

THE MILITANT

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D.C. Vietnam Parley Slates New Protest

By Fred Halstead

A national Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam has been called for March 25-26 by the convention of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The convention, held in Washington, D.C. over the Thanksgiving weekend, also declared unanimous support to a series of antiwar demonstrations scheduled to take place in the South on Lincoln's Birthday, Feb. 12.

The four-day convention was attended by over a thousand delegates and active members of a wide variety of radical, pacifist, religious and other groups opposed to the war in Vietnam, as well as of the local independent committees against the war which have sprung up across the country since the April 17 March on Washington.

These committees, while welcoming members of other organizations including the various radical parties and youth groups, are composed in their majority of people who do not belong to any other radical or peace organization. They are able to organize people opposed to the war who are not committed to any particular multi-issue social or political approach.

A major feature of the convention was a dispute over whether or not the independent committees standing for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam should form a national organization of their own. Those opposed to this idea contended such an organization would rival the National Coordinating Committee and would amount to a "split." Those favoring the idea contended that on the contrary, they supported the NCC as a broad coordinating body serving a wide spectrum of groups, of which the proposed new organization would only be a part.

The proposed new national organization is desirable, they contended, because of the need to have a national organization against the war in Vietnam which could take a withdraw-the-troops-now position and which would be responsible to the independent committees. The NCC serves a different function, they pointed out, and could not take

such a position without narrowing the number and variety of groups which it offers coordinating service to and which were represented as delegates at the convention.

The dispute broke out at the opening session of the convention and took the form of whether or not those members of independent committees who wished to discuss this question should be allowed to hold a workshop for that purpose.

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Militant photo by Finer

PROTEST VIETNAM WAR. Scene from speakers platform at Sylvan Amphitheater during Nov. 27 March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam. On stage are members of New York's Bread and Puppet Theater whose performances at antiwar demonstrations have been high points of slashing social theater.

Washington Maps New Escalation

By Herman Porter

NOV. 30 — Washington's determination to escalate the war in Vietnam further has been underscored by recent events. The alibi for the intensification of the war was offered by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara during his two-day visit to Vietnam. He announced that he was "surprised by the intensity and scale of the attacks by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces in recent weeks." He asserted the guerrillas were receiving "increased aid" from North Vietnam, "and clearly this action will require a counteraction by the South Vietnamese and U.S. forces."

The next day, after the 1,200-man South Vietnamese 7th Regiment was virtually wiped out by the guerrillas, McNamara said the "decision of the Vietcong to stand and fight . . . expressed a determination to carry on the conflict which can lead to only one conclusion — that it will be a long war."

That the U.S. is preparing for a long and large-scale war is evident from the enormous con-

struction program it has undertaken in South Vietnam. Hanson Baldwin, the *New York Times'* military analyst reported from Saigon Nov. 28 that "Never before in any war, according to officers in charge here, has so much construction work been planned for one country in so short a time. By late next summer most of the projects now started or still in the planning stage are expected to be largely finished."

Four new U.S. Army hospitals are to be set up in Japan before the end of the year to handle the anticipated increase in American casualties, a Nov. 27 *Reuters* dispatch reports.

Brutality Reported

More of the truth about American racist brutality against the Vietnamese people has been published recently. Definite instances of torturing and murdering prisoners are still attributed solely to the South Vietnamese troops, but "rumors" and "reports" of similar actions by Americans are now also printed. The Nov. 28 *Times* reports: "Some accounts of the Air-mobile Division's battle in the

ing anti-Vietnam war committees in recent weeks — and often in none too friendly surroundings.

These included a University of Kentucky group; one from Tennessee A & I, Nashville; one from Columbia, South Carolina; and a group from the University of Texas whose members were carrying signs reading "Withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam," and "Dollars the Cause of War."

A handicap that many of the participants had overcome in order to get to Washington was the cancellation of chartered bus-trips to the march, from New York and some New England areas. But this seemed to make the participants more determined to get here. They arranged car-pools and took trains or regular bus trips at higher rates, in order to make it to Washington.

The dominant mood of the demonstrators was more militant, more

outspoken in its criticism of U.S. war policies, than the tenor of the picket-signs and speeches given by the sponsoring organization, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

A number of things pointed up this difference. Although most of the marchers carried SANE picket signs reading "Honor Peace, Stop the Bombings," and "War Erodes the Great Society," some 2,000 signs reading "Bring the G.I.'s Home, Now," were also carried. No one seemed disturbed by this except the SANE spokesmen.

A further example of the militant mood of the marchers was their response to the sales of radical and socialist newspapers, magazines and pamphlets. A woman selling *The Militant* told me the response was unusually friendly. One thousand copies of a pamphlet distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance, entitled "War and Revolution in Vietnam" were sold, along with 800 copies of *The Militant* and 1,000 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

The reaction of the audience to the main speakers in the afternoon amphitheater session marked the difference between the participants' militancy and the "moderate," "cautious," and above all "anti-communist" speakers selected by SANE. There was very little applause for spokesmen who began their prayers and speeches with the disclaimer that they did not favor a victory of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, and that they favored "negotiations" instead of the "extremist" demands for "immediate withdrawal."

Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas was loudly applauded when he quipped "I'd rather see America save her soul than her face," but the rest of his speech did not bear out this assertion. Thomas and the other SANE spokesmen were quite accurately characterized by a *Washington Post* editorialist as spokesmen of the "loyal opposition."

By far the most enthusiastic response was given to Carl Oglesby, the next-to-final speaker, the youngest, and the chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society. (By the time Oglesby was given the platform, however, at least half the audience had drifted away.)

(Continued on Page 3)

U.S. to Enlarge Morgue in Saigon

"SAIGON — Some effects of the increasing U.S. toll were felt at Building 300, a low structure on a back road at Saigon's Tan Son Nhut Airport that serves as a morgue and handles the remains of all U.S. service men killed in Vietnam. The building will be enlarged 50 per cent, enabling it to handle 200 bodies, and the staff will be boosted from 18 to 25 . . . Also, in the interest of morale and because of the higher tolls, the U.S. Command has halted memorial services that until recently were held before each planeload of bodies left the airport for the U.S." — The Nov. 25 *New York Herald Tribune*.

Iadrang River Valley last week said United States soldiers had shot North Vietnamese prisoners."

In a special report to the *Times* on Nov. 29, Neil Sheehan described the destruction of the town of Duchai by American planes and ships:

"In mid-August, United States and Vietnamese military officials decided the Communists were using Duchai as a base for the operations in the area and that it should be destroyed.

"For the next two months . . . it was periodically and ferociously shelled by Seventh Fleet destroyers and bombed by Vietnamese and American planes.

"Vietnamese government officials are certain that at least 184 civilians died during Duchai's two months of agony, but they concede . . . no one really knows how many civilians were killed. Some reasonable estimates run as high as 600.

"Many more civilians would have been killed if a majority of the inhabitants had not abandoned their homes in terror and fled to nearby government-controlled areas . . .

"Duchai's solid brick and stucco houses, the product of generations of hard-earned savings by its fishermen, were reduced to rubble or blasted into skeletons . . .

"At least 10 other hamlets in this heavily populated province of about 700,000 persons . . . have been destroyed as thoroughly as the five in Duchai . . .

Innocent Victims

"Each month 600 to 1,000 civilians wounded by bombs, shells, bullets, and napalm are brought to the provincial hospital in Quangnai town, the only civilian hospital in the province.

"Officials say that about 30 percent of these cases require major surgery."

Meanwhile, the opposition to and uneasiness about the war by large numbers of Americans is testified to by Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) in an article in the Nov. 28 *Times* magazine. He writes: "People are wondering: Are we to be self-appointed firemen scurrying to quench every revolutionary blaze, no matter how repugnant the government that sounds the alarm?"

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The Missouri Teamster, one of the few union papers that allows its writers to voice criticism of U.S. policies, was recently attacked by rabid union-hater Victor Riesel.

Riesel accused the editor, Jake McCarthy, of attacking Pope Paul's appearance in the U.S. in an Oct. 7 article. "I do not believe it inconsequential," Riesel complained, "that on the same editorial page there appears a defense of two college professors who have publicly expressed the hope that the Viet Cong will win the struggle now flaring throughout Southeast Asia."

The Teamster has not, however, made any apparent effort to censor its writers. Carl Leathwood, in a Nov. 5th article calls attention to "an interesting item in the press last week about the court-martialing of three soldiers in Vietnam because they refused to fight. Did you notice that all were Negroes? That two of them were from the South? An old veteran politician like Johnson should know that when three persons actually balk at orders,

knowing the harsh penalties, there are many more who have thought the same kind of thoughts but didn't have the courage to act.

"Without knowing the facts, we can easily speculate that these colored boys had thoughts like this: 'Here I am being sent to kill colored people in Asia, while back home white people are killing my people and the government in Washington is letting them do it.'"

"The failure of Congress and the administration to repeal Section 14(b) was the heaviest blow suffered by labor since passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947," according to an editorial in the November M.E.S.A. Educator, published by the Mechanics' Educational Society of America (AFL-CIO).

It accused President Johnson of giving only "lip service to labor's needs."

"It's about time," the editorial observed, "the AFL, through its COPE organization, set up a national Workingman's Party that would have an honest and genuine interest in the welfare of the workers."

Some 400,000 American workers were underpaid nearly \$75 million in minimum wages and overtime earnings last year, according to the U.S. Labor Department. Its report reveals that violations of the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts have increased every year for the last ten years.

It is estimated that nearly \$50 million of the above amount will never be recovered since many workers fail to press charges out of fear of losing their jobs or being otherwise victimized.

A Connecticut banana wholesaler has been fined \$22,000 for hiring 9-to-14-year-old boys and paying them only \$12 to \$30 for a full week's work.

The U.S. Labor Department reports that it found 18,605 children illegally employed in the year ending last June 30. Of these, over 7,000 are on farms and more than 11,000 are in other businesses.

—Tom Leonard

Anti-Poverty Teach-In To Be Held in New York

NEW YORK — Students from the schools of Social Work in the metropolitan New York area are planning a massive "Teach-In" which will concern itself with questioning the substance, philosophy, and programs of the government's anti-poverty program. The "Teach-In" is to be held Dec. 5 at the Ethical Culture Auditorium, 2 West 64th Street, from 1:30-10 P.M.

The group has invited experts; teachers and practitioners from the anti-poverty field throughout the country, whose views are both favorable to and critical of the government's present program.

The students have invited the following speakers: Dr. Richard Cloward, Columbia University, and "Father of Mobilization for Youth"; William Haddad, former Inspector-General of the Office of Economic Opportunity; Tom Hayden of Students for a Democratic Society and the Newark Community Union Project; Ted Velez, East Harlem's Tenant Council; Professor Joseph L. Vigilante, Dean of the Adelphi University School of Social Work; Dr. Tom Levin, former Director of Mississippi's largest Operation Headstart program; Charles Grosser and Dr. Mark Tarail of the New York University School of Social Work.

Announce Program For N.Y. Dinner to Honor E. D. Nixon

NEW YORK — Farrell Dobbs, Clifton DeBerry and Fred Halstead will pay tribute to E.D. Nixon at a dinner where he will be guest of honor here Saturday, Dec. 11.

The dinner will salute Nixon, the organizer of the historic Montgomery bus boycott, on the tenth anniversary of that historic civil rights battle.

Nixon, a long-time rights fighter and unionist, had initiated the boycott and persuaded Rev. Martin Luther King to accept the chairmanship of the movement.

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, went to Montgomery during the boycott while he was the Socialist Workers presidential candidate. There to gather information that he used to mobilize support for the boycott during his campaign, he came to know Nixon. Dobbs will act as toastmaster at the dinner.

Fred Halstead provided on-the-spot coverage of the boycott movement for *The Militant*, including an interview with Nixon.

Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate and 1965 New York mayoralty candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, was living in Chicago at the time of the boycott and was active in raising money for a station wagon for the boycotters car pool. He delivered the station wagon to Montgomery and met Nixon while there.

Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, the dinner will be held at 116 University Place. For reservations and information phone AL 5-7852.

Many Detroiters Hear And Meet I. B. Tabata

DETROIT — I.B. Tabata, militant South African anti-apartheid leader, had a fruitful visit in Detroit as part of his national speaking tour. Mr. Tabata is speaking in this country under the auspices of the Alexander Defense Committee which is defending Dr. Neville Alexander and other imprisoned foes of the Verwoerd regime.

Mr. Tabata held a news conference at the Sheraton-Cadillac hotel which received good radio, press and TV coverage.

He spoke to a meeting of 250 students at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and to about 85 at Wayne State University.

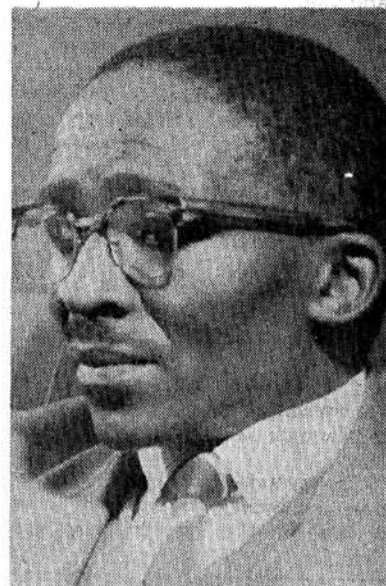
More than 500 people heard him at a rally at Central Methodist Church. State Senator Coleman Young presided.

He was interviewed by radio stations WGPR and WJR and by the *Michigan Chronicle*, the state's largest Negro newspaper.

Mrs. Joseph Gomon, well known civil libertarian, and Congressman John Conyers held a reception for him at the home of Mrs. Rosemary Dolinski, editor of *Vanguard*, the Trade Union Leadership Council paper.

His visit also included a speech at the General Council of Ford Local 600, UAW, attended by about 250, and two other receptions. One was at the home of Attorney Milton Henry, 1964 Michigan Freedom Now candidate, and the other at the home of Edgar Holt, president of the State NAACP. The latter was attended by some 250 people.

In all its aspects, Mr. Tabata's



I. B. Tabata

visit here was extremely successful. His description of the African freedom movement was extremely informative and educational and the various meetings and receptions for him raised a good amount of the funds so urgently needed by the Alexander Defense Committee to carry on its vital work.

Coast ACLU Fights For Anti-War Cop Discharged in L.A.

The American Civil Liberties Union announced that its Southern California affiliate is continuing the fight to vindicate Los Angeles policeman Michael B. Hannon who was suspended for six months for participating in civil rights demonstrations while off duty.

A.L. Wirin, counsel of the Southern California Civil Liberties Union, has initiated court action on behalf of Hannon who was tried by a department board last July.

The trial board found Hannon guilty of "conduct unbecoming a police officer" on several counts. He was found guilty, among other things, of participating in and organizing a demonstration against U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic; using "provocative language" against an American Nazi Party picket (whom he called a "swine"); and writing an article containing "vituperative, denunciatory and scurrilous statements" about the police for a CORE newsletter.

Hannon, who is a member of CORE and the Socialist Party, charges he has been subjected to harassment by fellow officers because of his views.

Wirin noted that political neutrality is not customary in the police department and that bulletin boards in headquarters contain right-wing literature, including that of the John Birch Society.

'Open End' Will Feature Debate on Vietnam Draft

The David Susskind show, "Open End," will feature a discussion on "Draftees — Four in a Hot Debate on Going to Vietnam." The panelists are Dan Styron of the Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Young Socialist Alliance; Richard Rothstein of Students for a Democratic Society; Don Emerson of Yale Graduate School and Robert Shrumm of Harvard Law School.

It will be shown in New York on Channel 11 Sunday, Dec. 5, 10:30 to 11:30 p.m. Consult your local program guide for the time and date of showing in your city.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

MEDICAL CARE: SOCIALIZED OR FREE ENTERPRISE? A comparison of medical care in the USA and USSR. Speaker: Gerald Kroll. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. Rm. 307, 295 Huntington Ave. (One block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

FALN — An outstanding documentary film about the Venezuelan guerrilla movement. Fri., Dec. 10, 7:30 and 9:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

I. B. TABATA speaks on Freedom Struggle in South Africa. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. Church of Christian Fellowship, 2085 South Hobart Blvd. Also, City Councilman Billy G. Mills.

NEW YORK

DINNER TO HONOR E.D. NIXON, organizer of historic Montgomery bus boycott. Speakers: E.D. NIXON, Clifton DeBerry, Fred Halstead. Toastmaster, Farrell Dobbs. Songs by E.D. Nixon, Jr. and Bill Fredericks. Sat., Dec. 11, 6 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$2.50 (Students, \$1.50.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FRI., DEC. 17 — Hear CHARLES SIMS, president Bogalusa Deacons for Defense and Justice, report on the Southern freedom struggle.

PHILADELPHIA

CHARLES SIMS, president of the Bogalusa Deacons for Defense and Justice, will speak about his organization, self-defense, and the freedom movement in the South. Sunday, Dec. 12, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine St. Contrib. \$1, students 75c.

Your Help Is Needed

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

Labor Solidarity Forces L.A. Paper to Negotiate

By Jack Katz

LOS ANGELES — When the presses stop, the workers are stronger than the boss.

That was the lesson of the one-day strike of the Newspaper Guild at the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* on Nov. 18.

The 1,000-member Guild struck at midnight, Nov. 17, when their contract expired. At the last minute, the union offered to postpone the strike deadline if the publisher, George Hearst, would personally enter negotiations. He refused.

Union militancy reached a high point that evening when 1,000 members voted unanimously to strike. One reason for this militancy was the reaction of the Guild members to a letter given to them that afternoon by management. The letter said that as of that midnight, there was no contract. However, the letter said: any workers who continued to work would not jeopardize various benefits such as health, welfare severance, etc.

Meant to divide the workers, the timid from the bold, it had the opposite effect. It united everyone around the union.

Why was the union willing to dissipate the militancy of their membership by postponing the strike without conditions?

Because, the previous day, the Guild was turned down by the County Federation of Labor when it requested strike support. Their rules require unanimity. There was opposition from a section of the allied printing trades officialdom.

Why was Hearst willing to take a strike? For the same reason that the union tried to avoid it.

Hearst was emboldened to believe that the paper would come out the next day. The type was set. The mats were cast. The plates were made and ready to

go to the web presses.

Why not talk to the union the next day to the sound of the roar of the presses, he probably thought when he declined to postpone the strike. Then — he would be stronger. Management even announced that the paper would publish as usual.

The only thing Hearst didn't take into calculation was labor solidarity.

The paper was ready to go to press. It was up to the pressmen. And they just wouldn't cross the Guild picket line. One of their local leaders said: "Men — you have a contract, but you also have a conscience."

Led by the pressmen, the other mechanical trades respected the picket line and did not enter the plant until the line was removed early next morning. Some ITU printers even made a home-made sign saying: "Solidarity" and "Printers support Guild" and marched together.

Hearst personally entered the negotiations the next morning when the presses stopped and he continued to talk with the union around the clock for about 20 consecutive hours until a settlement was reached.

Chief issue was wages. The reporter's scale had been \$164.50. The new contract provided for a \$10.30 hike over a two-year period. The paper also instituted an employer-financed pension plan for the first time.

If the publisher was probing to see what the mechanical trades would do in the event of a strike by one union, he found out for future reference. And the workers on the mechanical side, and the Guild members have been drawn closer together. This lesson will not be lost by the publisher, the union leaders and especially the newspaper workers.

...D.C. Anti-Vietnam-War Parley

(Continued from Page 1)

The fact that the mere right to meet and discuss this question was being challenged gave the dispute an unusually heated form. This aspect of the dispute was finally resolved in the third day of the convention with the formation of a caucus of members of independent committees, who favored immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and a national organization.

This caucus met, attended by some 150 delegates and members of independent committees in a room that couldn't hold everyone who wanted in. It adopted by consensus some working papers as the basis for discussion on the statement of purpose, structure and tasks of a future national organization of independent committees which would be part of the NCC.

The proposed statement of purpose declares for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, welcomes

anyone regardless of other political views or affiliation, and says: "The member committees can not be affiliated to any other national or political organization except the National Coordinating Committee, although they are encouraged to take part in joint antiwar action with other organizations in their area."

The caucus also drew up a proposal for the structure of the NCC, which was submitted to the convention. Another proposal on NCC structure was submitted "as the basis of discussion" by the Steering Committee of the NCC. Though alike in many ways, these two proposals contained significant differences including the following:

Non-Exclusion

The independent caucus proposal contained the statement: "No group shall be excluded from participating because of its political views." The other proposal did not specify this point.

The independent caucus proposal provided that local chapters of national organizations — such as clubs of the various radical parties and youth groups — should be participants, but have no vote. The "Steering Committee proposal" reversed this, providing that national organizations would have no vote, but their local chapters could have one vote each provided they were the sole group actively opposing the war in a particular area. One significance of this difference is that under the independent caucus proposal a national organization could have only one vote, but under the other proposal, a national organization having, or able to organize, chapters in widespread areas, could have many votes.

Another significance of this point, according to advocates of the independent caucus proposal, is that their proposal would encourage organized radicals to be active in building new independent committees, where the other proposal would tend to discourage it.

The two proposals also differed in that the independent caucus version provided for recall of the top officers and for mandatory

referendum on policy matters not mandated by the convention, while the other proposal did not.

The vote was taken on these proposals on the last day, in a session chaired by Dave Dellinger. The "Steering Committee proposal" was adopted by a vote of 110 to 45.

In two plenary (full) sessions of the convention it was made clear that the NCC itself was not capable of taking a withdraw-the-troops-now position in spite of great sentiment in favor of that stand. At the Friday night session the question of the Saturday March For Peace in Vietnam was discussed. A motion was introduced by a delegation of Southern freedom fighters that the convention support the march under the slogan: "Freedom Now — Withdraw Now."

There was much cheering, but a counter motion was made by NCC Steering Committee member Stanley Aronowitz to the effect that the march be supported but that no recommendation be made on slogans. He made the point that while personally he would carry the withdrawal slogan, the NCC was a broad body, coordinating for many groups, some of which did not support the immediate withdrawal position, and that it would therefore be incorrect to adopt that specific slogan for the march.

In spite of this clear statement as to the umbrella character of the NCC, Aronowitz remained one of the leading opponents of the idea

of national organization of independent committees which could take a position for bringing the troops home now and which would be part of the NCC.

Bob Heisler, N.Y. DuBois Club delegate, opposed the motion by the Southern delegation on the simple basis of opposition to the withdrawal slogan. He said the movement should "not let Johnson steal the 'Negotiate' slogan." The Aronowitz motion passed.

In the next morning's session, the workshop on national action reported out a recommendation for national days of protest to be held on March 25-26 "around the theme of bring the troops home now." This was supported by Staughton Lynd who throughout the convention supported the immediate withdrawal position more often than any other speaker. Hugh Fowler, national chairman of the DuBois clubs, spoke against specifying the theme of bring the troops home now. Paul Booth, national secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society, spoke against the idea of the March 25-26 protest demonstrations on the basis that demonstrations are useless. He made a motion against the proposed March 25-26 national action. His motion was defeated unanimously.

Troops Issue

Nat Weinstein, organizer of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, and people from the national action workshop, supported the idea of "bring the troops home now" as a theme of the protests. But the motion not to specify that theme carried.

At the final session a report on the anti-draft workshop was given by Staughton Lynd. He said the workshop was sharply critical of certain aspects of the idea of "alternative service," particularly the proposals put forth by SDS leaders for some sort of government-sponsored alternative service for activists in the antiwar movement. The workshop, he said, rejected this as having elements of an "implicit deal" whereby radical youths will be allowed to do good works if they drop their antiwar activities.

Immediately following the convention, the independent caucus held a meeting attended by some 140 members of independent committees. A motion to form a national organization then and there was introduced but won only a handful of votes. A motion to con-



UNCONCERNED. Would-be American Nazi fuhrer George Rockwell grins as he is held by cop after assaulting antiwar demonstrator in Washington Nov. 27. Enthusiastic supporters of the Vietnam war, the American Nazis generally draw small fines from D.C. judges for their hooliganism.

tinue as a grouping of individuals in the Caucus to Constitute a National Organization of Local Independent Antiwar Committees for the Withdrawal of U.S. Troops Now was passed. The caucus agreed to a perspective of building the independent committees and winning individuals to the caucus. A motion to support the NCC was passed unanimously, as was a motion to build both the March 25-26 national action and the Feb. 12 Southern protests.

A motion was passed to establish a caucus newsletter and a \$1 per month dues to support this. A three-person steering committee for the caucus was elected consisting of Daniel Rosenshine, delegate from the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Jens Jensen, delegate from the Cambridge CEWV and Kipp Dawson, delegate of the San Francisco State VDC. Rosenshine was elected corresponding secretary.

Md. Cops Prepare For 'Insurrection'

Participants in the March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam are lucky they weren't set up by a "counter-guerrilla" force which expects an invasion. An Associated Press dispatch reported:

"ELLIOTT CITY, Md. — The Police Department of Howard County, a bedroom area for the nation's capital, is quietly training three special units in counter-revolutionary procedures.

"One of the biggest threats in the Free World is internal insurrection," said Sgt. Robert O. Mathews... "Dressed in dark blue coveralls and armed with shotguns, rifles, submachine guns and tear gas, the squads deploy in the fields to track, counterattack and attack as they would under wartime conditions."

Militant, YS, Well Received in D.C.

The Militant and the Young Socialist were very well received by the participants in last week's March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam.

More than 1,100 copies of the Young Socialist were sold to the demonstrators along with 800 copies of The Militant.

While speakers from SANE kept emphasizing that the demonstration was for negotiations, not U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, The Militant was very well received with its banner headline, "BRING THE G'S HOME!"

It is only a few days since the march but we are already receiving combination subscriptions

to the two publications as a result of the sale there.

We hope that supporters of The Militant and Young Socialist have armed themselves with the special subscription blanks offering four months of The Militant and six months of the Young Socialist to new readers for only \$1. It's an excellent way to bring the socialist program for building the opposition to the Vietnam war to people who want to make an effective fight against the war.

And if you're one of those who are eligible for our special offer and haven't yet done so, just clip the king-size coupon on page seven and send it in with your dollar.

...D.C. March

(Continued from Page 1)

Oglesby made a militant, informative indictment of the program and policies of the United States government. He characterized America's decision-makers as corporatists, ridden with liberal demagoguery, and stated that the



Norman Thomas

Vietnamese revolution was popular and national, like the American revolution, attacking the anti-communist myth which screens American intervention in Vietnam.

If we "can understand the rebellion in Watts," Oglesby asked, "then why do we need a devil theory for Vietnam?" He then pointed out that while the U.S. publicly denounced the racist government of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia, it privately continued to buy Rhodesian chromium at cheap prices, because of the cheap black labor in Rhodesian mines.

When Oglesby reminded people that it was easy enough for the U.S. government to send 200,000 troops to South Vietnam, but that it had proved almost impossible for them to find 100 registrars to send to Mississippi, he received a standing ovation.

Regardless of the intent of the organizers not to unduly embarrass the administration, it was apparent that in its decisive aspects the demonstration mirrored and expressed the rising popular opposition to the Vietnam war.

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Take advantage of our holiday offer. Renew or extend your own subscription for one year and buy a one-year subscription for a friend. Instead of the regular cost of \$3 a year each, we'll charge you only \$5 for the two subscriptions. (Additional one-year gift subscriptions \$2.50 each.)

And, we'll send each gift recipient an attractive card featuring Laura Gray's famous young Mr. New Year.



SCOREBOARD

City	Young Socialist - Militant Sub Drive	Accepted	Quota	Subs Received
Ann Arbor		75		54
Berkeley		175		3
Boston		250		146
Chicago		225		80
Cleveland		75		39
Denver		25		1
Detroit		125		51
Los Angeles		100		57
Philadelphia		75		59
Madison		25		36
New York — downtown		200		105
New York — uptown		125		62
San Francisco		75		17
San Jose		25		9
Seattle		25		9
Twin Cities		200		28
Washington, D.C.		25		7
At Large				34
Totals		1,825		797

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 29 - No. 44 345 Monday, December 6, 1965

The Epton Prosecution

A New York jury is now trying Progressive Labor Party leader William Epton on a four-count charge of "criminal anarchy." If convicted, he faces penalties of ten years imprisonment and a \$5,000 fine on each count.

The charge against Epton is the crudest kind of a police frame-up. He was arrested after the Harlem ghetto outbreak of the summer of 1964. The charge of inciting to riot and conspiring to overthrow the state government is based on the lying testimony of police plants who claim he advocated assassination of policemen and government officials as a means of winning equal rights.

The statute under which he is being prosecuted was passed in the wake of the assassination of President McKinley in 1901. It was last used in 1920 to railroad Ben Gitlow, then a Communist, to prison.

Epton's trial constitutes a dangerous persecution under a dangerous, unconstitutional law. He should have the unreserved support of everyone concerned with the maintenance of the Bill of Rights.

President Johnson as Book Critic

Washington likes to present the distribution of surplus foods abroad as the act of a kindly Uncle Sam who just can't stand seeing neighbors going hungry. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Initiated to ensure the profits of giant agricultural corporations by keeping price-depressing surpluses off the U.S. market, the foods are used as a cruel form of political blackmail.

The State Department announced Nov. 23 that it had rejected a long-standing request by Ghana for \$127,000,000 of surplus food. The rejection came two days after Ghana had been forcefully advised of U.S. "displeasure" with "continuing attacks on the United States in the Ghanaian press and other media." President Johnson, it seems, was particularly teed off, by Ghanaian President Nkrumah's new book which criticizes the U.S.

A Nov. 24 New York *Herald Tribune* editorial chortled: "Ghana's President Nkrumah has, it seems, been given a lesson in manners."

Maybe, maybe not. But the action will certainly provide a fresh lesson to the people of Ghana, and others, that Washington is an arrogant, blackmailing bully.

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City	Goal	Received	Per Cent
Philadelphia	\$ 275	\$ 245	89
Chicago	1,600	1,375	86
Cleveland	700	568	81
Detroit	1,100	893	81
St. Louis	150	110	73
Milwaukee	350	219	63
Boston	1,000	580	58
San Francisco	800	465	58
New York	4,800	2,587	54
Twin Cities	1,250	600	48
Seattle	450	185	41
Denver	200	74	37
Los Angeles	3,600	1,102	31
San Diego	200	58	29
Oakland/Berkeley	800	200	25
Newark	150	35	23
Allentown	150	25	17
General	425	65	14
Total Nov. 30, 1965	\$18,000	\$9,386	52%

Malcolm X Speaks

The following is a continuation of a speech made at a CORE symposium in Cleveland on April 3, 1964, shortly after Malcolm left the Black Muslims. The first speaker was Louis Lomax. CORE was then engaged in a bitter struggle with the city authorities over school segregation.

Installment 7

TAKE UNCLE SAM TO COURT

I might stop right here to point out one thing. Whenever you're going after something that belongs to you, anyone who's depriving you of the right to have it is a criminal. Understand that. Whenever you are going after something that is yours, you are within your legal rights to lay claim to it. And anyone who puts forth any effort to deprive you of that which is yours, is breaking the law, is a criminal. And this was pointed out by the Supreme Court decision. It outlawed segregation. Which means segregation is against the law. Which means a segregationist is breaking the law. A segregationist is a criminal. You can't label him as anything other than that. And when you demonstrate against segregation, the law is on your side. The Supreme Court is on your side.

Dogs and Clubs

Now, who is it that opposes you in carrying out the law? The police department itself. With police dogs and clubs. Whenever you demonstrate against segregation, whether it is segregated education, segregated housing, or anything else, the law is on your side, and anyone who stands in the way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law, they are not representatives of the law.

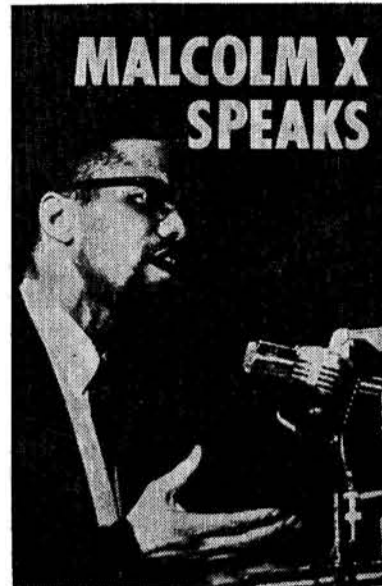
Any time you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog, kill him, I'm telling you, kill that dog. I say it, if they put me in jail tomorrow, kill — that — dog. Then you'll put a stop to it. Now, if these white people in here don't want to see that kind of action, get down and tell the mayor to tell the police department to pull the dogs in. That's all you have to do. If you don't do it, someone else will.

If you don't take this kind of stand, your little children will grow up and look at you and think "shame." If you don't take an uncompromising stand — I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you've made me go insane, and I'm not responsible for what I do.

Make It Equal

And that's the way every Negro should get. Any time you know you're within the law, within your legal rights, within your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality. What's good for the goose is good for the gander.

When we begin to get in this area, we need new friends, we need new allies. We need to expand the civil-rights struggle to a higher level — to the level of human rights. Whenever you are in a civil-rights struggle, whether you know it or not, you are confining yourself to the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam. No one from the outside world can speak out in your behalf as long as your struggle is a civil-rights struggle. Civil rights comes within the domestic



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

affairs of this country. All of our African brothers and our Asian brothers and our Latin-American brothers cannot open their mouths and interfere in the domestic affairs of the United States. And as long as it's civil rights, this comes under the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam.

But the United Nations has what's known as the charter of human rights, it has a committee that deals in human rights. You may wonder why all of the atrocities that have been committed in Africa and in Hungary and in Asia and in Latin America are brought before the UN, and the Negro problem is never brought before the UN. This is part of the conspiracy.

This old, tricky, blue-eyed liberal who is supposed to be your and my friend, supposed to be in our corner, supposed to be subsidizing our struggle, and supposed to be acting in the capacity of an adviser, never tells you anything about human rights. They keep you wrapped up in civil rights. And you spend so much time barking up the civil-rights tree, you don't even know there's a human-rights tree on the same floor.

When you expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of hu-

man rights, you can then take the case of the black man in this country before the nations in the UN. You can take it before the General Assembly. You can take Uncle Sam before a world court. But the only level you can do it on is the level of human rights. Civil rights keeps you under his restrictions, under his jurisdiction. Civil rights keeps you in his pocket.

Civil rights means you're asking Uncle Sam to treat you right. Human rights are something you were born with. Human rights are your God-given rights. Human rights are the rights that are recognized by all nations of this earth. And any time any one violates your human rights, you can take them to the world court.

Uncle Sam's hands are dripping with blood, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number-one hypocrite. He has the audacity — yes, he has — imagine him posing as the leader of the free world. The free world! — and you over here singing "We Shall Overcome." Expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, take it into the United Nations, where our African brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Asian brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Latin-American brothers can throw their weight on our side, and where 800 million Chinamen are sitting there waiting to throw their weight on our side.

Let the world know how bloody his hands are. Let the world know the hypocrisy that's practiced over here. Let it be the ballot or the bullet. Let him know that it must be the ballot or the bullet.

When you take your case to Washington, D.C., you're taking it to the criminal who's responsible: it's like running from the wolf to the fox. They're all in cahoots together. They all work political chicanery and make you look like a chump before the eyes of the world. Here you are walking around in America, getting ready to be drafted and sent abroad, like a tin soldier, and when you get over there, people ask you what are you fighting for, and you have to stick your tongue in your cheek. No, take Uncle Sam to court, take him before the world.

Next week: A little briefing on guerrilla warfare

Negro Candidate Inched Out In Cleveland Vote Recount

CLEVELAND — Nickels, dimes, quarters and dollars from school children, auto workers, unemployed, relief clients, schoolteachers and professionals were contributed toward the \$12,000 fund necessary for a recount of the votes in the Cleveland mayoralty election.

Carl B. Stokes, the Negro candidate running as an independent, asked for the recount when official returns indicated that he had failed election by less than two votes per election district. The final figures after the recount showed that out of 237,267 votes cast in the election, incumbent Democrat mayor Ralph Locher won by 2,143 votes.

Asking for a recount necessitated the posting of \$10 for each election district in which a new count was desired. There are 1189 voting precincts in Cleveland. Stokes supporters delayed several days requesting the recount to determine if enough money could be raised. The response was over-

whelming throughout the Negro community and from a small but active corps of white supporters.

Despite the re-election of Locher, he returns to office with far from majority support from Cleveland voters, having only received 37 per cent of the total vote. Local newspapers that supported Locher are cautioning the mayor to make changes necessary to head off the threat of independent political power toward which the Negro community pointed in the election.

This past week Stokes and former CORE executive secretary Ruth Turner were invited to Washington, D.C., to President Johnson's conference on civil rights. One member of Mayor Locher's cabinet has resigned under the pressure of the election. Local Republican and Democratic politicians are maneuvering as to how best to recapture the Negro voters who in the recent election demonstrated no unshakeable loyalty to either the Democratic or Republican parties.

MORE REVELATIONS AND ADMISSIONS

In Washington They Lie Like Thieves

By Harry Ring

DEC. 1 — Jolting revelations about how the government in Washington lies are breaking with increased frequency. Apparently when you open the hamper even just a notch, if it's really overflowing, it's hard to keep the proverbial dirty linen crammed in.

On Nov. 22, Washington admitted that for the past six years U.S.-made nuclear warheads have been turned over to the Nazi-infested West German government and others of our "free world" allies. The admission confirmed that the American people were lied to when they were assured in 1958 that the NATO powers were merely being instructed on how to use the atomic weapons in case of emergency, but that all the weapons were kept securely under U.S. lock and key.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State Rusk was added to the list of currently exposed bare-faced liars. This was another result of Eric Sevareid's tribute to Adlai Stevenson in the Nov. 30 issue of *Look* magazine. This was where Sevareid disclosed that Stevenson had told him of a Hanoi offer to negotiate which Washington rejected.

In the course of that article, Sevareid also describes a White House conference that went over the text of President Johnson's lying statement to the American people that the Marines were being sent to the Dominican Republic for the one and only purpose of saving allegedly threatened U.S. lives. In the original draft, Stevenson told Sevareid, was a sentence saying that the U.S. also stood ready to help the Dominican Republic preserve its "freedom." Stevenson felt the sentence would complicate the issue and persuaded the President to strike it out and to stick exclusively to the "saving U.S. lives" bit.

Among those present at this meeting was Dean Rusk. (According to David Weiss, chief of the Washington Bureau of the *New York Herald Tribune*, it was Rusk who proposed including the sentence about preserving freedom.)

Yet in an Oct. 16 speech at



Dean Rusk

Johns Hopkins University, Rusk reiterated before the assembled students that the Marines were sent only to save lives. He added:

"That was the basis — and at that point the sole basis for introduction of American troops. Any suggestion that that was a pretext is simply not true, because I was with the President and Secretary of Defense when that decision was made."

Meanwhile, Arthur Schlesinger's memories of Kennedy were exposing Arthur Schlesinger as a liar.

In his book Schlesinger recalled the preparations for the Cuban invasion and stated that the invasion force numbered 1,400 men.

The *New York Times* phoned him and reminded him that at the time he had informed their Washington bureau that the force numbered no more than 200 to 300 men and that the operation was not an invasion, just a move to get some supplies to the underground.

Schlesinger replied: "Did I say that? Well, I was lying. That was the cover story."

Queried about this admission on

TV last week, Schlesinger offered a marvelous example of what happens when liars fall out. He revealed that just a few days before the invasion the *Times* had "suppressed a story by Tad Szulc from Miami, giving a fairly accurate account of the invasion plans." He added that if he was "reprehensible," then so was the *Times*.

At the same time exposures of lies about Vietnam continue apace.

I.F. Stone's Weekly reported Nov. 29 that a few weeks ago the Defense Department denied a *Washington Post* report that plane losses over North Vietnam were running near seven per cent, twice the loss rate in the Korean war. Then Hanson Baldwin of the *New York Times* reported a loss of 141 planes. On the basis of the number of sorties flown, said Stone, this came to 7.5 per cent. He reported that the Defense Department refused to confirm or deny Baldwin's figures.

Meantime, the kettle of fish uncovered by Sevareid continued to bubble over. On Nov. 29 the *New York Herald Tribune* revealed that the United States had actually initiated the move by U Thant that brought the Hanoi offer to negotiate. The *Tribune* said it learned from a reliable UN source that U Thant had been given the go-ahead to seek negotiations at a meeting with Johnson and Rusk who then did a fast about-face when Hanoi accepted.

Not to be outdone in the current rash of revelations, the *Times* of Nov. 26 offered this dispatch from Saigon:

"A steady stream of misinformation about the war in Vietnam is reaching the American public.

"The case is easy to document.

"When the American Special Forces camp at Pleime came under siege last month, military spokesmen reported early in the fight that 90 enemy bodies had been counted and that some of them were hanging on the camp's barbed wire. This report was displayed prominently in many newspapers, including the *New York Times*.

"Later, when a reporter reached the besieged camp, still under fire,

and said he wanted to photograph the bodies on the barbed wire, the grimy, bearded, exhausted defenders broke into bitter laughter.

"They said that there never had been bodies on the wire and that they had never made the original count of 90 enemy dead . . .

"When enemy suicide squads penetrated the American helicopter field at Marble Mountain, near Danang, and destroyed a number of helicopters, a briefing officer in Saigon left the impression that mortar shells were believed to have done the damage. Many newspapers carried this information.

"But earlier that day, Maj. Gen. Lewis W. Walt . . . told reporters that all the damage had been caused by satchel demolition charges carried into the base."

And then there's the kind that's actually proud of the way his government lies. Sam Castan, senior editor of *Look*, gloats over the present build up in the Nov. 30 issue:

"President Johnson saw only one course left if the United States was to save its prestige and keep a strategic Asian land base against the day we may need one against China. He and his predecessors,



Adlai Stevenson

Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, among them had tried nearly everything else. Our government installed its own handpicked Vietnamese leaders and continued propping them up long after they had become dictators; it OK'd coups d'etat, counter-coups and coupettes. For years before the bombing of North Vietnam became U.S. foreign policy, the White House was secretly approving American-piloted terrorist air drops above the 17th parallel."

Doesn't it make you feel proud of your country?

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World Events

Appalled by Cuban 'Waste'

A Western diplomat was "aghast" at the expense of time and money involved in a recent Cuban "exercise in revolutionary symbolism," reports Richard Eder in the Nov. 18 *New York Times*. The "exercise" was the commencement of 400 Cuban medical and dental students, held high on the peak of Mt. Turquino, highest of the Sierra Maestra, where Fidel Castro's struggle against Batista began. Diplomats attended, along with top government figures and hundreds of local peasants, workers, and officials.

The diplomat, says Eder, "showed little sympathy for the point Mr. Castro was trying to make. The trek through the Sierra Maestra — a harsh, painful four-day exercise — was meant to demonstrate that there can be no aristocracy in Cuba, that all Cubans from the premier down, must be ready to share the rigors that are the lot of the poorest mountain-dwelling Cubans."

Eder's diplomat, we're sure, is no stranger to expensive affairs — long, exhausting embassy receptions with plenty of food and drink, for example. But, then, that expense goes for such "important" things — besides, they don't admit peasants.

Friends? — Or Senators?

Recent Chinese charges that Soviet leaders are seeking a deal

with the U. S. over Vietnam have been denounced in the Soviet press as "provocative fabrications." But Tass, the Soviet press agency, showed a guilty conscience Nov. 19 in the way it headlined a story of Premier Kosygin's meeting with five U. S. senators, headed by Mike Mansfield. (There are rumors Mansfield is holding secret talks on Vietnam.) The first headline read: "Kosygin Receives American Friends." Nineteen minutes later came this correction: "Please read the title as follows: 'Kosygin Receives American Senators.'"

Chile Peasants Take Land

Tired of waiting for an agrarian reform law that is bogged down in Chile's congress, peasants have begun their own land reform by occupying large estates. At one estate some 50 miles from Santiago, the capital, tenant farmers took action, carrying hoes, pitchforks, knives, and a few guns. They barricaded the entrance to the property and draped two Chilean flags and a banner over it.

Government officials acknowledged that such farms were scheduled for expropriation but said that "legal obstacles" had arisen. Grounds for expropriation of this particular estate were that the owner failed to pay the minimum wage or social security benefits and left large sections of the 20,000-acre farm uncultivated.

Landowners are reported arming themselves and demanding government protection of their property. The peasants are backed by peasant union organizers and the parties of the left. The reformist Christian Democratic government is in the middle: it recognizes the peasants' rights, but warns that "all those who promote or participate in violent or forced occupation of lands" will be disqualified from the land reform.

Big Man Who Wasn't There

When Hitler's armies invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, Soviet military and government officials searched in vain for hours for their "leader" Joseph Stalin to get authority to shoot back. They couldn't find him. The navy minister, Admiral Nikolai G. Kuznetsov, reports this in a recent installment of his memoirs.

Finally, Kuznetsov gave the order for the Soviet fleet to fight back, and others, too, acted on their own authority.

Stalin did not appear at Supreme headquarters meetings for more than a week, reports Kuznetsov.

As commander in chief, Stalin had forbidden Red Army commanders to alert their troops or shoot back if attacked, in spite of repeated warnings of a coming Nazi invasion.

—George Saunders

Hard Facts on Plight of Black People

Can Capitalism End Jim Crow?

By George Novack

Can the ruling rich of the United States whose government developed the A-bomb and the H-bomb, lifts astronauts into space and schedules flights to the moon, give equality, justice and decent living standards to its more than 20 million Negro citizens? This question is sharply posed by the data presented on "The Negro American" in the special Fall 1965 issue of *Daedalus*, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The compilation has a foreword by President Johnson and includes articles from civil rights leaders and scholars in history, economics, sociology and politics.

A third of the issue charts the Negro's victimization in every sector of American life. Here are some of the appalling facts about the pattern of discrimination.

EDUCATION. The Negro American not only has poorer schooling; he has less of it. In 1960, writes Philip Hauser, 23 per cent of all nonwhites, but only eight per cent of all whites, were functionally illiterate. The proportion of nonwhites who had completed college had risen to 3.5 per cent, as opposed to 8.1 per cent of all whites.

Education Factor

In addition, the Negro benefits less from education than the white. Lifetime earnings of non-white elementary-school, high-school, and college graduates are, respectively, 64 per cent, 60 per cent, and 50 per cent of their white counterparts.

Although the Negro is qualified for higher occupational levels and for higher incomes, he is segregated by the economic caste system into the lowest paid, unskilled work. "In 1960, when ten per cent of the male experienced labor force was nonwhite, only 3.5 per cent of male professional technical, and kindred workers were nonwhite," writes Rashi Fein. While a few Negroes become engineers, lawyers and judges, managers, officials and business proprietors, "48.4 per cent of private household workers were nonwhite, 26.1 per cent of laborers, and we find large percentages for other occupations on the bottom rungs of the occupational ladder."

Job Problem

EMPLOYMENT. The Negro's inferior jobs, skills and opportunities translate themselves into a greater vulnerability to unemployment. According to Daniel Moynihan, the Negro unemployment rate has remained more than twice the white rate since 1957; while in 1964, a prosperous year, the Negro's rate of 9.1 per cent was 50 per cent higher than the highest rate whites have faced since the Great Depression. In the words of Fein: "the Negro frequently faces unemployment rates which — if faced by all workers — would be considered a national scandal."

HEALTH. While the Negro has gained in life expectancy since the turn of the century, he can expect to die from six to eight years sooner than the average white. He is twenty years behind in the race toward equality of longevity.

Those diseases which rate highest as the causes of death are found disproportionately among lower-class families, those who suffer from poor nutrition, overcrowded housing, hazardous occupations, and inadequate medical care. Medical treatment and hospital facilities conform to the pattern of discrimination, North and South. In Atlanta, Georgia, the South's most progressive city, 4,000 beds were available for whites, but only 600 for Negroes in 1962.

All the contributors to the symposium are disturbed by these and other effects of discrimination, stress the need for rapid and radical changes, and make proposals for government action to bring them about. They even meet agreement from the tenant of the White House who fervently proclaims in his foreword: "If we are to have peace at home, if we are to speak with one honest voice in the world — indeed, if our country is to live with its conscience — we must affect every dimension of the Negro's life for the better."

Snail's Pace

Why, then, hasn't the government done more to equalize the conditions of the mass of Negroes? The slow pace of progress and meager results documented in this volume appear the more surprising in view of the escalated importance of the Negro problem. What was once considered a strictly Southern matter has since become not only a national but a global concern. The rise of the colonial revolution has made it a burning issue in world politics today.

"The Negro American has played a role in the stimulation and shaping of African nationalism, and the mere existence of the newly sovereign African states, now constituting a quarter of the membership of the United Nations, has changed the nature of the American scene," write Rupert Emerson and Martin Kilson.

New Attitude

"Certainly no one can contend that the American pattern of racial discrimination was any more morally defensible after the First World War than after the Second, but what the rest of the world was then prepared to tolerate indifferently has now become intensely intolerable. This revolutionary change in the world's climate has imposed upon American political leaders the necessity of taking speedy and radical action in a sphere in which they could formerly delay action from year to year and decade to decade."

Considering these international pressures and the militancy of the Negro struggle, what accounts for the sluggish responses and half-hearted measures of the Democratic administrations, correctly labelled as "tokenism?"

Some of the authors, who think of politics exclusively in terms of coalitions among multiple interest pressure groups, suggest that the Negro minority has not pressed hard enough to stir the majority of Americans to act in their behalf. They argue that "the Negro lacks the power, and his white allies lack the will" to impose and institute the indicated reforms.

But it is necessary to go behind and beyond the inertia and indifference of their white allies to get at the basic causes for the plight of the Negroes. These are rooted, not in the psychology or politics of American life, but in its capitalist economic structure.

This can best be approached by examining the opening sentences of the article by James Tobin, Sterling Professor of Economics at Yale University, entitled "On Improving the Economic Status of the Negro." This former member

of Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers writes: "I start from the presumption that the integration of Negroes into the American society and economy can be accomplished within existing political and economic institutions. I understand the impatience of those who think otherwise, but I see nothing incompatible between our peculiar mixture of private enterprise and government, on the one hand, and the liberation and integration of the Negro, on the other. *Indeed the present position of the Negro is an aberration from the principles of our society, rather than a requirement of its functioning.*"

An Aberration?

Is this last proposition, which I have italicized, really so? Obviously, the inequities inflicted upon the Negro American are a denial of the elementary principles of democracy and justice. But they are not at all "an aberration from the principles" of capitalism. On the contrary, they are "a requirement of its functioning."

The professor and his fellow liberals fail to see that the Negro's poverty is a prerequisite and product of the prosperity of U.S. big business. The pattern of discrimination is an inevitable consequence of the special role performed by the colored population in the mechanism of the economy.

What is that role? The black workers constitute the decisive segment of the industrial reserve army of American capitalism. They are its principal reservoir of cheap, unskilled labor. The capitalist owners require such a supplementary labor force to keep their system operating profitably.

Serves a Purpose

This body of irregularly employed and low-paid workers serves several important purposes. First, it acts as a check upon the regularly employed, restraining them from making heavier demands upon the employers. It helps bring wage-levels into line with the other factors for maximum profitability.

Second, it can be drawn upon whenever production starts booming and calls for an extra supply of labor. So long as the profiteers can't use this portion of the total working population, they let it rot in the ghettos and stagnate in the rural areas. As soon as production hums, they summon it to the hardest work at the lowest pay. Then, as the economy slows down, they let it go again.

The industrial reserve army is thus extremely vulnerable to the fluctuations of the economy. It comes and goes along with the expansion and contraction of the accumulation of capital. That is why Negroes are "the last hired, first fired."

No Accident

Professor Tobin accurately observes that the "in-and-out status of the Negro in the business cycle damages his long-term position because periodic unemployment robs him of experience and seniority." However, this is not an accidental phenomenon; it is one of the bitter fruits of involuntary enlistment in the industrial reserve army.

American capitalism triply exploits the Negro: as ordinary workers, as members of the surplus labor force, and as a caste largely restricted to the least desirable jobs. The economic system itself is responsible for the pauperization of the Negro and all its dire effects.

Professor Tobin's other arguments further illuminate the background of Negro super-exploitation. He complains because the government has not taken steps since 1957 to ensure that the nation's manpower and plant capacity has been fully utilized but has permitted general unemploy-



GREAT SOCIETY? Chicago ghetto dwellers protest starvation-level welfare grants.

ment to remain over four per cent and Negro unemployment three to four times above that. He urges the government to adopt an inflationary fiscal and monetary policy to bring unemployment down to a tolerable two per cent. He contends that this is well within its resources.

Why has Washington held to the opposite course? Tobin attributes this primarily to official concern to prevent a worsening of the serious lack of balance in this country's accounts with the rest of the world. If the administration should follow an easy-credit, low interest rate policy, large sums of foreign funds on deposit here would be withdrawn to the detriment of the dollar's value.

The Negro man-on-the-street is unaware that his own unfavorable situation is related to the unfavorable balance of international payments and that his security is sacrificed to prop up the strength and stability of the dollar on the world's money market. But there have been equally weighty domestic reasons for the administration's refusal to take his advice which Professor Tobin does not deal with.

Need Surplus

Too tight a labor market, too feverish a demand for the available labor supply would tend to cut into the profitability of capitalist production by tilting the balance of class forces to the advantage of the workers and facilitating their struggles for larger wage increases. This in turn would raise the costs of production, lower the rate of profit, and undermine the vigor of the boom.

Since 1960, U.S. corporations have been enjoying almost the optimum conditions for profit-making: a sustained high-level of operations coupled with a sizable rate of unemployment to deter "exorbitant" wage demands. They have reaped record profits as a result.

The Johnson administration, like its predecessors, gives top priority to the requirements of the rich. It is far more concerned with protecting the gold stock and the international position of the dollar and maintaining the conditions for lush earnings by big business than relieving the plight of the poor and the unemployed, regardless of their skin-color. Although the President has pledged to battle against poverty, his regime will not provide or wield the weapons necessary to eradicate its causes.

Under Eisenhower Congress appropriated forty billion dollars for the national road-building program wanted by the military, the auto, steel, oil and cement corporations, the big contractors and their political agents. Congress immediately gave Johnson the billions he asked for to step up the Vietnamese war. What the monopolists and militarists certify as essential receives utmost consideration and prompt action. The welfare of the poor, especially the Negro poor, is at the bottom of the list and gets attention only when their massive protests can-

not be completely ignored. The apostle of "the Great Society" is waging the war against the Vietnamese people far more vigorously and lavishly than the war against poverty at home.

Its commitment to the interests of the capitalist class prevents the government from reducing or removing the basic causes for the status of the Negro which are embedded in the system of production for private profit. Except for a few public relations projects designed to keep the slums from erupting, the Johnson program is limited to legal and legislative reforms which leave the economic foundations of Negro poverty and discrimination untouched. The extension of civil rights on paper will not compensate for the inability to cope with the festering economic grievances of the ghetto.

This was driven home by the response of an embittered Harlemite to a young Southern Negro visiting New York, quoted in this symposium: "Boy," he jeered, "down South you're fighting to get where we are now — and we can tell you that once you get here it's just a solid blank wall."

The uprisings in Birmingham, Harlem and Watts from 1963 to 1965 represented only the first desperate efforts by the black working people to break down and break through these walls of oppression and exploitation erected around the ghettos and to serve notice upon the masters of American capitalism that they do not intend, as St. Clair Drake puts it, to "become a permanent lumpen-proletariat within American society."

Whether or not it is recognized yet by the participants themselves or admitted by the liberal upholders of this system, such is the anti-capitalist thrust of the ongoing Negro revolt. One big question tied up with the prospects of that struggle is this: if outbursts of such fury have taken place during the longest and greatest boom in U.S. history when economic circumstances were most favorable for the workers, what will happen when the next recession falls due?

WATTS

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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.]

Comments on James Reston

Berkeley, Calif.

Re: James Reston, "Deepening U.S. Doubts on War."

A month ago Reston wrote that demonstrations against U.S. Vietnam policies are futile. "The problem of peace now lies not in Washington but in Hanoi..."

How does Reston know? "Probably the most reliable source of information in the Western world about what is going on there in Hanoi is the Canadian representative on the Vietnam International Control Commission, Blair Seaborn." (My emphasis.)

Funny Reston didn't mention Eric Sevareid, Adlai Stevenson or David Schoenbrun. Or, who has offered to negotiate and who has not? Perhaps Mr. Reston should find a new expert. Suggestions, anyone?

Now, more of Reston's wisdom is afoot. Writing in the San Francisco Chronicle Nov. 17, he points out: "There is a quiet uneasiness in this country about the war in Vietnam — far more widespread and probably more important than the noisy demonstrations in the universities — and the government's information policy is doing very little to relieve it."

You will recall, last month the demonstrations were futile, according to Reston, because our government had done all it could

for peace. Besides Hanoi might think President Johnson could be persuaded to soften up. That is, Hanoi might think that Johnson would listen to the voice of his people. Imagine the communists believing in the democratic process. That's what Reston implies. I'm sure he would be the last to believe it.

Last month Reston wanted all the demonstrators to go home and relax. This month he writes that "The thing that is really contributing to the sense of uneasiness, however, is the feeling that the Americans are gradually being sucked into a larger and larger war..."

Which is it, Reston; the "government's information policy" or the "hard realities of the war" that are causing unrest in America? Do you think a little more news management might be the answer? Sure you do. Remember, you said, "... it is not always prudent to publish the commitments of men and the casualties of each battle..." Why not, Mr. Reston? Don't you think widows and heart-sick mothers will miss their loved ones? Don't you think the rest of the U.S. people are ready to know the facts and make a decision on the war?

Finally, you ask, "... do we continue matching them man for man?" You know the answer. We match them ten for one. Isn't that the ratio the former Michigan State experts conjured?

Mr. Reston, I'm ashamed of your reports!

R.C.C.

Prefers Militant to Inquirer

Philadelphia, Pa.

I am a newcomer to the ranks

of Militant readers. As the enclosed article will show, with papers like the Philadelphia Inquirer the only ones available, The Militant is the only paper in which I can get all the facts. Keep up the good work.

Richard J. Wagner

[The article from the Nov. 23 Inquirer was a Saigon dispatch calling for a step-up in the bombing of North Vietnam. It included this intriguing bit:

"There are very good reasons to believe that the North Vietnamese forces engaged last week by the 1st Cavalry Division have moved closer to the Cambodian border so as to seek safe haven there.

"It may be necessary," said one officer, "for us to make a 'mistake' and pursue the Reds into Cambodia. Our excuse would be that the border isn't very well defined. And, of course, we could always apologize later..."

Sold by Socialism on Trial

Toronto, Canada

Enclosed is money for my subscription. I originally subscribed after reading the ad on back of a book entitled Socialism on Trial. The book was so convincing I decided to order a subscription to The Militant.

I enjoy your paper tremendously and hope you keep up the good work.

R.S.

Aluminum Trust

Philadelphia

Herman Porter's article in the Nov. 15 Militant on "Johnson Confronts Aluminum Companies," was most interesting and provides a valuable guide to understanding

this and similar economic events. I would like to bring to your attention some additional confirmation of Porter's viewpoint.

At a "Public Hearings on Vietnam" session held here recently, Dr. Terrence McCarthy, a lecturer at Columbia University, and an economic adviser to leading American financial and industrial companies, as well as the author of an article which appears in the book, An Economic Strategy for America, edited by Samuel Mellman, spoke in opposition to the war in Vietnam. Dr. McCarthy spoke frankly as a representative of the interests of American capital.

As briefly as possible, Dr. McCarthy had the following to say: Unlike the 1930's, American industry is operating close to, or at, full capacity. "Victory" in Vietnam will require a great diversion of production to the war effort. Because we are already operating at capacity, this will mean a severe diversion from civilian production. In order to accomplish this, increasingly tightened Federal control over production and distribution will be required.

Furthermore, in accordance with the law of supply and demand, prices for civilian commodities will rise dramatically. The two industries which Dr. McCarthy specifically cited were aluminum and copper. In the copper industry he said, world production is at absolute capacity. Diversion of copper to the Vietnam war effort has already resulted in the last two months in a rise of the price of copper from 31 cents to 38 cents a pound on the world market, and as high as 57 cents a pound on some national internal markets. This price rise has produced an increase in the retail cost of electrical parts and services of 20-25 per cent. (In the U.S.A.)

Dr. McCarthy was speaking from what he viewed as the interests of capitalism. He was extremely worried about the result that war induced inflation would have upon the balance of payments and the stability of the dollar. Socialists, who view these events from the point of view of their effects upon the people who produce, the workers and farmers, will be doing well to deepen their study of the economic results of the war. If Dr. McCarthy is correct, and, as is likely, if the war

is a lengthy one, the price that the American people will pay will be a drastic cut in their living standards.

Ted Fagin

Tail-Ending Masses

Minneapolis, Minn.

I feel that the letters from J.K.M. in the Oct. 18 Militant and from W.F.S. in the Sept. 13 issue are important and were not satisfactorily answered by you.

I remember reading in Lenin someplace about how the masses were a hundred times to the left of the party, and I think that here is a key to the problem to building the revolutionary party in this country. It is only by going to the people and finding out what they think and feel that a revolutionary party can begin to form a program. I feel that American history should be seriously studied and that the method of Marx be applied to it. What I am saying is that American revolutionaries should do their homework.

I feel that the Socialist Workers Party is guilty of too much tailism, that is following the various radical movements as "the best thing going." For instance, I am happy to see the Vietnam anti-war movement growing, but I feel that these kids are going to have a serious crisis on their hands over a program, over the strategic question of "hat next?"

W.F.S.'s point that the general public will not be impressed by anything done in other countries should be considered seriously. Unless the SWP has worked out some theory of student revolution it should take seriously the things that J.M. has to say.

A.C.

Correction

New York, N.Y.

There are two factual errors in Harry Ring's analysis of the New York election in your Nov. 22 issue. 1) Ring says that more than \$1 million was spent to elect Lindsay. The figure is \$2.5 million. 2) In one place the article says that right-winger Buckley entered the race to consolidate a machine that would be a power "in relation to the Democratic party." It should be "Republican Party," as the paragraph itself indicates.

A.H.

[The first error was Harry Ring's. The second was the work of a typographical gremlin, Ed.]

It Was Reported in the Press

Grisly Humor? — The day after Thanksgiving the New York Times ran two impressively contrasting pictures on its front page. One showed the cheery dinner gathering at the LBJ ranch, the other a group of combat soldiers eating "turkey loaf" C-rations while on a mission in Vietnam War Zone D. What struck us was that the list of guests at Johnson's dinner included a Mr. Deathe.

Freedom Fighters — Two Cuban counter-revolutionary leaders were indicted by a federal grand jury in Miami on charges of extortion. They were said to have tried to shake down Cubans in the area to the tune of \$25,000. Maybe the CIA checks were late.

Simple But Homey — An "American kitchen party" was thrown for Princess Margaret and the Earl of Snowden at New York's plush Four Seasons restaurant. It was designed to show the "informal side" of American life reported the New York Times, which explained: "For supper the guests went into the kitchen and selected their dishes. If they wanted trout, for example, there was a tank of live fish on the counter and they chose the one they wanted and had it sautéed on the spot... Full size beech trees... were placed along the stairway."

Thank You, Mr. Buchwald — Columnist Art Buchwald disclosed: "When orders went out that Princess Margaret and Lord Snowden wanted to meet only gay, young and amusing people in Washington, the job was turned over to Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach. The reason for this is that the attorney general is one of the few people who have access to the FBI files, and the FBI is the only government organization that has a complete list of all the young, gay and

amusing people in the United States."

Most Likely Headline of the Week — "Saigon Weighing Plans to Hold Elections by 1967." — The New York Times.

Sure Thing — Mayor Wagner disclosed last week that the federal government is shipping truckloads of nuclear weapons through New York. The New York Times reassured: "The possibility that a nuclear explosion could be caused by a traffic accident is considered extremely remote; most experts say it is virtually impossible." Which is, of course, exactly what they said about the possibility of a region-wide power failure.

Most Delicate Formulation of the Week — A Panama City report to the New York Times notes continuing deep Panamanian hostility

to the U.S. The report adds: "Although 15,000 Panamanians work in the [canal] zone, personal contacts between them and North Americans are not well developed."

Police Brains — One of our favorite newspaper headlines appeared a number of years back in a Detroit Negro weekly that was waging a campaign about the quality of the local police force. The headline declared: "Headless Torso Found; Police Suspect Foul Play." We were reminded of this, even though it doesn't quite apply, when we read about the woman in Paris who was bound head and foot, gagged, and stabbed through the back with such force that she was pinned to the floor. The police ruled it a suicide.

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Washington Looks the Other Way

Story of a Louisiana Killing

By Alex Harte

The mood in the Negro community of Rustin, La., has remained tense since last July, when a cop shot and killed a Negro there. The FBI is fully aware of the circumstances of the killing, but the federal government has taken no steps to secure justice in the case or to protect Rustin Negroes from future racist violence.

The victim was John W. Wilder, 32, shot down with five bullets about 2 a.m. in the morning of July 17. A local coroner's jury found the killing to be "justifiable homicide." The shooting took place in front of a group of Negroes, but the jury ignored their testimony.

Emzie Wilder, the dead man's brother, said, "The truth has not been told" about this "cowardly and needless shooting by a Rustin police officer." The nation's news media have ignored the story. The New Orleans law firm of Smith, Walzer, Jones and Peebles, leading Southern civil rights lawyers, has gathered the facts of the case from eyewitnesses in the form of sworn affidavits.

On the night of the shooting, Wilder left a cafe with a friend, Billy Williams. The two men were walking toward Wilder's car, according to Williams' sworn statement, when police officer Edward Nugent cruised by in a squad car.

Called Out

Williams says that Nugent called to Wilder, "What did you say to me?" Wilder answered, "I didn't say anything."

The officer stopped the car and got out. He "asked the two of us," Williams says, "to get into the squad car." Williams asked the officer, "Why do you want us to get into the squad car?" Nugent did not answer.

Nugent asked them their names and both remained silent. He then asked them to put their hands up for searching. They both obeyed and the officer searched them. Nugent found a small knife in Wilder's pocket. He asked them who they were again and they both told him.

"The officer then hit Wilder with his blackjack on Wilder's face," Williams said. Nugent told him to put Wilder into the squad car. Williams told the officer that he could not put Wilder into the car because he was ill. "Someone from the crowd threw [something] and hit Nugent and he went to the car and got his shotgun and called another officer. Nugent came back to us with his shotgun," Williams said. "The officer swung toward the crowd pointing his gun and then aimed the gun back on me." Williams "told

Antiwar Action to Mark Tea Party Anniversary

WEST HARTFORD, Conn. — Dec. 16 is the anniversary of the Boston Tea Party. The Hartford-Storrs Committee for Peace in Vietnam plans to commemorate the date by having people around the country sign slips of paper that will represent draft cards, but sufficiently different from the draft card format so as not to be in violation of federal law. The papers will be placed in crates and dumped, as the tea was, in the Boston Harbor.

The project will demonstrate that the revolutionary spirit still exists in some Americans, and that they are opposed to crushing revolutions abroad.

Information on the project may be obtained by writing: Hartford-Storrs Committee to End the War in Vietnam, P.O. Box 2061, West Hartford, Conn. 06117.



Nugent not to shoot, and Nugent asked the crowd to get back. Officer Nugent then hit Wilder again and gave him another lick with the blackjack."

"By that time the other officer had arrived, Nugent then tossed the other officer his gun saying that he did not have to ask Wilder to get in the car anymore . . . Nugent fired five shots into Wilder's body."

The police version, contained in a statement by Mayor John Perritt, claimed that the "actions of persons in the crowd of bystanders, which numbered about 150 people, such as throwing bottles and cans at Nugent, swearing and jeering at Nugent, doubtless helped to cause Wilder not only to resist but to attack Nugent." The eyewitnesses place the crowd at 15-20.

The mayor said that Nugent was on patrol duty, cruising through the Negro section of town, when Wilder called out to Nugent, asking him "What the hell are you doing down here." Nugent got out of his car and decided to arrest Wilder and Williams, who was with him. But "Wilder suddenly whirled around to face Nugent," the mayor said.

He continued: "In view of the fact that Wilder had obviously been drinking intoxicants, had stated he was going nowhere, and was acting very belligerently and swearing at the officer, when Wilder whirled around on the officer, Nugent struck Wilder on the jaw with a 'slapper,' which is a leather padded blackjack."

Group Gathered

Because a crowd began to gather, the mayor asserted, Nugent went "back to the car and got a shotgun." This police version has Wilder grabbing the barrel of the shotgun, punching Nugent and taking his "slapper" away and attacking Nugent. At this point, their story goes, Nugent fired.

"Nugent and Wilder were in physical contact," the mayor continues, "with Wilder clutching Nugent and with Wilder continuing to attack Nugent and becoming even more vicious. Nugent fired the pistol again. Wilder continued to attack Nugent and Nugent fired then three times in rapid succession. After the fifth shot, Wilder fell."

"Nugent had retreated at least ten feet from the time Wilder took the 'slapper' until the fifth shot was fired, during all of which time Wilder was in physical contact with Nugent and was pressing his attack on Nugent."

This story is utter fantasy as is seen from the fact that "Wilder was shot in the chest, stomach, right arm and twice in the back." (July 22 *Shreveport Sun and BIS News*.)

Four eyewitnesses have given sworn affidavits testifying that there was "no physical contact or scuffling between Wilder and Nugent which could have been in-

terpreted by Nugent to be an attack from Wilder." Five witnesses swore that Wilder did not grab Nugent's shotgun, or strike him.

Affidavits signed by other eyewitnesses agree in essentials with Williams' story, and not with the police's. Another witness, Purvis Clemmans, testified "The officer grabbed Wilder and Wilder pushed his hand down. The officer then hit Wilder with his blackjack. Wilder continued to ask the officer why he was hitting him. By that time another officer had arrived. Nugent hit Wilder on the head with the shotgun and then tossed it to the other officer. Wilder seemed to have been dizzy from the lick on the head."

"Wilder started toward Nugent with his hands upward. The officer then fired a shot, then three other shots. Wilder caught hold of a post supporting a No Parking sign, trying to hold himself up. A final shot was fired into Wilder's body and he fell to the ground. The officer ordered everybody to stand back from the body. They didn't try to call an ambulance and Wilder's body lay there until a Negro finally called an ambulance."

Annie D. Jackson reported in her affidavit that "When the other officer arrived, Nugent tossed him his gun and the officer stood there facing the crowd holding two guns. There was only one other policeman present during the shooting. Nugent fired five shots into Wilder's body."

The FBI interviewed all of the eyewitnesses, but has refused to take any action.

Southern Juries Free Racist Killers; LBJ Offers Token Action — Next Year

By David Herman

President Johnson has made a token response to the repeated refusal of Southern juries to convict murderers of Negroes and civil rights workers. The *New York Times* reported that he "promised to ask the next session of Congress for legislation aimed at preventing 'injustice to Negroes at the hands of all-white juries.'" (Nov. 17.)

Johnson mentioned Lowndes County, Ala., where the murder of civil rights worker Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was recently acquitted, as an example of an area where jury discrimination was practiced. Though black people outnumber whites by four to one in Lowndes County the grand jury that originally heard the case was chosen from an all-white slate.

The addition of black people to the jury lists would be but a small step toward securing justice in the South. It could not solve the problem because it doesn't attack what is basic. One white racist on a jury is enough to prevent a racist murderer from being punished or civil rights legisla-



J. Edgar Hoover

Veterans' Antiwar Group Defends 2 Released GIs

NEW YORK, Dec. 1 — A group of 30 New York City veterans met last night and agreed unanimously to support the right of two American soldiers released yesterday by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to express their opposition to U. S. involvement in the Vietnamese war.

A news release issued by the group, called Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, stated: "As American citizens and servicemen, these two men — Sgt. George E. Smith and SP/5 Claude E. McClure — are guaranteed the right of free speech by the Constitution and Bill of Rights. We wholeheartedly support their freedom to oppose American policy or actions in Vietnam."

Fair Treatment

"These soldiers were held prisoner for two years and have earned their honorable discharge from the Army. No statements they have made since their release should in any way jeopardize their overdue discharges."

"Any disciplinary action taken against these two men for their statements would deny their right of free speech and prevent the American people from hearing their first-hand experiences in Vietnam."

The group's statement concluded: "Millions of Americans anticipate hearing what Smith and McClure have to say about the war in Vietnam as soon as they return to the United States."

Copies of the statement were sent to UN General Secretary U Thant, President Johnson, Secretary of Defense McNamara, Senator Jacob Javits, Senator Robert Kennedy, Senator Wayne Morse, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army, General Westmoreland (American commander in Vietnam), the Cambodian Minister of Information and to the two soldiers through the International Red Cross.

SDS Sends Message To 2 Released GIs

It was reported from Chicago Dec. 1 that nine staff members of the Students for a Democratic Society had sent a message to the two released GIs. SDS is one of the student groups opposing U. S. participation in the Vietnam war.

The staff members' statement sent to Phnompenh, Cambodia, said: "Millions of Americans support you. Help us tell the truth about Vietnam."

U. S. Army spokesmen have thus far been unclear about the status of the two men. They refused to answer newsmen's questions about the possibility of prosecuting them.

Thousands of Cubans Given Title to Homes That They Had Rented

A Nov. 28 *Reuters* dispatch from Havana to the *New York Times* reported:

Thousands of Cuban tenants became owners of homes they have lived in for years as the country's urban reform went into full effect today.

More than 7,000 tenants had received titles of ownership by two o'clock this morning in special offices that had been working since eight o'clock the previous morning. Tens of thousands more were expected to line up in coming days to receive titles.

The urban reform law, passed in 1960, cut all rents by about half and stipulated that tenants become owners of the properties they were occupying within a period of five to 20 years depending on the age of the property. Those living in older buildings receive ownership sooner than those living in more modern houses or apartments.

Defense Deacons Leader To Speak in N.Y., Phila. On Southern Struggle

Charles Sims, organizer and president of the Bogalusa Deacons for Defense and Justice, will speak at public meetings in New York and Philadelphia.

In Philadelphia, he will speak Sunday evening, Dec. 12 at the Hotel Philadelphia at Broad and Vine Sts.

In New York he will speak Friday evening, Dec. 17 at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place.

Sims has been arrested some 27 times over the years for fighting against racial oppression. Although he now has several cases pending against him, he has so far escaped any major conviction.

The Deacons for Defense and Justice have received wide publicity because of their advocacy and practice of organized, armed self-defense in the South.

tion from being enforced. Negroes have been added to the federal jury rolls in the South, but this has not resulted in any significant changes in securing justice.

The most important block to securing justice for black people is the control of the government and the police by white racists.

What is needed to ensure equal rights in the South is a reconstruction of the law enforcement agencies. If the federal government were serious about enforcing the law the first step it would take would be to deputize and arm Negroes in the South to enforce the law. It would arrest and prosecute racist state officials for illegally practicing discrimination.

Won't Intervene

But the administration is not willing to take much milder steps. The *Times* reports Nov. 22 that though the government has the power to send federal police to anticipated trouble spots, and "Justice Department officials agree there has been a breakdown of local law enforcement in a number of areas in the South . . . they are appalled at the idea of what they call 'patrolling the South.'" The same article reports J. Edgar Hoover is opposed to the FBI enforcing the law in the South because "he does not want them in situations where they would come in conflict with the local police."

Johnson will not use federal police because he does not want to come into conflict with racist state officials who are his political supporters.

As it becomes clear that the federal government will not enforce justice, organized self-defense will spread among the black communities in the South as the most effective method to deter racist terror.