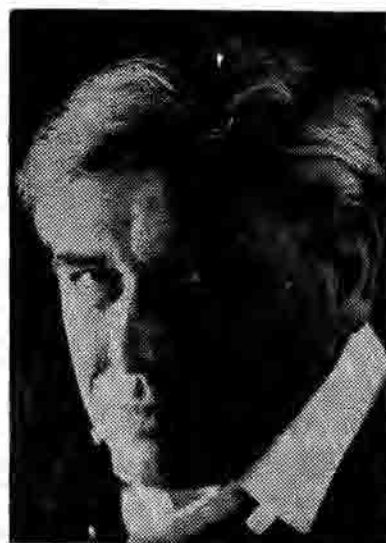
Twelve days before the murder, in April 1964, Hamm and Baker were arrested during the "fruit stand incident." At that time, school children accused of overturning cartons at a Harlem fruit stand were attacked by police. Attempts by bystanders to intervene resulted in the arrest of five persons, including the two young men. They then suffered a beating at the hands of the police.

Following the murder, the police rounded up Hamm, Baker and some of their friends. The police beat confessions from three of them which were quickly repudiated.

The mothers and their sons, unable to bear the costs themselves, asked the court to appoint as their lawyers the civil rights attorneys they trusted. The court, however, appointed other lawyers in whom they had no confidence.

"We believe that without the illegally-obtained confessions and witnesses subject to police pressure, no conviction could have been obtained," the Charter Group declares.

The Charter Group has retained Conrad Lynn, William M. Kunstler, Mary Kaufman and Gene Condon, the lawyers originally chosen by the defendants, to prepare a friend-of-the-court brief in the appeal. They welcome all who wish to aid in the appeal, and can be reached at: Charter Group, Box 346 Cathedral Station, New York, N. Y. 10025.



Truman Nelson