

THE MILITANT

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State-of-Union Speech — High-Class Hogwash

By Dick Roberts

Discussing President Johnson's "peace offensive" a week ago, the British weekly magazine *The Economist* spoke of Johnson's "Barnum-like way" of conducting this campaign. The reference was to P. T. Barnum, the old-time circus magnate who operated on the principle that there's a sucker born every minute. This characterization of Johnson's attitude applies with full force and effect to his 1966 State of the Union message.

Nationwide TV cameras showed us a solemn man, apparently grappling with immense domestic and international problems, desperate for the support of the American people as he undertakes his most pressing and difficult tasks of the forthcoming year — bringing "peace" to Vietnam while enriching the "Great Society."

Weeks before Johnson gave the address, inside dopesters predicted from Washington that the president would give a "guns and butter" speech. Johnson did. He demanded more guns and less butter.

In point of fact the main substance of Johnson's speech was an arrogant and bullying threat to the oppressed peoples of the world, larded over with insults, lies and Texas bombast. Johnson promised the peoples of Southeast Asia indefinite U.S. military occupation whether they like it or not, and "ravage" — the word he used — if they didn't like it. The President promised American workers a more efficient tax-collecting system, wage-restraints, government strike-breaking and more cops.

"Great Society"

The gist of Johnson's eulogy to the "Great Society" was contained in the following sentences, which followed one right after the other in the State of the Union message: "Workers are making more money than ever," the President stated, "— with after-tax income in the past five years up 33 percent — in the past year alone up 8 percent. More people are working than ever before in our history — an increase last year of 2½ million jobs. Corporations have greater after-tax earnings than ever in history. For the past five years those earnings have been up over 65 percent, and last year alone they had a rise of 20 percent."

Sounds all right, doesn't it? Higher incomes? Higher earnings?

Scientists Hit U.S. Gas Warfare

Twenty-nine scientists, including 16 from Harvard, have condemned Washington's gas warfare in Vietnam. The biologists, chemists and physicists declared: "The fact that we are now resorting to such methods shows a shocking deterioration in our moral standards."

Meanwhile a Jan. 12 Reuters' dispatch from Saigon said: "Non-toxic gas and smoke being used against Vietcong guerrillas in tunnels northwest of Saigon have killed one Australian soldier and sent six others to the hospital. [One] died of asphyxiation even though he was wearing a gas mask."

But not quite. Actually this is a gross distortion of the situation confronting the working people in America. Johnson said there have been higher total incomes of workers over the past years, and he said in the next sentence there are more workers, which only means that the total has to be divided among more people. Johnson skipped the real question, namely the purchasing power of individual workers, and for good reason.

The fact is hourly wages of American workers have increased in the past five years, on an average. According to the December 1965 *Economic Indicators*, published by the Council of Economic Advisers to the President, average wages have increased from \$2.26 in 1960 to \$2.64 in November 1965 — an increase of a little less than 17 percent.

This increase happens to be about the same as the increase American workers would get in their salaries if the wage increases were fixed by the "wage guideline" of 3.2 percent per year. But it doesn't take the inflation of prices into consideration. Johnson was careful to warn about the dangers of inflation in the future, and to warn workers to stick by wage restraints. He didn't say a word about the inflation rate since 1960.

According to the same issue of (Continued on Page 3)



"Those greedy transit workers! Flouting Lyndon's wage guideline just so they can stuff their gut!"

New York Transit Strike Was Gain for All Labor

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK, Jan. 18 — The 13-day transit strike was of great significance for organized labor even though the Transport Workers Union (TWU) new two year contract falls far short of rank and file worker demands. It was the most effective demonstration of the latent power of American workers in many years, and its lessons will surely be absorbed by union militants across the country. The unity and fighting spirit of the 36,000 transit workers in the face of injunction, jailing and press attack was like a fresh breeze in the union movement.

Full terms of the agreement with the city Transit Authority are not yet public and it will be at least two weeks before the results of a mail ballot vote on the contract by TWU members will be known. The overall increase is estimated between \$50 and \$70 million, more than double the Transit Authority's final offer before the strike.

According to the Jan. 15 *AFL-CIO News*, however, transit workers "will receive an immediate four percent raise, an additional four percent Jan. 1, 1967, and a seven percent raise on July 1, 1967. For a \$3.22 an hour bus driver, it will mean raises to \$3.35, \$3.48, and finally to \$3.73 an hour."

Wage Increases

Wages of another category of workers, subway motormen, will go from \$3.46 an hour to \$4.00 over the same period of time.

The average pay of transit workers is only \$3.13 an hour, however, and their pay, even after the above increases, will still be less than other city employes for comparable work.

In addition to this city-wide wage differential, it is not yet clear what if anything was done to eliminate wage inequities among transit workers themselves. The most serious is the lower wages paid Negro and Puerto Rican transit workers who make up some

40 to 45 percent of the membership of the TWU.

Other reported contract gains include allowances for work uniforms, an improved health and welfare plan and better life insurance.

Another condition for settlement was the release from jail of TWU President Mike Quill and eight other strike leaders charged with violating an anti-strike injunction. Also dropped was a suit for \$332,200 a day damages against the TWU which was filed by the Transit Authority.

To achieve these modest gains, union negotiators headed by TWU International Vice President Douglas MacMahon withdrew some major union demands. First and foremost was the 32 hour week with a 30 percent pay increase. So popular was this demand that it

appeared scrawled in yellow chalk on the side of subway cars after the strike was over. An example of the importance of this demand is provided by the Jan. 12 *Michigan AFL-CIO News*. In a report on the transit strike it said "8,000 to 10,000 jobs have been lost over the last several years but attrition has taken care of the crisis. As men retire or die they are simply not replaced."

One report on the settlement indicates union negotiators agreed to a continuing policy of job reduction through attrition and that workers will be given an extra bonus of \$500 if they retire while the contract is in effect.

Finally, union negotiators apparently were unable to force the Transit Authority to stop using company spies or "beokies" to (Continued on Page 2)

Ouster of Negro Ga. Legislator Protested

By Fred Halstead

JAN. 19 — The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee has responded to an avalanche of attacks by Georgia racists which followed the SNCC statement against the Vietnam war by pledging to "escalate" its protest activities both against the war and against racism within the U.S.

The SNCC statement on the war (reprinted in full in the Jan. 17 *Militant*) was issued at a press conference in Atlanta on Jan. 6. A full-scale attack was then launched against Julian Bond, SNCC communications director, who had been elected to the Georgia legislature and who endorsed the SNCC statement. When the legislature convened Jan. 10, the Georgia House of Representatives voted 184 to 12 to bar Bond from his seat.

SNCC then declared: "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee reserves its First Amendment right to dissent from

United States foreign policy on any issue — the government's racial policy or its war policy. Since SNCC issued a statement condemning the illegal involvement of the U.S. in Vietnam segments of the press and Georgia leaders

have distorted SNCC's viewpoint in an attempt to destroy the organization. In an attack unprecedented in either its size or viciousness, Georgia Governor Sanders, Lt. Gov. Geer, State Rep. Jones W. Lane, U.S. Congressmen Charles Welther and Bo Calloway and others are using SNCC's dissent from U.S. war policies to eliminate an organization that has long fought to make Georgia conform with the U.S. Constitution."

SNCC Response

On Jan. 11, Bond, SNCC Chairman John Lewis and SNCC Executive Director James Forman spoke from the steps of the Georgia Capitol defending their stand on the war and civil rights. Lewis outlined SNCC's response to the attack and declared: "We intend to 'escalate' our opposition to the war."

In a telegram to Gov. Sanders, Forman and Rev. Martin Luther King demanded the governor call a special election to fill Bond's vacant seat. Bond said he would

be a candidate again, and the SNCC Atlanta office expressed confidence that he would be re-elected overwhelmingly. Bond also filed suit in federal court demanding a ruling that he be seated. This hearing is scheduled for Jan. 28.

Gov. Sanders said Jan. 17 that since the law requires that a special election to fill empty seats be called he would probably do so by Jan. 23. The election, however, could not be held for another 30 days, and the 40-day session of the legislature will just about be over by then.

Bond immediately received widespread support across the country. "It appears the segregationists in Georgia are still trying to tell Negroes who can represent them and who can't," declared the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Continued on Page 3)



Julian Bond

Jurors Are Selected In Malcolm X Case

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Jan. 18 — Nine jurors have been selected thus far during the five days that the Supreme Court has actually been proceeding with the trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm X.

The indictment was read by Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody at the start of the selection on Jan. 12. It charges the defendants with murder in the first degree, and alleges that the defendants, Thomas Hagan, also known as Talmadge Hayer, 22; Norman Butler, 26; and Thomas Johnson, 30 "willfully, feloniously, and with malice aforethought" shot and killed Malcolm X with a shotgun and pistols at the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965.

In questioning prospective jurors, Dermody repeatedly asked whether testimony that any or each of the defendants was a member of the Black Muslims would prejudice the juror. William C. Chance, one of the two court-appointed attorneys for Butler, objected to these references to the Black Muslims.

He said that no group was on trial, only the three defendants.

Several prospective jurors were asked by defense attorneys whether they would give any more credence to the testimony of a member of the FBI or the CIA than to other witnesses.

Each of the defendants has two lawyers. Those representing Butler, Chance and Joseph B. Williams, and those representing Johnson, Joseph Pinckney and Charles T. Beavers, are court appointed. All four are Negroes. Hagan has retained his own lawyers, Peter L. F. Sabbatino and Peter Yellin, both white.

The press has generally reported



Malcolm X

that all three defendants have been identified as Black Muslims. Hagan, however, was not known as a Black Muslim and was not reported to be a member at the time of his arrest. His attorney reportedly denies Hagan was ever a member of the Muslims. Hagan was shot in the leg and apprehended at the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the assassination. Butler and Johnson were arrested some days later.

Spectators have been barred from the court during the selection of the jurors. The reason given is that there is no room for spectators because of the large panel of prospective jurors waiting to be called. However, barring of spectators is said to be an unusual practice.

Twice Postponed

The trial was originally to have begun Dec. 6 but was adjourned by Judge Charles Marks because of the Christmas holiday until Jan. 3. The transit strike caused a further postponement.

Although there were only about a dozen Negroes in a panel of approximately 100 in the courtroom the first two jurors selected are Negroes. George S. Carter, a chemist, automatically became foreman of the jury when he was chosen as the first juror. Reginald H. Brent, the second juror, is a subway motorman.

The other jurors are: Mrs. Sophie Belenky, retired from the jewelry business; Robert P. Hixon, a signal maintenance man with the transit authority; Fredrick R. Caruso, linotype operator for the *Journal American*; Gerald M. Sullivan, on the staff of a sales department; Mrs. Veronica L. Camilletti, a housewife; Vincent T. LaPiano, a sanitation worker in Harlem; and Thomas Makwcewicz, a draftsman.

The defendants face a possible sentence of life in prison if convicted. New York State eliminated the death penalty in 1965.

...New York Transit Workers Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

pry into the personal lives and working conditions of TWU members.

One of the main reasons the full power of the transit strike could not be used to wring more concessions from the TA, was the lack of all-out support from top leaders of the AFL-CIO. Although more than 50 union leaders sent messages of support to the strike they were mainly directed to the demand that the jailed leaders be released, and none of the top leaders supported the overall demands of the rank and file workers.

AFL-CIO President George Meany played the role of strike breaker by publically criticizing the strike and praising Mayor Lindsay, who denounced the striking union as "lawless." Meany's partner Walter Reuther kept his mouth shut during the strike but after it was over he denounced the New York transit workers before a meeting of the Economics Club in Detroit. He called strikes by public employees "obsolete" and suggested the formation of a labor, industry, and government board to handle the needs of public workers in the future. "Society," he intoned, "can't tolerate stoppages which endanger the very existence of Society." Again not a word in defense of the strikers' demands.

President Lyndon Johnson gave still another reason for opposing the strike and subsequent wage



Walter Reuther

settlement. He complained that it violated his wage guideline of 3.2 percent increases for workers which is allegedly designed to prevent inflation and rising living costs. Johnson is not nearly as concerned about rising prices and profits for the corporations.

While the strike was on, for example, U. S. Steel announced plans to increase its profits by raising steel prices and the President had his press secretary announce that the price hike was justified. The same U. S. Steel is one of five steel companies charged with conspiring to fix the price on subway wheels.

Johnson went a step further than mere criticism in his State of the Union speech by proposing new anti-strike legislation which would be directed against the whole labor movement.

But he was not the only capi-

talist politician who opposed the transit strike.

New York Governor Rockefeller, whose family helped finance and subsequently made a fortune from the New York transit system, has also proposed new, more effective anti-labor legislation to curb strikes.

New York City's Republican Mayor Lindsay used existing strike-breaking laws by enforcing the anti-strike injunction that resulted in the arrest of strike leaders. Finally, Democratic Mayor Wagner, who could have granted the transit workers' just demands as late as Dec. 31, ducked out to Mexico before his term ran out.

Despite these tremendous obstacles the rank and file power of the transit workers strike was of great educational value to all workers. First of all it brushed aside President Johnson's phony 3.2 percent wage guide and demonstrated that this policy was an obstacle to workers fighting for better living conditions.

Secondly the opposition to the strike by both the Democrats and Republicans ran counter to the illusion still held by many workers that they had any friends in either capitalist party.

Third, the strike-breaking role of Meany and other top union leaders branded them as saboteurs of the legitimate demands of rank and file workers everywhere.

Fourth, the tremendous rank and file solidarity and power of the transit strikers was a tonic to union militants and helped point out the need to build a left wing in the unions that would kick Meany, Reuther, and the other high paid fat cats out of office. First and foremost among the demands of these opponents to labor misleaders is the need to break with the strike-breaking boss parties and organize a genuine independent labor party.

ACLU to Defend Army Protester In Court Martial

The American Civil Liberties Union has pledged legal aid for a young army officer who was sentenced by court martial to two years at hard labor for his role in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam. The ACLU said it would supply legal counsel to Second Lieutenant Henry H. Howe, Jr., on his appeal before a military tribunal.

The case grew out of a demonstration last Nov. 6 in El Paso, Texas, during which the officer, who was off duty and in civilian clothes, carried a sign reading "End Johnson's Fascist Aggression in Vietnam" on one side and "Let's Have More Than a Choice Between Petty Ignorant Choices in 1968" on the other.

Officer's Responsibility

Howe was convicted on Dec. 22 on charges of using contemptuous words against President Johnson and of conduct unbecoming an officer. The 24-year-old Howe has been in the post stockade at Fort Bliss in El Paso since his conviction.

In an interview with the *Boulder Daily Camera* from Howe's home state of Colorado, he said, "We have been doing the wrong thing for a long time in Vietnam... There is a difference between an officer's duty to follow orders and his responsibility to take a stand on what he considers wrong for the country."

Constitutional Rights

In a letter to the Fort Bliss commander, ACLU legal director Melvin Wulf said, "Your action can only be interpreted as saying that a man who enters the armed forces leaves the Bill of Rights at home."

Lieutenant Howe's parents have come to his defense. "Regarding the constitutional rights of a man in the armed services, remember that this concerns not only Henry," said Mr. and Mrs. Howe in a public appeal. "Many of you have relatives who would benefit now or in the near future by establishing that such rights exist."

For more information, write Mr. & Mrs. H. Herbert Howe, 2419 Penn, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

Militant-Young Socialist Campaign Winds Up With 1,531 New Readers

Our combined *Militant-Young Socialist* drive has concluded with 1,531 new readers for the two publications. Throughout the four-month drive we had offered four months of *The Militant* and six months of the *Young Socialist* to new readers for \$1.

We had originally set a target date of Dec. 15 for the drive and a goal of 1,825 subscriptions. As of that date we had gotten 1,245 subscriptions and we decided to extend the campaign for another month. We didn't make our complete goal during that month but we did secure another 300 subscriptions.

The original target of 1,825 subscriptions was based on quotas volunteered by the various areas. The final results indicate that the sights set by most areas was higher than they were able to reach.

A few areas, however, did better than they originally anticipated. These were Madison, San Francisco and Washington, D. C.

The 95 "at large" subscriptions were a significant part of the total with a good number of these coming from Newark, N. J., San Diego, Calif., and Lawrence, Kansas where supporters sent in many subscriptions. In addition, dozens of new readers clipped and mailed in the special coupon offer from *The Militant*.

Although we fell somewhat short of the mark set, the drive certainly was a success in that 1,500 new people will be getting acquainted with socialist ideas on a regular basis. The next job is to make the maximum number of them regular readers of both publications.

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Young Socialist - Militant Sub Drive		
City	Accepted Quota	Subs Received
Ann Arbor	75	75
Berkeley	175	100
Boston	250	191
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Denver	25	4
Detroit	125	92
Los Angeles	100	108
Philadelphia	75	77
Madison	25	47
New York — downtown	200	142
New York — uptown	125	97
San Francisco	75	86
San Jose	25	26
Seattle	25	11
Twin Cities	200	82
Washington, D. C.	25	33
At Large		95
TOTALS	1,825	1,531

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 percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

DETROIT

DETROIT PREMIERE! GONE ARE THE DAYS (PURLIE VICTORIOUS). Film starring: Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Godfred Cambridge. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. Debs. Hall, 3737 Woodward. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Tues., Feb. 1, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., Feb. 2, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VERSUS NEGOTIATIONS. A socialist view of the debate in the antiwar movement. Speaker: Lew Jones. Fri., Jan. 28, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

DEFEND BILL EPTON RALLY. Monday, Jan. 24, 8 p.m. Mt. Morris Church, Park West and 122 St. Ausp. Harlem Committee to Defend Free Speech.

SARTRE AND MARXISM. Sartre's political and philosophical evolution. Speaker: George Novack, editor of *Existentialism vs. Marxism* and author of *The Origins of Materialism*. Fri., Jan. 28, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

U. S. TROOP REVOLTS AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Mary Alice Styron, editorial board, *Young Socialist*. Saturday, Jan. 29, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

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SNCC on Bond Ouster

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee deeply regrets that the Georgia State Legislature did not respect the right of free speech in the Julian Bond case. We intend to protest the unjust action of the Georgia Legislature. We believe that Horace Julian Bond, the duly elected representative of the 136th House district, has a right to his seat and that his constituents have a right to a representative.

We admire and support the courage of Mr. Bond in resisting efforts by certain forces to get him to compromise his stand on the war in Vietnam. Moreover, the remarks of the legislators supporting the majority resolution leave no doubt in our minds about the predominant racist character of the current Legislature.

We reaffirm the contentions of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to oppose a war in Vietnam and racism in any sector of American life. In fact, we intend to "escalate" our opposition to the war. We certainly shall escalate the exercise of our First Amendment rights against injustices such as we witnessed in the denial of Mr. Bond's seat. We shall not meekly accept the slanderous remarks on our organization by this Legislature.

We are planning many activities to mount our protests. An underlying premise of the philosophy of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is that people must make decisions for themselves. Therefore, we shall concentrate most of our energy within the 136th House district. We plan to:

- 1) Launch a massive voter registration campaign in that district and other House districts.
- 2) Call for a Georgia Freedom Day on February 1, the anniversary of the student movement, to be convened at the Georgia State Capitol. We want people from all parts of the state to come to Atlanta to protest the fact that the 136th district is unrepresented in the Georgia Legislature.
- 3) Convene within the near future an exploratory conference to discuss the feasibility of forming a freedom organization, similar to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party but in no way aligned with or supporting the regular Democratic Party.
- 4) Mobilize adults for political action and protest.
- 5) Mobilize all students for political action and protest.
- 6) Hold mass meetings, distribute leaflets, canvass door to door urging people to claim their right to representation. We firmly believe that there should be no taxation without representation.
- 7) Invite prominent persons from all walks of life, across the nation, to come to Atlanta to assist in many protest activities.

... Julian Bond's Ouster

(Continued from Page 1)
(SCLC). Twenty-three U.S. congressmen signed a telegram to Gov. Sanders protesting Bond's removal as a denial of the right of dissent. Rev. King commented that if Bond had been white, he probably would have been seated in spite of his opposition to the war.

Over 1,000 persons including Rev. King, marched on the Georgia Capitol Jan. 14 to protest Bond's removal. Many of them were residents of the predominantly Negro 136th district, which Bond was elected to represent. Some of them broke through police lines and attempted to enter the legislative chambers, but the doors were locked. SNCC and SCLC have announced a call for a Georgia Freedom Day on Feb. 1, the anniversary of the birth of SNCC, when there will be a mass demonstration in front of the Georgia Capitol.

Meanwhile the racist Georgia officials who deprived Bond of his seat are preparing to support a pro-war rally scheduled for Feb. 12 in Atlanta. Reportedly, Senators Talmadge and Russell of Georgia, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, a native of the state, have agreed to speak.

FBI Called In

U.S. District Attorney Charles L. Goodson said Jan. 12 that he had asked the criminal division of the Justice Department to "review" the Bond case. But the review is not from the point of view of stopping the deprivation of Bond's rights, but, according to Goodson, to decide whether the law against counseling evasion of the draft had been violated by the SNCC statement and by Bond. Goodson said the FBI had been sent a copy of the SNCC statement, a tape recording of the Jan. 6 press conference, and records of some remarks by Bond.

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... State of Union Message

(Continued from Page 1)

Economic Indicators, the consumer price index increased from 103.1 in 1960 to 110.4 in October of 1965 — an increase of a little more than 7 per cent. This means that while actual wages of workers have increased about 17 percent since 1960, the buying power of the dollar has gone down since 1960, and the real value of wages has therefore only gone up about 10 percent in the five year period. That comes to a yearly average increase of a shade higher than 1.8 percent per year, and that is a figure a good deal below the so-called guideline.

Even according to his own guideline, therefore, Johnson should have stated in the address that workers were entitled to a substantial wage increase right now. Instead, he called for more repressive measures against unions. Johnson stated, "I also intend to ask congress to consider measures which . . . will enable us to effectively deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to national interest," an obvious reference to the New York transit workers' strike, clearly implying that Johnson would press for further government strike-breaking legislation in the new congress.

High Profits

Johnson's statement on corporate earnings, however, was not a distortion at all. The plain fact of the matter is that corporation profits have increased from a total of \$26.7 billion after taxes in 1960 to a record-breaking \$44.9 billion in the estimate based on third-quarter profits for 1965. That is an increase of over 66 percent, and comes to an average increase of about 11 percent per year.

Why a relative handful of wealthy corporation-owning families is entitled to a "guideline" of 11 percent per year while American workers are supposed to be allowed to get only 3.2 percent, but don't even get that much, is something Johnson took for granted his congressional audience of Democrats and Republicans would well understand. The congressmen only clapped louder when Johnson promised to ask that their terms be increased from two to four years, apparently confident that the ruling class would extend their political lackeys this dole for faithful services rendered.

What about the "war on poverty" side of the "Great Society?" Johnson did not give a very close run-down of last year's achievements on this score, and if anyone cared to take a closer look at them he would understand why.

Big Deal

One of the big sops to the civil rights movement last year, for example, was the so-called Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, headed by Franklin Roosevelt, Jr. This agency is supposed to examine and rectify complaints of race discrimination in Southern jobs. Its accomplishments were vividly described in the Jan. 10 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* by James Millstone.

According to Millstone, the agency was staffed to allow it to handle about 2,000 complaints a year. In the first year, however, it received 5,100 complaints and only investigated 700 of these. A grand total of 20 complaints have been successfully resolved, and six are presently in U.S. courts. "The accent throughout," Millstone wrote, "is on persuasion, conciliation, voluntary compliance." This is how the Johnson

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Lyndon B. Johnson

administration likes to deal with the racist white bigots who rule the South.

Johnson tried to sell the domestic program of the Democratic administration through deliberate distortions of fact, blatant omissions and soap-box exaggerations. But when it came to the question of U.S. foreign policy and particularly the war in Vietnam, Johnson surpassed himself as a master of the big-lie propaganda technique. Each sentence of his presentation compounded one falsehood on another.

Here is how Johnson began the incredible section of the State of the Union message on U.S. foreign policy: "The fifth and most important principle of our foreign policy is support of national independence — the right of each people to govern themselves and to shape their own institutions."

Some Questions

Is this Johnson's explanation of Washington's attitude towards Cuba? Is it the principle that underlies mercenary invasions and economic blockades? Does this explain why the United States stepped into Vietnam after the people had won a twenty-year struggle against French imperialism, propped up a palace-gangster named Ngo Dinh Diem who ruled his country by terror, killing and imprisoning tens of thousands?

Johnson continued, "For a peaceful world order will be possible only when each country walks the way that it's chosen to walk for itself." If he means this, how does Johnson explain the presence of U.S. troops all over the globe, bolstering one military dictatorship after the other, from continent to continent: Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan; General Parks in South Korea; Tshombe, only a few years ago in the Congo, which led to the present dictatorship of General Mobutu; and assorted dictators in Latin America, presently aided by secret U.S. counter-guerrilla forces?

How does this explain NATO and SEATO; U.S. financially backed dictatorships like Franco's and Salazar's, each of whom has reigned in Europe for decades; the Portuguese colonies using U.S. guns to suppress the people of Africa; and South Africa herself, a bastion of U.S. investment?

Vietnam Record

Did Kennedy opt for Johnson's ideal of each country "walking for itself" when he secretly dispatched 5,000 "advisers" to help Diem build concentration camps for the masses of Vietnamese peasants? Or did Johnson, when he turned this number into the hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops and began saturation-bombing of south Vietnam, Laos and north Vietnam on a daily basis?

Johnson continued, "We follow this principle by encouraging the end of colonial rule. We follow this principle, abroad as well as at home, by continued hostility to the rule of the many by the few, or the oppression of one race by another."

But there was not one single

word in this review of U.S. attempts to "end colonial rule" in 1965 about the Marine invasion of Santo Domingo. Not one word about how Johnson stepped in to prevent the formation of a constitutional democracy there, and tried to return the Trujillist military clique to power after its thirty-year U.S.-supported reign of terror.

Two black civil-rights workers were murdered in the South within days before the address to the nation. "Hostility" towards the Wallaces, Russells, Longs and Eastlands? No, they were in the audience clapping Johnson on. Not one word in tribute to Samuel Younger or Vernon Dahmer, Dahmer bombed to death the evening before Johnson's talk.

Here is what the millionaire from Texas, a product of 35-years training in American capitalist politics, finally did say about Vietnam: "Not too many years ago," Johnson began, "Vietnam was a peaceful, if troubled land. In the north was an independent Communist government. In the south a people struggled to build a nation, with the friendly help of the United States.

Conspiracy Theory

"There were some in south Vietnam who wished to force Communist rule on their own people," Johnson continued. "But their progress was slight. Their hope of success dim. Then a little more than six years ago north Vietnam decided on conquest. And from that day to this, soldiers and supplies have moved from north to south in a swelling stream — swallowing the remnants of revolution in aggression.

"And as the assault now mounted, our choice gradually became clear. We could leave, abandoning south Vietnam to its attackers and to certain conquest — or we could stay and fight beside the people of south Vietnam. We stayed," Johnson concluded, "and we will stay until aggression has stopped."

This is the utterly false picture of the U.S.-manufactured genocidal war in Vietnam which the President gave. He didn't say a word about the frantic Vietnamese woman weeping over the napalm-seared child in her hands which has become the symbol of the American antiwar movement. And there is a large and growing number of Americans who are learning the truth about this atrocious war and want the truth to be told.

But the Democratic and Republican politicians in Johnson's audience punctuated this false picture with cheer after cheer. This is the line of the ruling class, and it is therefore the line of the Democrats, Republicans, joint chiefs of staff, and black-robed chief justices who comprised Johnson's audience. These were the men whom TV cameras focused on, one after the other, as they applauded the demagogic and blood-thirsty 1966 State of the Union message.

The Feeling In Danang

"During a recent visit to the U. S. base, Danang, Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) of the Armed Services Committee, stopped a Vietnamese shoeshine boy on the street and asked to have their photograph taken together. The little boy barked an obscenity at the fatigue-clad senator and added: 'Go home!' An American official with Jackson blanched and said: 'Well, that's pretty much the feeling around here.'" — A Saigon dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune.

THE MILITANT

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January 24, 1966

Illegal Curbs on Labor

In his State of the Union message to Congress Johnson pressed for a strengthening of federal antilabor laws to better club the workers. Obviously referring to the New York transit strike, the power of which infuriated Johnson and every other spokesman of the boss class, he asked for measures which "will enable us effectively to deal" with such strikes, which he described as threatening to do "irreparable damage to the national interest."

Already on the books are the Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin union-busting acts. In New York City, there is also the Condon-Wadlin law which makes it a "crime" for city workers like the transit workers to strike for their just demands. In reality it is these laws which are criminal, which ride roughshod over the elementary and constitutional rights of the workers to organize, to run their own organizations and to strike. The right to strike is a fundamental right of the working people, and any law which attempts to take it away and impose forced labor upon the workers is unconstitutional and criminal.

Lindsay and the city administration in New York are talking about revising the Condon-Wadlin law. Their purpose is to prettify it enough to make it usable, they hope, as a strike-breaking instrument in future strikes.

Walter Reuther has shown himself to be a first-class fink in this situation by getting behind Johnson's demand for a new antiunion legal club. Reuther made the outrageous statement that "society cannot tolerate stoppages" like the transit strike.

Johnson's proposal must be denounced for what it is — an attack upon all labor. Strikebusting and antiunion laws don't need prettifying, they should be thrown out and the rights of the workers freed from any and all government restrictions.

Fire-Bombing in Mississippi

On Jan. 10 Vernon Dahmer of Hattiesburg, Miss., died of burns suffered when racists fire-bombed his home the previous day. His wife and daughter were hospitalized with burns.

The bombing came after Dahmer, a civil rights fighter, appeared on a local radio program and announced he intended to collect poll taxes from local Negroes, take the money to the sheriff's office and demand they be registered.

In Washington the news of Dahmer's death was met with a pious statement from Attorney General Katzenbach praising the slain rights leader and announcing that Lyndon Johnson "has expressed to me his deep personal concern over the tragedy." Katzenbach said the Justice Department intended to do something about the killing. We doubt it.

There have been too many killings in the South without any effective action by the federal government either to prevent them or, failing that, to apprehend the killers. There is no good reason to take Katzenbach's assurances seriously.

Following the racist killing of Samuel L. Younge, Jr., the young Tuskegee rights fighter, a few weeks ago, SNCC chairman John Lewis issued an angry statement which declared in part:

"If the federal government cannot provide protection for people seeking civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution, then people will have no protection but themselves. We find it increasingly difficult to ask the people of the Black Belt to remain nonviolent. We have asked the President for federal marshals for over three years. If our plea is not answered, we have no choice."

The killing of Vernon Dahmer underscores the urgency of the SNCC statement. The federal government has not shown a single sign of intention to provide effective protection for the embattled Southern rights fighters.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2648, Denver 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., AN 9-4953 or WE 5-2232. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway. 982-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party. Phone 552-4667.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.

SAN FRANCISCO. Pioneer Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum, 1722 Page St. UN 3-2453. Open 2-5 p.m. Mon., Fri., and weekends.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

Malcolm X Speaks

The following is from the concluding part of Malcolm X's speech on Dec. 20, 1964, at a Harlem church rally supporting the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's campaign to prevent the seating in Congress of five Mississippi segregationists. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer had spoken before Malcolm.

Installment 14

THE CRACKER PARTY

Some people wonder, well, what has Mississippi got to do with Harlem? It isn't actually Mississippi; it's America. America is Mississippi. There's no such thing as a Mason-Dixon Line — it's America. There's no such thing as the South — it's America. If one room in your house is dirty, you've got a dirty house. If the closet is dirty, you've got a dirty house. Don't say that that room is dirty but the rest of my house is clean. You're over the whole house. You have authority over the whole house; the entire house is under your jurisdiction. And the mistake that you and I make is letting these Northern crackers shift the weight to the Southern crackers.

All of these crackers — and that's what they are, crackers — they belong to the Democratic Party. That's the party they belong to — the same one you belong to, the same one you support, the same one you say is going to get you this and get you that. Why, the base of the Democratic Party is in the South. The foundation of its authority is in the South.

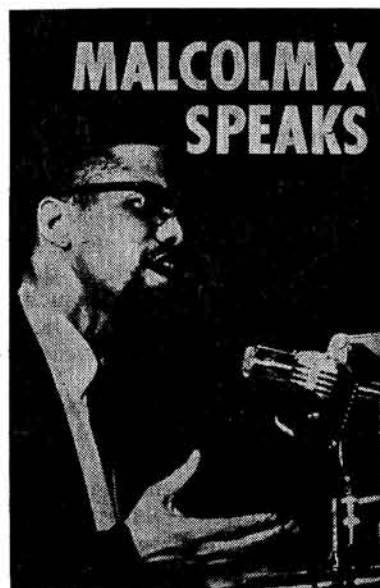
Didn't Help

The head of the Democratic Party is sitting in the White House. He could have gotten Mrs. Hamer into Atlantic City. He could have opened up his mouth and had her seated. Hubert Humphrey could have opened his mouth and had her seated. Wagner, the mayor right here, could have opened up his mouth and used his weight and had her seated. Don't be talking about some crackers down in Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia — all of them are playing the same game. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Cracker Party.

Now, I don't want to be stepping on toes or saying things that you don't think I was going to say, but don't ever, ever, ever call me up here to talk about Mississippi. It's controlled right up here from the North. Mississippi is controlled from the North. Alabama is controlled from the North. These Northern crackers are in cahoots with the Southern crackers, only these Northern crackers smile in your face and show you their teeth and they stick the knife in your back when you turn around. You at least know what that man down there is doing and you know how to deal with him.

North and South

So all I say is this, this is all I say: when you start talking about one, talk about the others. When you start worrying about the part or the piece, worry about the whole. And if this piece is no good, the entire pie is no good, because it all comes out of the same plate. It's made up out of the same ingredients. Wagner is a Democrat. He belongs to the same party as Eastland. Johnson is a Democrat. He belongs to the same party as Eastland. Wagner was in Atlantic City, Lyndon B. Johnson was in Atlantic City, Hubert Humphrey was in Atlantic City — the crackers that you voted for were in Atlantic City. What did they do for you when you wanted to sit down? They were quiet. They were silent. They said, "Don't



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rock the boat, you might get Goldwater elected. . . ."

As Mrs. Hamer pointed out, the brothers and sisters in Mississippi are being beaten and killed for no reason other than they want to be treated as first-class citizens. There's only one way to be a first-class citizen. There's only one way to be independent. There's only one way to be free. It's not something that someone gives to you. It's something that you take. Nobody can give you independence. Nobody can give you freedom. Nobody can give you equality or justice or anything. If you're a man, you take it. If you can't take it, you don't deserve it. Nobody can give it to you.

We have to let the people in Mississippi, as well as in Mississippi, N. Y., and elsewhere, know that freedom comes to us either by ballots or by bullets. That's the only way freedom is gotten. Freedom is gotten by ballots or bullets. These are the only two avenues, the only two roads, the only two methods, the only two means — either ballots or bullets. And when you know that, then you are careful how you use the word *freedom*. As long as you think we are going to sing up on some, you come in and sing. I watch you, those of you who are singing — are you also willing to do some swinging?

They've always said that I'm anti-white. I'm for anybody who's for freedom. I'm for anybody who's for justice. I'm for anybody who's for equality. I'm not for anybody who tells me to sit around and wait for mine. I'm not for anybody who tells me to turn the other cheek when a cracker is busting up my jaw. I'm not for anybody who tells black people to be nonviolent while nobody is telling white people to be nonviolent. I know I'm in the church, I probably shouldn't be talking like this — but Jesus himself was ready to turn the synagogue inside out and upside down when things weren't going right.

Jesus Fought

In fact, in the Book of Revelations, they've got Jesus sitting on a horse with a sword in his hand, getting ready to go into action. But they don't tell you or me about that Jesus. They only tell you and me about that peaceful Jesus. They never let you get down to the end of the book. They keep you up there where everything is, you know, nonviolent. No, go and read the whole book, and when you get to Revelations, you'll find that even Jesus' patience ran out.

And when his patience ran out, he got the whole situation straightened out. He picked up the sword.

I believe that there are some white people who might be sincere. But I think they should prove it. And you can't prove it to me by singing with me. You can't prove it to me by being non-violent. No, you can prove it by recognizing the law of justice. And the law of justice is "as ye sow, so shall ye reap." The law of justice is "he who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword." This is justice.

Now if you are with us, all I say is, make the same kind of contribution with us in our struggle for freedom that all white people have always made when they were struggling for their own freedom. You were struggling for your freedom in the Revolutionary War. Your own Patrick Henry said "liberty or death," and George Washington got the cannons out, and all the rest of them that you taught me to worship as my heroes, they were fighters, they were warriors.

Anything Necessary

But now when the time comes for our freedom, you want to reach back in the bag and grab somebody who's nonviolent and peaceful and forgiving and long-suffering. I don't go for that — no. I say that a black man's freedom is as valuable as a white man's freedom. And I say that a black man has the right to do whatever is necessary to get his freedom that other human beings have done to get their freedom. I say that you and I will never get our freedom nonviolently and patiently and lovingly. We will never get it until we let the world know that as other human beings have laid down their lives for freedom — and also taken life for freedom — that you and I are ready and willing and equipped and qualified to do the same thing.

It's a shame that Mrs. Hamer came out here this afternoon where there are so few people. It's a shame. All of our people in Harlem should have heard her describe what they did to her down there. Because I think the people in Harlem are more capable of evening the score than people are anywhere else in this country. Yes, they are, and they need to hear her story. They need to know more, first hand, about what's happening down there, especially to our women. And then they need some lessons in tactics and strategy on how to get even.

Raise Reward

I, for one, will make the first contribution to any fund that's raised for the purpose of evening the score. Whenever someone commits murder, what do you do? You put out a "reward, wanted — dead or alive" for the murderer. Yes, learn how to do it. We've had three people murdered. No reward has been put on the head of the murderer. Don't just put a reward — put "dead or alive, dead or alive."

And let that Klan know that we can do it tit for tat, tit for tat. If the government of the United States cannot bring to justice people who murder Negroes, or people who murder those who are at the forefront fighting in behalf of Negroes, then it's time for you and me to retire quietly to our closets and devise means and methods of seeing that justice is executed against murderers where justice has not been forthcoming in the past.

[Malcolm finished by inviting Mrs. Hamer to speak at a meeting of his organization that night.]

Next week: When you write the script yourself.

THE CHINA-CUBA TRADE PACT

What Castro Really Offered Peking

By Harry Ring

Contrary to the impression suggested by a recent Chinese assertion, Cuba didn't get an extra ration of Chinese rice last year because Fidel Castro went to the Chinese ambassador hat in hand. This is apparent from the text of the speech made by Castro in Havana Jan. 2 celebrating the seventh anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

The speech reviews Cuba's gains and setbacks during the past year, including the hardship caused by the Chinese decision to reduce the amount of rice it will ship to Cuba by 150,000 tons. This has compelled Cuba to slash individual rice rations from six pounds a month to three pounds.

Fidel declared that, on balance, last year was "one of the most fruitful and productive of the revolution."

Despite manifold difficulties, including a sharp drop in the price of sugar last year, better use and administration of the island's resources meant that there were no resulting hardships, he declared.

The country's economic bodies and planning boards had improved their function considerably during 1965, he said. He singled out for special salute President Osvaldo Dorticos for his contributions as president of Cuba's central planning board.

Significant progress was made in the field of agriculture last year, giving meaning to the decision of a year ago to designate 1965 as the Year of Agriculture.

Sugar cane cultivation exceeded the planned goal by eight percent.

While some agricultural goals were not met, targets for the most important crops were greatly surpassed. There were 30 percent more acres under cultivation in 1965 than the previous year. This was 7.3 percent more than the goal set for the year.

The vegetable yield was 40 percent higher than the previous year.

These gains were made, he said, despite the fact that there was less rain last year than in any year since 1900.

Because of the lack of rain, he added, this year's sugar crop would be less than anticipated but added cultivation meant there would be a greater crop in 1967.

Referring to the military parade that preceded his speech, Fidel said there were not many new weapons but that the total quantity of Cuba's weapons had increased during the year. This, he declared, was necessary because "we are the revolutionary state closest to the heart of the Yankee empire, because we are located in Latin America, which is awakening, where revolutionary spirit is spreading on a continent which, little by little, is bursting into revolution."

Revolutionary Future

"In the next few years," he predicted, "this continent will have a revolutionary confrontation with imperialism's direct or indirect control, as the Dominican people are doing today with incomparable heroism."

"This continent," he continued, "brimming with revolutionary ferment, this continent that will be shaken by revolutionary storms, will mean great risks, great threats for our country for some years. That is why, observing the line followed by the imperialist camp, observing their policy, we must always be calmly but firmly prepared."

Turning to the political problems that confront Cuba within the anticapitalist world, he directed his fire at unnamed critics who have apparently denigrated the Cuban leadership and attacked its recent arrangement to permit those who wished to do so to emigrate to the U.S.

"No one should believe," he declared, "that we are petty bourgeois governing or leading the rev-

olution, although we do not deny our petty bourgeois origin." Marx, Engels and Lenin, he recalled, were also of middle-class origin.

The exile arrangement does not mean, he stated, "as some detractors and intriguers outside this country have tried to make it appear, a kind of conciliation with imperialism."

"Because, gentlemen," he added, "there is something that should be said on this date and at this hour. And it should be said with the same assurance, honesty, firmness and confidence with which we have always spoken: that the last country — let this be heard well — the last country on earth that for infinite historical, geographical, revolutionary and moral reasons, the last country to make peace with imperialism will be this one."

"There are those," he charged, "who echo the imperialist campaigns. And there are those who, from supposedly revolutionary positions, seem to read the AP and UPI daily, because they say the same things as the UPI and AP say."

The Cuban policy on emigration, he explained, is simply to let all those leave who want to leave. It was action by the Cuban government, he recalled, that compelled Washington to open its doors to those who want to enter.

Cuba has also been attacked, he said, for firing people from their jobs after they apply to leave for the U.S. He explained official policy on this question. Among those waiting to leave, he said, are members of the civil service bureaucracy who perform no useful function and others whose jobs have been eliminated and who are drawing full wages while going to school to be trained for new jobs.

Cuba, he declared, will no longer support such people. If they want to do useful physical work like cutting cane, he said, they will be hired. And if they are physically unable to do useful work, they



VOLUNTEERS. Cuban city dwellers at work in countryside helping to harvest vital sugar crop.

will receive government aid. He said the revolutionary government had never deprived anyone of food because of his politics. Although it has never been publicized, he said, to this day the government is caring for the families of executed killers of the Batista regime.

[When this writer was in Cuba in 1960, he was informed by an official of the public housing authority that first priority for homes was given to families of men killed in the civil war regardless of which side they fought on.]

Fidel's explanation of Chinese-Cuban trade relations was most revealing. Cuba's trade with China, he reported, had been oriented toward continuing the increase in the volume of trade, as had been the tendency in the past few years.

But the Cuban trade delegation that went to Peking to negotiate the 1966 pact was informed that China would not take as much sugar this year as last year because China had had a bumper crop of sugar itself last year and it had completed payment to the USSR of a loan of 500,000 tons of sugar made in 1961.

And, the Cuban delegation reported it had been informed: "The amount of rice supplied to Cuba in 1965, totaling 250,000 tons, was an exception, due to a request made by Prime Minister Castro to the Chinese ambassador."

"Despite a good harvest in 1966," the trade delegation report continued, "they see no possibility for supplying larger quantities than those of 1964 which amounted to 135,000 metric tons."

The trade delegation was told the cut in rice shipments to Cuba was necessary to build a rice reserve in China in case of U.S. attack; because of the need to aid Vietnam; and because deficits in the production of other cereal made the rice necessary for exchange in the purchase of these cereals in capitalist areas of the world.

Real Proposal

Castro explained to the Cuban people exactly what he had proposed to the Chinese ambassador. In China, he said, sugar costs four or five times more than rice. In Cuba, rice costs two or three times more than sugar.

"Therefore," Fidel said, "I made the proposal — in my opinion extremely beneficial to both countries — that we were willing to exchange two tons of sugar for each ton of rice sent by China."

Proceeding from the concept of an international division of labor, he said such an exchange was a very logical one since Cuba was ideally suited for the production of sugar and had the necessary know-how while the same thing applied to the production of rice in China.

Quoting figures on the price of rice and sugar in China, he said that for each eight cents worth of rice they sent to Cuba they were getting in return 60 cents worth of sugar.

"I honestly believed," Fidel declared, "that it was a proposal considered with a long-range perspective, as a long-term agreement. That is why, not naively — although it turned out to be naive — we proposed to continue on that basis this year's trade exchange."

"But," he continued, "it appears that the other party did not understand it that way, and understood that it was an exceptional thing for one year. As a result we already found ourselves at the end of 1965 face to face with the fact that, practically, we will have half the amount of rice we received last year."

Cuba, he said, doesn't have the economic resources to buy rice on the world market even if it could get through the U.S. trade blockade. Many countries, he observed, were willing to resist the U.S. stricture on trade with China because the Chinese market is so big. But they aren't willing to risk U.S. ire for the relatively small amounts that Cuba would buy.

Necessary Sacrifice

Neither can Cuba realistically expect to become self-sufficient in the production of rice. Fidel estimated that 330,000 acres would have to be withdrawn from other production to do so and, in addition, greater amounts of water than is available would be needed.

So, he said, the Cuban people will have to restrict their consumption of rice. However, he added, increased production of vegetables, eggs, meats, etc., would provide them a more balanced diet even if it meant changing customary dietary habits.

Fidel concluded his speech with special words of welcome to the delegates present for the Tricontinental Congress. He declared that increased contact among revolutionary leaders and movements from around the world will surely bear fruit.

He said: "We state before our people, and in the name of our people, what we do not hide: Any revolutionary movement in any part of the world can count on Cuba's unconditional and decided aid."

Proclaiming 1966 Cuba's "Year of Solidarity," Fidel declared: "Long live the year of solidarity and brotherhood among all people! Long live the people's fight for liberation!"

World Events

Belgians Hit Vietnam War

A youth section of the Belgian Federation of Labor (FGTB) recently passed a resolution condemning U. S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. The general assembly of the FGTB Cadets of the Liege-Huy-Waremme region also voted "its profound solidarity with the youth of the United States who with such energy and in such numbers have expressed their objections to a policy that arouses such hatred against their country, that has sown death and desolation for the people of Vietnam, weakened by so many years of war and misery, and that constitutes a dangerous menace to world peace."

Israeli Youth Back Protests

The Committee of Zionist-Socialist and Arab Youth of Israel has issued a statement supporting the U. S. antiwar movement. "The progressive youth of Israel," it said, "participates in the protests heard all over the globe, which found their expression in the demonstrations held on November 27 . . . against American intervention in Vietnam — which has turned into a war to liquidate a people using weapons of mass murder."

Cuba Dissolves Ministry

As part of its drive on bureaucracy, Cuba will abolish its Treasury Ministry, reported Radio Havana on New Year's Eve. Key functions will be absorbed by the National Bank.

Didn't Join Peace Corps

A young American has been fighting with the Peruvian guerrillas. This was revealed Jan. 5 when the Lima newspaper *La Prensa* reported the capture of David Penn Livingstone, the son of an American Protestant missionary. *La Prensa* described Livingstone as a guerrilla leader in central Peru and said he was "known to Indian tribesmen" in the area. The drive of impoverished Indian peasants to retake their ancestral lands from Peru's giant landowners has been the explosive source of rural unrest in recent years.

Impressionable Peasants

The new Indian prime minister, Gulzarilal Nanda, has reportedly "expressed the belief that Communism may be a threat to India because some Indian peasants have been 'dazzled' by the display of power by China." If Nanda meant the display of power when Chinese peasants expropriated their landlord masters, he may be right. The Indian masses were certainly not dazzled by recent warnings from the Congress Party, voice of India's landlords, capitalists, and food speculators, that they face a famine in 1966 in which millions may die.

Ben Barka Mystery Grows

The case of Moroccan socialist leader Medhi Ben Barka, kidnapped in Paris, Oct. 29 [see the Nov. 15 *Militant*], has become a major issue in France. Efforts to

discover who was behind the kidnapping have unearthed a bizarre assortment of secret agents, gangsters, cops, high Moroccan and French officials, and maybe even the CIA.

Testimony by a French police inspector Jan. 14 indicated the kidnapping had been approved by the French interior minister and by De Gaulle's presidential staff secretary. De Gaulle's two chief rivals in the recent election demanded an explanation.

An incident Jan. 17 raised serious questions about what powers were at work and what was being hidden. A man, George Figon, who claimed to be an eyewitness of the beating and stabbing of Ben Barka was found dead after weeks of fruitless searching by police. Police said he shot himself just as they were knocking on the door to arrest him.

Moroccan associates of Ben Barka say that CIA agents work closely with the Moroccan secret police. Moroccan interior minister, Gen. Mohammed Oufkir, was in Paris Oct. 29. Witnesses say he was at the suburban villa to which Ben Barka was abducted.

The CIA may have had a special interest in Ben Barka because he was chairman of the preparatory committee of the recent Tri-Continental Solidarity Congress held in Havana, whose aim was to unite revolutionary forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In Havana shortly before he was kidnapped, Ben Barka proclaimed that "meeting ninety miles from imperialism" would give the congress "great resonance."

—George Saunders

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Of Materialism**
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New York, N. Y. 10003

A VETERAN FREEDOM FIGHTER DIES

Joe Ross: Staunch Socialist

By Max Goldman

(The following speech was made by Max Goldman in Los Angeles on Jan. 5 at the memorial meeting for Joe Ross, who died on Dec. 6. Max Goldman is a long-time revolutionary socialist whose affiliation dates back to the Communist League of America which was formed upon the break with Stalinism in the 1920's and was a predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party.)

(He was a leader of the unemployed movement in Minneapolis during the Thirties, and served a two-year term in federal prison for leading a strike of WPA workers in 1939. Max Goldman was one of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis labor leaders convicted in 1941 in the first Smith Act trial, and served another 16 months as a result of this witchhunting prosecution. He is presently a leading member of the SWP branch in Los Angeles.)

When I think of Joe Ross, the feeling is like that of missing someone who has always been with us. It's only the last few months that Joe was not able to attend every branch meeting, public meetings, socials and party gatherings. Only sickness and hospital confinement kept him away from party functions.

In past years Joe and I were active in other party branches, and whether it was Minneapolis, Chicago, or here in Los Angeles, it was always the same; you looked around, and there was Joe. For 36 years, from 1929 to Dec. 6, 1965 (the day of his death), Joe's life was inseparable from the party. If memory serves me right, he was at a branch meeting the week before he died. That was the kind of man Joe was. He was a party man, and his life revolved around the party.

Honor to Speak

When I was asked to speak at this memorial meeting, in honor of his memory, I accepted readily because it seemed to me I knew Joe Ross. But as I began to gather notes for my remarks I realized how little I knew about Joe's personal life. Ours was a political association. In all the cities we



had been our political relationship never had become a personal one. We met at party halls, party functions, and class actions, and I regret now that I had not known him on a more personal level.

Delving into his past as an individual and combining what I learned with what I know of him as a revolutionary Marxist, my respect for him has been enhanced, and it is an honor to say a few words in his memory. More than that, Joe's life is an example of faith and devotion to principles that does honor to him as an individual, and honor to the party he served so well for 36 years.

Joe began his revolutionary career in the struggle against Czarism. (I don't know whether he participated in the Russian Revolution.) Comrade Dave C. visited Joe in the hospital a year or so ago, and he told me how Joe, thinking his time had come, related to Dave his experiences in the revolutionary underground in Russia under the Czarist regime. Joe wanted the youth to know what it took to be a revolutionist at a time when every gathering was under the vigilant eye of the secret police; when detection meant exile to Siberia, and even death. This was the school from which Joe graduated; a school in which one risked life every day; a school in which the watchword was 'the word and the deed.'

Joe related how he came to this country with some illusions. He landed in New York, and like so many other immigrants before him, he greeted the Statue of Liberty with hope. But he soon discovered the reality. Under the façade of democratic institutions he found the laws of class struggle in full operation. Rich and poor in America meant the same as rich and poor in Czarist Russia. Policemen's clubs came down upon workers' heads with the same painful force; workers were imprisoned, framed up, forced to struggle for the same elementary rights.

Founding Member

I don't know whether Joe joined the Socialist Party, but I know he was a member of the Communist Party, because in 1929 he, along with others, was expelled from that party in Minneapolis for opposing the expulsions of Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund, and others, on charges of Trotskyism. Joe joined the Trotskyist movement at this juncture, and he never wavered in his loyalty to the movement from the time he joined until the day of his death. Likewise, his contributions to the movement did not cease until his death, at the age of 74 years.

Not much formal schooling can be picked up in the school of hard knocks, and as a result, Joe was

a semi-literate man. He taught himself to read and write. He was not a speaker or an organizer. His role was in giving his arms and his legs to the movement. I think of all the party halls that Joe swept; the thousands of pieces of literature he distributed; his participation on picket lines and at demonstrations. Truly, it can be said that wherever the class struggle raged, there was Joe Ross.

I remember him on the picket lines and in demonstrations during the struggles of the unemployed workers in Minneapolis. I was a leader of that movement, a spokesman and an organizer. Joe was a rank and file member, but it was Joe who took the most risks. He fought the cops, sat-in at City Hall, at the State Capital, and at relief stations. He was at the point of greater risk than I. His concern was for his fellow man — his own interests came second, if at all.

Selfless Worker

My memory goes back to when I was grievance man for the Federal Workers Section of Local 544. Others appeared to voice their needs, but when Joe appeared in his quiet way, it was to ask for coal for a neighbor, for clothing, food, and rent for others. That's the kind of revolutionary soldier he was. That's the kind of learning he received in the underground struggles in the old country and in the class struggles in America. He gave all he had — all he could. Such a man is unique. He deserves to be remembered as an outstanding example of a person dedicated to the class struggle and to the welfare of his fellow-man.

We shall miss Joe Ross. We shall miss him not only because every fund drive found Joe at the top, but because in his person he represented the indomitable soldier of the revolution. He was a star in the circle of Jimmy Higinnes — the party builders — the fighters for a better world.

The party was everything to Joe. The personal happiness denied him by the social system, all the personal burdens heaped upon him, became, through his own consciousness, the tools by which he turned his existence into an affirmative way of life. His purpose in life was to build the revolutionary movement. He was every inch a party man, and his last act was in line with the pattern of his life. Knowing death was near he made certain that whatever he had should go to the party, so that the last fund drive, completed less than two weeks after his death, received a contribution from Joe Ross in the amount of \$80.

Let us honor his memory. Let us all feel the better for his example.

REVIEWS
and
REPORTS

THE SUMMER THAT DIDN'T END by Len Holt. New York, William Morrow and Co., 1965, 351 pages. \$5.00.

In the summer of 1964 a massive civil rights project was set up in the state of Mississippi under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). By October, 1964, the casualties of the project included 15 murders, 4 woundings, 37 churches bombed or burned to the ground and more than 1,000 arrests.

The Summer That Didn't End is a history of the successes, failures and lessons of the Mississippi Freedom Project. The book is authored by Len Holt, a young Negro civil rights attorney who was an active participant in the project. In a way, Holt is the semi-official historian of the COFO project. He put it this way in his introduction:

"Staughton Lynd (coordinator of the freedom schools during their first two months of existence and professor of history at Yale) suggested that I act as a 'wastepaper basket,' i.e., historian."

The book contains an enormous amount of information about COFO, the summer project, the role of the federal government in Mississippi, the freedom schools, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the role of the national Democratic Party, and much more.

The federal government has many agencies operating in Mississippi just as in the other states. These include federal judges, federal juries and the federal police force (the FBI, U.S. Marshals, the Secret Service, and Treasury Department agents). In Mississippi there is little difference between the face of the state government on the one side and the federal government on the other. Both act to uphold the system of racial segregation. Here is one example from the book:

"Civil rights cases in the federal courts are characterized by delay and frustration — and sometimes honest statements of their opinions by the federal judges. In one voting suit, on March 8, 1964, the Hon. W. Harold Cox was quoted as saying: 'I am not interested in whether the registrar is going to give a registration test to a bunch of niggers on a voter drive.'

"Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who had concurred in the appointment of Judge Cox (the first Kennedy appointee) to the federal bench by his brother, President Kennedy, was asked by a reporter why persons known to have such strong segregationist views had been selected. The Attorney General replied: 'I'm very proud of the judges that have been appointed.'"

Holt deals with and exposes the entire gamut of federal agencies and officials. The extent of the federal government's complicity in Mississippi's segregation is proved beyond dispute.

An interesting aspect of the book is a discussion of what happened at the 1964 Democratic National Convention around the question of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The regular Democrats from Mississippi had declared that they would not support the candidates of the national party in the presidential campaign. The MFDP pledged to support the national Democratic ticket even if they were not seated at the convention.

The Democrats offered the MFDP two at-large seats, while the regular racist Democrats were

offered the whole of Mississippi's allotment of delegate positions. The whole deal was engineered for Lyndon Johnson by Hubert Humphrey.

The MFDP, which came to the convention with a great deal of seeming strength, saw its liberal "friends" fold under pressure one after the other. Here is how Holt describes one part of the events:

"By Tuesday, August 25, the matter of the 11 signatures of members of the Credentials Committee needed for a minority report calling for the seating of the Freedom Democrats was handled.

"Joseph Rauh, lawyer for the Freedom Democrats, was also general counsel for the United Automobile Workers of America, whose president was Walter Reuther. The position as general counsel pays several tens of thousands of dollars per year. For reasons not known, when time came for signing a minority report, Rauh did not sign, although he had promised to do so repeatedly.

"Congressman Charles Diggs, who, like Rauh, was a member of the Credentials Committee, wouldn't sign a minority report. The Michigan delegation to the Convention was furious and made strong accusations as to the reasons why Diggs didn't sign and otherwise sided with the wishes of President Johnson rather than those of the Freedom Democrats.

"Martin Luther King changed. On Saturday, August 22, and on Sunday and Monday he had repeatedly called for the seating of the Freedom Democratic Party to represent Mississippi. With the aid of Bayard Rustin, the Messrs. Reuther, Humphrey and Johnson had caused the Rev. King, whose organization (SCLC) receives substantial contributions from organized labor, to see the light.

"Other members of the Credentials Committee who supported the Freedom Democrats were promised no judgeships for their husbands, one was promised no poverty program in his Congressional district; another had his employer call him and remind him that continued support of the Freedom Democrats might be the loss of a government contract that the firm was seeking; another was told that her job with a high official of the city of New York was not helped by her support of the Freedom Democrats.

"The various messages from the master politicians got across. The support of the Freedom Democrats dwindled from 18 to 4 on the Credentials Committee."

— Arthur Maglin



FANNIE LOU HAMER, leader of Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

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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.]

Lindsay and Transit Strike

San Francisco, Calif.

Best banner headline since "BRING THE GIs HOME"! Tom Leonard's fine front-pager Jan. 10 shows very clearly that the people of New York City must put the blame for their current discomfiture squarely on the mayor and the Transit Authority. It set visions of the power of organized labor dancing in my head:

Here now is this Mayor Lindsay, jog-trotting to work. Is his chauffeur on strike, too? Is it some kind of demonstration of solidarity with walking people instead of working people? Someone might tell him that walking people are working people too. I wonder what a typical day in the life of Mayor Lindsay will be like if all organized labor in the city decides to exercise its power simultaneously . . .

20 Years Ago In The Militant

800,000 STEEL WORKERS STRIKE FOR LIVING WAGE — Jan. 21 — Today at one minute past midnight the battle was joined in the most titanic and crucial labor struggle in American history.

Eight hundred thousand CIO steel workers — the flesh and bones and blood of America's basic industry — threw down the gauntlet before the steel corporations, the most voracious and ruthless monopoly in the world.

Throughout the nation, at one blow from the mighty fist of steel labor, the gigantic mills, the vast blast furnaces and hearths, stood cold, silent and deserted.

Pittsburgh, Homestead, Braddock, Youngstown, Lackawanna, Bethlehem, Gary, Indiana Harbor, South Chicago — all the names synonymous with steel — today became the battlegrounds of a struggle that strikes at the very foundations of American monopoly capitalism.

For from the steel plants come the indispensable materials and products on which the whole gigantic organism of American industry, transport and commerce is nourished and sustained. Steel, the heart of American industrialism, is deprived of its very life blood, the labor of the steel workers. With its heart paralyzed, all American industry in a few short weeks will face virtual prostration. — January 26, 1946

PARIS MEETING OF GIs ADOPTS "MAGNA CHARTA" — Moving to stamp out the worldwide GI protests against both the slow-down in demobilization and the U. S. Army's Prussian military caste system, Chief of Staff General Eisenhower issued an order from Washington on January 17 banning any further soldier demonstrations . . .

This decision to punish all soldiers who protest against the harsh regime came shortly after five hundred angry soldiers meeting on January 13 in the famed Trocadero in Paris, approved "a revolutionary program of Army reform," in the words of the United Press, and set up a GI Liberation Committee. — January 26, 1946

He'll get up in the morning and walk to work, of course, because the transit workers are on strike. Then he'll spend a few hours weaving at a hand loom because the garment workers are on strike. Then he might go outdoors and walk around ringing a bell and reciting the news because the newspaper workers are on strike. He'll spend another hour or so learning to read all by himself because the teachers are on strike. Then he might send a messenger (because the telephone workers are on strike) to go see about buying a horse and buggy in case auto workers go on strike. After a brisk walk home, he'll dine by candlelight because power plant workers are on strike. He'll spend a few hours practicing the art of making fire by striking stone against flint before he goes to bed secure in the knowledge that no bunch of unionists are going to get him down, no matter what the odds.

Lightweight! He can't break the strike. He'd rather the city lost ten times the amount of a settlement. And his personal solution is a return to the nineteenth century.

Curtis LeMay wants to bomb the Vietnamese into the Stone Age. Maybe Lindsay figures the general will be a little lonely there with no one to keep him company but a lot of Vietnamese. Do you suppose Lindsay has set his mind upon gradually bringing New York City back there, too?

W. Ingelwood

Contribution and Criticism

Baltimore, Md.

Last month you carried a letter from Iceland in which the writer said he wanted to subscribe but couldn't send dollars. Enclosed is check for \$2.25 toward a subscription for him.

No doubt others will contribute, giving him a good chance to get acquainted.

I wish you would leave out the caricatures of people with whom you have disagreements and print regular photographs. It looks as though you are afraid to let your readers know what they look like.

Archie Craig

From Mississippi

Indianola, Miss.

In the last letter I wrote you I told you we had received the remodeling permit to build the Indianola Community Center after our Freedom House was burned down. However, the permit which we received was for the wrong address, so now we are trying to have the address on the permit changed or get another permit. The wrong address was on the permit because the man from whom we bought the land and the house was using someone else's mail box address.

We began work on the house and worked four days before we were informed that our permit was no good. If we had had enough money to really do the job the right way, we probably would have completed work on the outside of the house before the permit was invalidated. We could have been working on the inside without a permit, but now we need a frame on the outside before we build on the inside.

Mayor Pitts, Mayor of Indianola, gave us the remodeling permit with the wrong address on his

own authority. Our second application for a remodeling permit must be approved by the board of aldermen. Our application has supposedly been on the board's agenda twice, but we've heard nothing from them. Mayor Pitts has told us that he hoped the board didn't give us the permit.

Our lawyer is going to file suits in federal and state district courts concerning our permit. He is going to file in both courts to improve the odds of winning a favorable decision; if we lose in one court, maybe we'll win in the other. Our case in the state district court will be heard in March, as that court convenes only in September and March.

To complete the Indianola Community Center we will only have to raise \$3,000.

When the community center is built we are going to use it for a child day care center, for adult literacy classes, and, hopefully, start a regular night school.

The child day care program will be for children 18 months to two-and-one-half years. Several women are already finding children to be in the program, so it can begin as soon as the community center is ready for use.

Adult literacy classes are now being held in people's homes two nights a week. The classes are taught by people in the community. When the center is completed they will be able to hold their classes at the center.

We would also like to start a night school. No night classes are offered at the high school or anywhere else in Indianola. A night

school would give people who are busy during the day a chance to further their education at night.

The Indianola Improvement Association, a conservative Negro group, is working on voter registration. They would like to take over the work of the FDP volunteers. Whatever their purposes, we're glad to see others working on voter registration.

We are working hardest on getting a place for the people to meet. We still haven't paid for the work that was done on the house before we lost the permit. Please send something, anything, even if it's only a dollar. Anything would be appreciated.

Otis Brown
Sunflower County Freedom Democratic Party
P.O. Box 30
Indianola, Miss.

Books on Kennedy Killing

Glens Falls, N. Y.

Enclosed is a bit for the "Fund." Wish it were more.

As you probably know, a couple of books have been written on the plot-theory in the assassination of President Kennedy, both of which I have read, viz: *Oswald — Assassin or Fall Guy*, by Jorquin Joestin, and *Who Killed Kennedy?* by Thomas Buchanan. I haven't seen any comment on either in *The Militant*; in fact, I haven't seen any comment in any publication on these books.

Another book I also have read is *None Dare Call It Treason*, by John Stormer, which indeed was very interesting and very startling.

I don't believe you commented on this book either, as far as I know. Best wishes for '66.

K.M.G.

Plight of American Indian

Detroit, Mich.

The Militant has always been in the vanguard for fearless and unbiased news reporting. The entire civil rights movement owes a debt of gratitude to this small, but vocal, progressive publication. However, I detect one area where all is not what it should be. Occasionally *The Militant* gives picayune coverage to the shameful treatment accorded to the American Indian by our government. The total coverage given this important matter is disgraceful.

I believe that it is an established fact that the Indian suffers more racial, economic, and educational discrimination than any other segment of our citizenry. There is no reason why the entire progressive and radical movement cannot give increased moral, political, and economic aid to this problem.

The Militant is certainly remiss in this situation. One need only remember the life of Ira Hayes to be sickened at the naked and brutal neglect that Washington accords to these people. We have broken nearly every treaty contracted with the Indians. These honest people do not even have the sham of "second-class" citizenship. In all justice *The Militant* must avidly take up this cause which few truly seem to care about today!

Richard M. Woodruff

It Was Reported in the Press

Anti-Dropout Program — We are generally reluctant to take the same stand as big business on any question. But we do find ourself close to the whiskey industry regarding the proposal by a Harvard psychiatrist that children be taught to drink alcohol in school. He said it would curb alcoholism. An anonymous spokesman for a liquor research and publicity firm expressed cautious sympathy for the project. We do too. We don't know if it will curb alcoholism, but we do feel that if they had had such a program when we were a lad we might have attended more regularly.

New Appointee — Those who followed the speeches of Malcolm X will be interested in the *New York Herald Tribune* report that Robert C. Weaver, Johnson's Negro cabinet member, started out as a cigarette smoker but switched over to cigars.

To the Mimeo Machine! — "GM President Says Industry Must Refute Safety Critics by Better Public Relations." — Headline in the *Wall Street Journal*.

So Why Doesn't He Get Better Ones? — *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party, regularly strains a gut to put the best possible interpretation on the misdeeds of liberal capitalist politicians. Hence a Jan. 11 report on the New York transit shutdown offered this revelation: "Lindsay's Advisers Are Responsible for Strike."

Transport News — The *New York Herald Tribune's* Eugenia Sheppard breathlessly reports that

West Coast fashion designer Jimmy Galanos "has just bought his first Rolls Royce . . . He happened to have a few kangaroo skins lying around his charming little white house. They have become rugs to cover the floor of his Rolls. He only uses the Rolls in the evening. In the daytime Hollywood still sees him at the wheel of his Jag." Miss Sheppard also had news of New York's transit strike: "More about Jaguars. David Kidd sends his up to Harlem every morning to pick up his cook, Lily, because she makes such divine chocolate cake."

Problem Dep't — For a change, how would you like to have this kind of a financial problem? The *Wall Street Journal* says:

"If the dollar is devalued 50 percent and the Swiss franc is not devalued . . . the deposit in the Swiss bank immediately be-

comes worth twice as many dollars. The problem then becomes whether to bring the money back here and pay tax on the profit, or go and live on the money abroad."

Unpopular — The New York police love Enrique Negron, but his Bronx neighbors don't. Negron, a grocer, hit the front pages last summer when he plunged in to aid a cop who was trying to arrest a young man and who was surrounded by an angry crowd charging police brutality. In the melee that followed Negron was stabbed. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association gave him a thousand dollars and the papers gave him a lot of publicity but his neighbors, Negro and Puerto Rican, stopped buying in his store. He's now out of business. He says his neighbors call him "Cop lover."

—Harry Ring

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Thought for the Week

"High officials here continue to worry about the administration's 'credibility' problem . . . The problem has arisen because over a period of many months administration officials have from time to time made statements that are either transparently misleading or are followed by later developments that cast doubt on the accuracy of the original statement . . . [White House press secretary] Moyers is said to believe that the 'credibility' issue is now about the most dangerous problem facing the administration." — The Jan. 17 *New York Herald Tribune*.

4,500 in New York Hear Reports on Hanoi Visit

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — A huge crowd turned out Sunday afternoon Jan. 16 to hear the reports of three Americans who had just returned from a trip to North Vietnam — Staughton Lynd, Thomas Hayden and Herbert Aptheker. The turnout of 4,500 was remarkable considering the bitterly cold weather and the fact that the meeting had been called on quick notice and was advertised largely through word of mouth.

The meeting was sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, which had organized the parade last Oct. 16 and which is planning the next major mass antiwar demonstration in New York around the March 25-26 days of protest. The committee, a non-exclusive united front, is composed of representatives of virtually every group in the area opposed to the war in Vietnam. A. J. Muste, the dean of American pacifists, chaired the meeting.

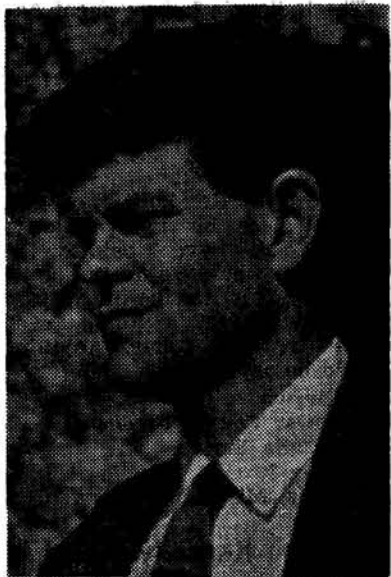
Herbert Aptheker

Aptheker, a spokesman for the Communist Party who had been invited to North Vietnam and had in turn invited the other two to accompany him on the trip, spoke first. He observed that many of the police in Hanoi were women and that the police were not armed, but that the rest of the population generally was. There are air-raid shelters everywhere, said Aptheker, and he compared the use of napalm and phosphorus bombs by the U. S. in Vietnam with the Nazi crematoria. He also developed his general political position on world events contending that aid to "national liberation movements" must be balanced against the danger of world war, implying that aid to revolutions might increase rather than decrease the danger of world war.

Tom Hayden

Tom Hayden, a worker in the Newark Community Union Project and a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society, gave an enlightening and perspicacious account of the conversations he had had with government officials, intellectuals and others from the National Liberation Front, North Vietnam, China, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. (The travelers had visited the other countries on their way to Hanoi.) Hayden devoted much of his time to the ideological differences as expressed by these various spokesmen. The audience, as expressed in questions, evinced great interest in this subject matter, indicating a much greater interest in such complex political questions than has generally existed, even among antiwar activists, in the U. S. before.

He said he came away convinced after talking to south Vietnamese guerrillas, who were of the



Staughton Lynd

same age as many youth active in the antiwar movement here, that the guerrillas in the south had started their fight alone and that they would carry it on indefinitely whether they got aid from the north or anywhere else or not. He said "those who rise up against us [the U. S.] understand better than we the meaning of independence."

Staughton Lynd spoke briefly. He quoted a letter that a wounded U. S. veteran had sent to him sympathizing with the antiwar movement, and a poem by the leading north Vietnamese poet eulogizing Norman Morrison, the Quaker who burned himself to death in protest against the war. Lynd said the veteran and the poet were trying to communicate with one another and the U. S. government "is in the way."

A GOV'T REPORT

Expect New Ghetto Explosions

By Herman Porter

"Racial Tinderbox: A Federal Study Finds Unrest Among Negroes Rising in Many Cities. New Watts-Type Rioting Is Feared; Vietnam's Inroads on Great Society a Factor." So reads a very informative headline in the Jan. 5 *Wall Street Journal*.

The article goes on to describe a "highly confidential report, compiled by Government agents, now being studied by Federal policymakers." The report points out that the black ghettos of the big cities are ready to explode, and it explains why. "The more optimistic feel that we have a year in which to improve the climate; others believe the situation to be such that any incident can spark an explosion," is the assessment of the report.

The list of explosive ghettos includes 21 cities: Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Gary, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Memphis, Newark, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, St. Louis, San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

The article summarizes what this confidential government document has to say about the Oakland, Calif., ghetto: unemployment among Negroes is 20 percent — almost five times the national rate. An "urban renewal" project has actually reduced the supply of housing in the ghetto. The schools are badly overcrowded. Everywhere in the black community the police are charged with brutality. The report warns against indifference on the part of govern-

Faces Exile from Land of Birth

Socialist Fights Deportation Order

By Paul Eidsvik

MINNEAPOLIS — On Jan. 11, Special Inquiry Officer Irving Freedman of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service ordered Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, deported from the United States.

Johnson, who is a native born American and who has stated that he will go to prison before being deported, filed an immediate appeal with the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D. C. This automatically sets aside the deportation order until the appeals board can hear the case, which it is expected to do sometime this spring.

In the meantime, the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson announced that it will step up its plans for his defense. A rally was planned for Jan. 22 at the University of Minnesota. Local defense counsel Douglas Hall will appear along with a number of prominent sponsors of the committee. The committee also announced that new literature is being prepared on the case, and that Johnson will soon begin a national tour to bring the facts of the case to the American public.

The Immigration Service deportation order was the latest step in the action against Johnson, coming after nearly twenty months of hearings and legal arguments within the Service's hearing department. The Immigration Service has charged Johnson with having lost his American citizenship by allegedly participating in Canadian elections while living in Canada as a young man. They further claim that he is deportable for having overstayed the 48-hour entrance permit given him upon his return to the United States in 1959.

The case began in May, 1964, when Johnson received notice from the Immigration Service that he was in their opinion "stateless" and that he was to show cause why he shouldn't be deported to some unnamed country. There have since been four hearings, the last in October, 1965. It was this last hearing that resulted in the deportation decision.

The government's charges are based upon the 1951 McCarran Immigration Act, which states that an American can lose his citizenship by interfering in the internal political life of another country, specifically by participating in foreign elections. As their proof that Johnson did this, they have used statements taken from him at the time of his return to the U. S. in 1959.

Defense Challenge

The defense has challenged the admissibility of these statements, claiming that Johnson was held for an excessive length of time without an attorney when he made them. Attorney Hall's cross examination of two key government witnesses in the first hearing turned up contradictions in the government's story. This led the Immigration Service to hold three more hearings to try to resolve the contradictions. It finally ended up overruling the objections without ever settling them.

The real basis of Johnson's defense, though, goes much deeper. It rests upon fundamental constitutional issues in an area where much is at stake. Citizenship is the basis of all rights. A "stateless" person has no real rights or civil liberties anywhere in the world. The defense charges that removal of citizenship is tantamount to capital punishment and in the circumstances is certainly



Joseph Johnson

cruel and unusual, and is in violation of the Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments.

The fact that a native born American who holds citizenship in no other country has been threatened with deportation strikes a direct blow at the rights of all Americans.

In addition, the case is obviously one of political persecution. Johnson went to Canada in 1953, disgusted with racism, war and McCarthyism in the United States. While there, he became a socialist.

In 1959 he learned that the FBI was looking for him on a charge of failing to report his whereabouts to his draft board, and Johnson returned home to face the charge. He was convicted of this offense, which only a citizen could commit, and served two years in federal prison. After his release, he became active in the Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Strong Support

Five years after Johnson was charged with violating the draft law, the government decided he had not been a citizen all along after all, and moved to have him deported.

The support given the defense so far has been gratifying. The gross nature of the charges against Johnson and the implications they hold for the future of civil liberties have resulted in considerable support among those who hear his story.

Two prominent attorneys are involved in the defense. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has provided the services of Leonard Boudin, the eminent constitutional attorney, as general counsel for the defense. Douglas Hall, a well known Minneapolis trade union and civil liberties attorney, is the local counsel.

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, has been active in the case since the beginning. It has raised the funds necessary to carry the case this far, and has been successful in widely publicizing the case throughout the Twin Cities area. Many prominent people have become sponsors of the committee, including Norman Thomas; Jack Newfield, contributing editor of the *Village Voice*; writer and critic Nat Hentoff; and novelist Warren Miller.

Help Fight Deportation

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson needs your help!

Send contributions to the committee at P.O. Box 8731, North Star Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

More information on the case can be obtained by writing directly to the committee.



John A. McCone

ment officials in California and Washington to this situation.

It sums up the mood in the Oakland ghetto in these words: "Repeatedly one hears: 'Nobody listens, nobody cares.' Now a potent new ingredient has been added. There has been a 'Watts' and Watts is getting attention and action. This has made an impact."

"What is true in Oakland is true in almost every major metropolis in the nation," the article points out.

The existence of such a report makes clear that the rulers of this society aren't as ignorant about conditions in the ghetto as one might suppose from their actions. But the evidence — including the recommendations of the McCone Commission Report on the Watts

uprising — indicates they do not intend to make any changes other than token ones in the ghettos.

One of the most deeply felt grievances of the black community in Watts, the grievance that triggered the explosion, is police brutality. Yet the McCone Commission Report opposes the creation of an independent police review board. It recommends instead a token concession — an "Inspector General" who would be a part of the police department but would be empowered to investigate complaints of police brutality.

Token Reforms

The "war on poverty" consists of some insignificant concessions to some of the ghetto residents. But even these piddling improvements will be cut into by the Vietnam war, the *Journal* article points out.

The main answer of the ruling class to the social dynamite in the ghettos is straight police repression. That was how they reacted to the Watts uprising. The more than 4,000 black people arrested indiscriminately during the uprising are being treated as criminals, but are not even being given the legal guarantees people accused of committing a crime are entitled to.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the Los Angeles NAACP have charged the Los Angeles courts with failing to ensure adequate legal counsel for those arrested in Watts. They are trying to get proceedings halted until such counsel is provided and to have prior proceedings nullified where defendants were injured by lack of adequate counsel.

1,000 at S.F. Antiwar Rally

San Francisco, Jan. 14 — The Haight-Ashbury Vietnam Committee here held a forum on "Vietnam Crisis in U. S. Government." More than 1,000 people were in attendance. Panelists included Robert Scheer, foreign editor of *Ramparts*; Professor Marshall Windmiller of S. F. State College; Simon Casady, president of the California Democratic Council; and William Stanton and John Burton, State Assemblymen.