

# Anti-Viet-War Groups Slate Thanksgiving Parley in D. C.

## 4,000 Students Attend Teach-In At U of Michigan

By Doug Jenness

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — The steering committee of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam met at the University of Michigan here over the Sept. 19 weekend to discuss plans for a national convention of the various antiwar groups which have sprung up across the nation.

On the Friday evening before the committee meeting began, a crowd of 4,000 jammed into a teach-in at the university. The teach-in was organized by the leaders of the International Conference on Alternative Perspectives on Vietnam, which had been meeting the previous week. This large turnout reflects the continued and even heightened interest in the Vietnam war on the campuses.

The steering committee, consisting primarily of representatives from campus and community antiwar committees, decided to shift the convention from Madison,



**FOR PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD.** Student demonstrators at April 17 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam.

Wisc., where it had been tentatively planned, to Washington, D.C. The convention will be held during the Thanksgiving holidays, with the first session on Thursday, Nov. 25.

It was unanimously agreed that the most important point before the projected convention will be the question of forming a national organization against the war in Vietnam, and what character this organization should have.

Other important questions to be taken up by the convention will be U.S. foreign policy and political perspectives for the movement against the Vietnam war, liberalism and reaction, and local antiwar activity including civil disobedience. Workshops are planned on the draft, campus actions, future national actions, and the civil rights movement.

During the day on Saturday, Nov. 27, no session will be held, in order to make it possible for those attending the convention to participate in a protest demonstration against the war called by some well known peace leaders, including Norman Thomas, Bayard Rustin and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

The convention will be delegated, and the delegates will be elected from each of the anti-Vietnam War committees across

the nation.

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam was formed at the Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples held in Washington in August. It was designed to fill a need for national coordination felt by leaders of the antiwar committees which have formed since the April March on Washington. It was set up on a temporary basis with headquarters in Madison, Wisc. until a national convention could be called to decide more definitively on the character of a national organization against the Vietnam war.

Anyone who is interested in attending the convention in Washington, D.C., should write to the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 341 West Mifflin St., Madison, Wisc. 53703.

The International Conference on Alternative Perspectives on Vietnam opened at the University of Michigan campus on Sept. 14. The first three days of the conference were closed, and heard discussions with such men as Arthur Miller, Emil Mazey of the United Automobile Workers, Dave Dellinger, Bob Parris of SNCC, Anatol Rapoport and Hans J. Morgenthau. The conference wound up with the big teach-in on Friday night.

# THE MILITANT

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## Report October Trial Set In Killing of Malcolm X

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK — The trial date in the Malcolm X murder case has been set for late October, according to an article by Abel Silver in the Sept. 22 *New York Post*. Silver apparently was given this information while questioning the New York District Attorney's office about the unusual delay in bringing the three murder suspects indicted last March to trial.

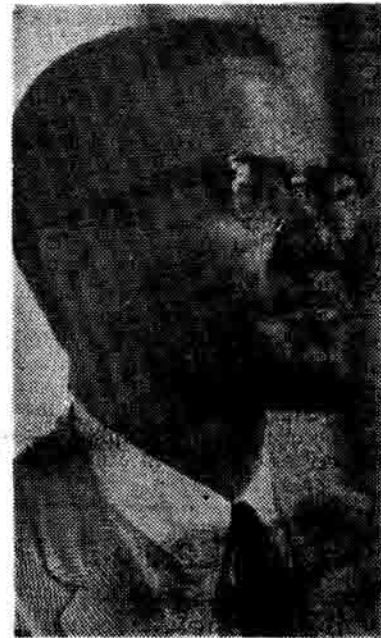
Indicative of the lurid treatment the press will probably give this trial, after eight months of conspicuous silence concerning police investigation of Malcolm's killers, Silver's article begins, "A police guard will be thrown around witnesses called to testify at the trial [because] authorities fear that threats may be made against some of the witnesses."

### Suspect

Silver states that one of the suspects, Thomas Hagan (alias Talmadge Hayer), "was shot and wounded by Malcolm's outraged bodyguard and had to be rescued from lynching by police assigned to the hall." There are two pieces of misinformation in this sentence.

The first is that no one to this day, including the police, has identified the person who shot Thayer; the second is that Thayer was not arrested by police assigned to the hall, but was held by people from the audience in the hall until police arrived later (and, incidentally, Thayer would not have been arrested if he was not held by the crowd).

The other two suspects, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, were arrested Feb. 26, five days after the assassination, and March 3, respectively. They are charged with assaulting Malcolm X with weapons, which could only mean that they were in the Au-



Malcolm X

dubon Ballroom when the assassination occurred.

This allegation is noteworthy because both Butler and Johnson were well-known and leading figures in the New York mosque of the Black Muslims, and they would have been well-known to Malcolm's assistants who closely scrutinized the audience before the Feb. 21 murder.

In January, Butler and Johnson and a third man were arrested after an argument with an ex-Muslim, Benjamin Brown, that ended in the shooting of Brown. Butler and Johnson were out on bail on first degree assault charges in that case at the time of the Malcolm killing.

All of the events surrounding the murder of the black nationalist leader are shrouded in mystery and confusion. The role of the police has been highly suspect. The press has been conspicuously lacking in curiosity about the progress of the case. It remains to be seen what the police will come up with at the trial this fall.

## N.Y. Parade Against Vietnam War

NEW YORK — There will be a mass parade against the war in Vietnam here on Saturday, October 16. The demonstration is planned to be part of the October 15-16 International Days of Protest which will see demonstrations in many cities.

The New York parade will begin at 1 p.m. at 91st St. and Fifth Ave., and march down to a rally at 68th St. and Fifth Ave. For more information, contact: Committee for the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade, 5 Beekman St. Phone: 227-6960.

## IT'S LIKE SWISS CHEESE

# The Loopholes in Medicare Law

By Marvel Scholl

A murmur of discontent among America's 20 million old people over the new Medicare Act and all its "deductibles" is growing. Once the Act becomes effective on July 1, 1966, and people begin using the new service, this murmur will grow to a groundswell.

President Johnson, in one of his more dramatic gestures, signed Medicare into law on July 1, in Independence, Mo., with ex-President Truman as the honored guest. Johnson and Truman both hail Medicare as a "landmark in social legislation." Magnanimously, he pats the American people on the back, saying in effect, "Look what I have done for you with my Great Society — voting rights for the Negro people, a housing bill, funds for medical research, and now Medicare for the aged."

As a matter of cold hard fact, Johnson and Co. haven't given the American people anything. Everything progressive which comes out of Washington by way of social legislation has been forced out by mass pressure. Capitalist politicians only "give" when pressure from the home front forces them

to. And then they give as little as possible.

Medicare is a case in point. Under the first section, an aged person is entitled to 60 days in the hospital for each illness — after he has paid the first \$40. Nursing home care (which does not become effective until Jan. 1, 1967) is limited, free of charge, to 20 post-hospital days, with an additional 80 days provided the patient pays \$5 a day of the costs. Home nursing or technician visits are limited to 100, after hospitalization. Out-patient diagnostic work is partially covered. The patient pays the first \$20, and 20 percent of the total of the bill. The government picks up the tab for the rest.

Under the Second section — "supplementary coverage" — the real fine print gimmicks come into their own. After the patient has paid the first \$50 of his annual doctor bill, Medicare will pay 80 percent of the balance over \$50. It is up to the individual doctor whether he will accept as his fee that part (over the first \$50) which the government pays or will collect more from the patient.

The bill also covers an additional 100 home nursing visits, the

cost of x-rays and other diagnostic work (outside the hospital), radiology treatments, casts, splints, artificial limbs and ambulance service.

Medicare does not cover the cost of drugs (a major proportion of any old person's medical costs), dental work except certain dental surgery, eye glasses or hearing aids. With diabetes and cataracts (hence blindness and deafness) on the increase, these latter two items are far too costly for old people living on the "average" pension of \$82 a month.

The bill also provides a seven percent increase in social security payments, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1965. The monthly \$3 for the supplementary benefits must come out of this. That brings the "average" pension down to \$79 a month.

During the weeks since the much-amended Medicare bill was signed I've talked to a great many old people. Where they had been starry-eyed with hope before the bill finally passed, now that happiness has changed to puzzlement.

The "deductibles" are what worry most old people, especially those living on social security or railroad pensions. Where are they

going to get the cash to meet them? With approximately \$79 monthly income how can one save enough to cover the \$40 and \$20 and \$50 and the 20 percent? Even with supplementary income from past savings, small stock holdings or help from adult children, what is left over after the rent, food, dentist, medicine, glasses, etc. are paid for?

According to a brochure sent out by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare this month to all people over 65, public welfare is the answer.

By "public welfare" they mean Medical Aid for the Aged, under the Kerr-Mills Act of 1961. This service is not operative in all states, but where it does exist, rigid "means tests" are applied. Every possession, real or personal, is scrutinized and any excess of insurance or stock holdings, for instance, must be used up, on a relief budget basis, before the person is eligible for MAA. In three northern states, Michigan, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the adult children of the applicant must also pass the means test! And in Louisiana, there is a state \$50 deductible on MAA!

(Continued on Page 5)

## No Comment Dep't

DANANG, South Vietnam, Sept. 23 (Reuters) — Two American Army Sergeants — a Negro and a Hawaiian — were captured by a U.S. Marine patrol that mistook them for Communist Vietcong, it was disclosed today.

U.S. military sources said the incident occurred north of Danang this afternoon when the Marine patrol was moving through a mountain pass on reconnaissance.

The Marines, encountering a company of South Vietnamese troops with two American advisers, seized the advisers and held them for questioning as Communist suspects.

The Marines were about to take their captives back to Danang, site of South Vietnam's biggest U.S. air base, when U.S. authorities intervened and identified the "suspects."



## THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

When the Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO) struck the New York Times on Sept. 16, six other New York papers supported the Times by locking out their Guild members the same day. They were the Journal-American, World Telegram and Sun, Daily News, Herald Tribune, Long Island Star Journal and Long Island Daily Press. All are members of the Publishers' Association, which only last April came to a verbal agreement, without a written contract, with six other unions.

The New York Post, which withdrew from the Publishers' Association during a similar 1962-63 strike, continued to publish.

The six unions which have verbal agreements with the Publishers' Association have honored the Guild's picketline since the strike-lockout began. Another negotiating union, the Mailers' Union, announced on Sept. 21 that its members would not return to work until its demands were met, even if the Guild settled. All of the unions, except the Guild, are members of the International

Typographical Workers' Union (AFL-CIO).

An estimated 40 per cent of the Guild members at the Times are either reporters or editorial workers. The remaining are clerks, typists, salesmen, elevator operators and janitors, and it is some of these jobs that the Times is trying to eliminate through the introduction of labor-saving machinery. The main reason for the solidarity between the operating craft unions, the mailers and the Guild, is automation and job security, which has affected all categories of newspaper workers.

Apparently, one of the reasons the Publishers' Association has not yet signed written contracts with the International Typographical Union workers, however, was to force job loss concessions from both the Guild and the ITU — even if it meant fomenting jurisdictional disputes between the unions involved over who controlled which jobs in the industry.

On Sept. 24, the Herald Tribune, which had participated in the lockout, announced that it was resuming publication on Sept. 27. This split in the ranks of the Publishers' Association could mean a partial victory for the unions involved in the strike-lockout. If they remain solid in their joint opposition to the Publishers' job-slashing plans, they can ultimately arrive at a solution to harness the benefits of automation to the advantage of working members of the publishing and printing trades. To do this, however, they must raise the demand of a shorter workweek with no loss in pay — popularly known as 30-40.

**Some healthy opposition to AFL-CIO** President George Meany's pro-Vietnam war position is developing in the union movement, although it is still on a small scale. Most impressive is a resolution adopted at the Sept. 12-17 Convention of Region 1, International Woodworkers of America (IWA), held in Vancouver, Canada. The resolution, introduced by Local 1-363, IWA, was directed to the AFL-CIO and read as follows:

"Whereas: The official spokesmen for the AFL-CIO have committed the U.S.A. labor movement to the support of President Johnson's foreign policy of aggression as in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, and

"Whereas: This policy could lead to a world nuclear holocaust,

"Therefore be it resolved: That the IWA Regional Council No. 1 urge the unions' international spokesmen to do everything possible to convince the AFL-CIO to discontinue the support of President Johnson's foreign policy of undeclared aggressive war against the Vietnamese people and the gunboat diplomacy in the Dominican Republic or elsewhere."

—Tom Leonard

### 19-DAY MINE STRIKE

## Automation Spurs Coal Walkout

By Tom Leonard

More than 10,000 soft coal miners in West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio have reportedly temporarily ended a 19-day wildcat strike in one of the most poverty stricken areas of the country.

Members of District 6 of the United Mine Workers began walking off their jobs on Sept. 8 when six miners, employed by the Hanna Coal Company's Ireland Mine near Moundsville, W. Va., were fired for participating in an "unauthorized" walkout. Five of the discharged miners were union officers, including Local 1110 President Karl Kafton.

Despite this victimization of union officials, District 6 President Thomas A. Williams said he would not support the grievances until all the men returned to the mines. This is the same position taken by United Mine Workers' President Tony Boyle, who ordered the strikers by telegram "to return your mine to operation and exert your best efforts to restore all mines to operation in order that any and all grievances be resolved."

The strikers telegraphed Boyle a terse reply, "No comment." The six discharged strikers then asked Boyle to set up a special commission to investigate internal problems with the union locals. They were supported by a similar request from 1,200 miners from the U.S. Steel Corporation's Robena Mine in Waynesburg, Pa. who walked out on Sept. 17. The results of these negotiations between rank-and-file members, local lead-



**BACK-BREAKER.** Worker crams into tiny digging area of Kentucky bootleg coal mine.

ers and top union officials, has resulted in a two-week truce during which the issues in dispute, including the firing of the six Hanna Coal Co. miners, will be negotiated.

While this wildcat strike of the 10,000 District 6 miners was going on, another wildcat strike occurred in southern West Virginia. UMW members walked off their jobs at the Island Creek Coal Company's No. 24 Mine in Mingo County on Sept. 13. Two days later roving pickets appeared at two other company mines, and a total of 1,500 miners walked off the job. The strikers were protesting the replacement of a union supply officer by a non-union salaried employee. They returned to work the next day after the company agreed to negotiate their grievance.

The main reason for the wildcat strikes in the coal fields is the introduction of automated machinery at the expense of miners' jobs. An example of this new machinery is a 5,000 ton power shovel for use in strip mining recently assembled outside of Hazelton, Pa. The huge shovel (it costs \$9 million) is typical of the technological advances being introduced into the coal fields. It has a boom 300 feet long and an 85 cubic yard bucket, capable of picking up 223 tons.

In addition to automating mines, coal operators have been engaged in a ruthless campaign to intensify workers' productivity while slashing union wages and working conditions. The result is that thousands of miners are yearly thrown on the scrap heap of poverty while soft coal production has remained relatively stable. The Associated Press, for example, recently reported that coal production for the period Jan. 1-Sept. 11 is estimated

at some 341,939,000 tons compared with 329,361,000 for the same period last year.

The support for both strikes which quickly spread to three states was a militant demonstration of rank-and-file miners' concern for job security. The incident that triggered the Robena strike, for instance, was an order by the company that one crew would work while most of the mine remained idle. At Island Creek, it was a flagrant attempt by the company to eliminate a union job that led to the walkout.

Despite the continuing attack on miners' jobs by the coal operators, neither UMW President Tony Boyle nor President Emeritus John L. Lewis have made any kind of a move to fight for jobs.

### Last Two of 'Harlem 6' Given Life Sentences After Police Frame-up

**NEW YORK** — The last two of the framed-up "Harlem Six" were sentenced Sept. 22 to life imprisonment. The other four young Negroes had already been given the same sentence on Sept. 8.

All six had pleaded innocent to unsupported charges that they had been responsible for an April 1964 attack on the white owners of a Harlem clothing store, Frank and Margit Sugar. The attack resulted in Mrs. Sugar's death.

At the trial, Frank Sugar testified that he could not identify a single one of the six as his attackers. The police were not able to produce any substantial evidence to back up their charges.

Civil rights attorney William Kunstler has been retained to organize an appeal.

### Weekly Calendar

#### BOSTON

**CUBA TODAY: ITS ROLE IN THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT.** Speaker Harry Ring; staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Avenue. (One block from Nass. Ave.) Contrib. 50¢. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

#### CHICAGO

**WHAT'S BEHIND THE INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR?** Speaker Peter Allan, contributor to The Militant. Fri., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Hall 204. Contrib. 50¢. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

#### DETROIT

**FARRELL DOBBS**, national secretary Socialist Workers Party, speaks on What Program for the Antiwar Movement. Fri., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**THE CURSE OF AMERICAN CULTURE.** Speaker, Constance Weissman, contributor to The Militant. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. Friday Night Socialist Forum, 3737 Woodward.

#### MINNEAPOLIS

**LOS ANGELES AND CHICAGO: The Black Ghetto Rebels.** — Speaker William Tucker. Sat., Oct. 9, 8:30. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

#### NEW YORK

**Premiere Showing: F.A.L.N.** Documentary film of armed struggle for liberation of Venezuela. Plus film on Vietnam guerrillas. Fri., Sat., Sun., Oct. 8-9-10 and Sat. and Sun., Oct. 16-17. Showings at 8 and 10 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1.50 (students \$1.) Aup. Young Socialist Alliance.

### Anti-War Pamphlet

The Bay Area Vietnam Day Committee of Berkeley, Calif., has issued a new pamphlet entitled "Did You Vote For War?" Fully illustrated, the magazine includes a policy statement in opposition to the Vietnam war issued by the committee and nine additional equal length statements by local and national organizations participating in the struggle against the war, including the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. Copies are 50¢ for single issues; \$43.00 for bundles of 100. Order from 2407 Fulton, Berkeley, California.

### Epton Files for Place On Ballot in New York

**NEW YORK** — William Epton, the Progressive Labor Party's candidate for the State Senate from New York's 31st District (Harlem-Upper West Side), has filed 6,401 signatures petitioning for a place on the Nov. 2 ballot. This more than doubles the 3,000 required. Epton is currently being charged with "criminal anarchy" in connection with the witch hunt that followed the 1964 Harlem uprising. His trial date has been set for Sept. 29. The Socialist Workers Party is urging 31st District voters to cast their ballot for Epton.

Does your local library have a subscription to The Militant? If not, why don't you request that they obtain one.

### Anti-War Pop Tune Taken Off the Air By Chicago Station

By Arthur Maglin

If you don't believe that the Cold War has gotten into everything, then maybe you can profit by an interesting little illustration.

Radio station WLS in Chicago has the city's biggest teen-age audience. It is a rock-and-roll station. Recently, it banned a song from the air — a song so popular that in Detroit it made the top of the hit parade.

Why? The answer is a simple one: the song has a message. It's called "Eve of Destruction" and the message it's got is antiwar, anti-bomb and anti-racist.

Despite its great popularity with young people, the usual measuring rod for stations like WLS, the station banned it, although it is still being played in other cities.

#### For Censorship

Gene Taylor, the station manager, defended the censorship action this way: "We ran through the record six weeks ago when we were last serviced. Despite the fact that it was getting big elsewhere, we decided that if we received complaints we would remove it from play. That was on a Tuesday or a Wednesday. By the following Monday, we received 30 complaints. On the basis of the complaints, which I felt were legitimate, we removed it. The general complaint is the content, which paints a black outlook on life — very bitter with no bright outlook on things."

Now, I ask you, who's fooling whom? I suppose that to have a "bright outlook on things" the song would have to be pro-war, pro-bomb and pro-racist! Not for me, thank you.

**It May Become Necessary** — The president of the American Chemical Society urges a mobilization of the nation's scientific resources to concentrate on the synthetic creation of life.

New York

New York

### Premiere Showing 'F.A.L.N.'

Documentary film of armed struggle for liberation of Venezuela including the only existing footage of Venezuelan guerrillas in action. Plus film on guerrillas in Vietnam.

Oct. 8-9-10 & Oct. 16-17 8 & 10 P.M.

116 University Place

Cont: \$1.50 (students \$1)

Aup: Young Socialist Alliance



## THE DEBATE IN LIBERATION

## What Alternative to Coalitionism?

By Harry Ring

In a guest editorial in the October issue of the pacifist magazine *Liberation*, the noted liberal educator W. H. Ferry replies to critics of his decision to quit the Democratic Party as a protest against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. (See text this page.)

Defending the moral worth of his action, Ferry puts down his critics firmly and effectively. Rebutting the thesis that while the war in Vietnam may not be so nice, good things are happening at home (Medicare, voting rights bill, etc.), Ferry declares:

"The situation, in my judgment, is not one for the friendly weighing-up of goods and bads . . . There can be no such thing as a morally corrupt and brutalized Great Society. That is where Vietnam is swiftly taking us. I want no part of the responsibility, even the tiny responsibility of membership in the party directing the show."

In taking this stand, Ferry is articulating the feelings of a growing number of Americans who now recognize that they were swindled into accepting Johnson's

cynical campaign demagoguery that he was a "peace" alternative to warmonger Goldwater. Others who have recently given voice to this view include literary critic Maxwell Geismar and the editor of *Minority of One*, M. S. Aronson.

While firm in his conviction of the justice of his position, Ferry is less sure of its worth on the practical level. In the letter to Johnson itself he characterizes his stand as "a weak way of expressing my disagreement" and "not much of a protest." And in replying to his critics, he grants them: "The major issue in most of the criticisms of my letter to the President has been whether leaving the Democratic Party makes political sense. Of course it does not. Anyone wanting to exert maximum political leverage, would stay in the party, organizing dissenting precinct leaders . . . This is the kind of politics to which the President responds."

In my opinion, Ferry underestimates the worth of his action in purely practical terms. And I think he is dead wrong in his belief that the way to exert maximum political leverage on John-

son is from within the Democratic Party.

Nothing would exert more leverage on Johnson than if he were to see Ferry's action repeated on a big scale across the country. Johnson may not care for the idea of people campaigning against his line inside the party, but the warmakers' control of the organization is so thorough that he doesn't have to lose any sleep over the prospect of oppositionists actually changing the party line.

But mass defections from the party would hurt him because it would raise further questions in the mind of an already worried public. Further, those who left would then be free of the inhibitions that membership necessarily imposes and would be in a far better position — morally and practically — to actively campaign against the bloody course of the Democratic administration.

In quitting the Democratic Party and making a public issue of it, Ferry has strengthened the hand of fellow *Liberation* editorial board members like Dave Dellinger and Staughton Lynd who have been waging a vigorous fight against the Democratic Party "coalitionists" on the magazine's editorial board.

Bayard Rustin, Michael Harrington, and other members of the board, argue that the only way the antiwar movement can get any place is through a "coalition" with other "progressive" forces inside the Democratic Party. Lynd, Dellinger and others have effectively demonstrated that such a policy leads to a coalition with the warmakers who rule the Democratic Party.

## Political Wisdom

Yet there is a valid reason for uncertainty on Ferry's part, although it is not the one that he gives. Breaking with the Democratic Party is, so to speak, the beginning of political wisdom for those who want to oppose Johnson's monstrous war. But it is only the beginning. In quitting the Democrats, Ferry logically and properly declares he will try to persuade others to do the same. But those whom he asks to get out of the Democratic Party will ask, with equal logic, "What political alternative do you propose?"

It is here that *Liberation's* anti-coalitionists are on their weakest ground. Ferry's letter does not suggest seeking any political alternative to the major parties. Staughton Lynd's views on the question of building an organized political alternative to the Republicans and Democrats are — as best as I can determine — ambiguous. And Dave Dellinger subscribes to the old syndicalist view that it is self-defeating for opponents of capitalism to organize political parties.

In his polemic against the pro-Democratic Party politics of Bayard Rustin in the June-July *Liberation*, Lynd put forward the idea of developing the civil dis-

## W. H. Ferry Quits Democratic Party

Last month W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund for the Republic, addressed a letter to President Johnson informing him of his withdrawal from the Democratic Party. The following is the text of his letter as it appeared in the October issue of *Liberation*:

I am so ashamed and dismayed by the actions announced by you in the past several days that I am today withdrawing from the Democratic Party. Neither our honor nor security are involved in Vietnam. But your policies there have become more abhorrent and inhumane; and it is clear now that you intend not to diminish our reliance on violence but to increase it indefinitely. Therefore, I must, after more than 30 years as a Democrat, get out. This is a weak way of expressing my total disagreement with programs that call themselves peace but are war. It is the only way I know of disassociating myself from actions that provoke disgust and apprehension all over the world.

Perhaps withdrawal from the Democratic Party is not much of a protest. However, I shall do my best to persuade others to do the same thing. I shall argue that you are taking us into World War III. Two world conflicts under Democratic leadership are enough for me, and should be enough for many other Democrats.

obedience movement to the point of establishing the basis for dual power in the country. The exploited and unrepresented would develop their own institutions as eventual rivals to the political institutions of the present ruling powers.

This is a sound, revolutionary perspective that deserves the support of every fighter for a new and better society. But I think a key ingredient is lacking in the concept as it is projected by Lynd. While he supports such political efforts as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, he does not include in his proposal the need for building a national political party capable of providing an alternative to the Republicans and Democrats . . . a party capable of organizing and leading the movement for the creation of dual institutions of political power.

And in the more immediate sense, I think, a perspective of political action is also imperative. Abstention from political action by opponents of the Democratic and Republican Parties has the net effect of strengthening the hand of the coalitionists.

## War and Peace

People concerned with social problems recognize almost instinctively that almost all significant issues — particularly the overriding issue of war and peace — are settled by means of political power. So they tend to seek every means open to them to exert at least some degree of political influence, especially at election times when politics become a major preoccupation for a large part of the population. If such activists are not offered an alternative to the two war parties, then the "lesser evil" arguments of the coalitionists acquires some plausibility for them. (The New York Democratic Party was given a shot in the arm when a good number of antiwar activists were persuaded to join the party's primary fight in behalf of liberal Congressman William Ryan's mayoralty bid.)

Arguing against Rustin, Lynd made the very cogent observation that the widespread radicalism of the 1930's was channeled back into the Establishment by reformist leaders. Today's emerging radicalism faces the same danger at the hands of the coalitionists. And they would do it in exactly the same way as it was done in the '30s — by keeping the movement tied to the capitalist political parties with the "lesser evil" formula. To combat effectively a repetition of the costly failure of the '30s, genuine radicals should vigorously counterpose the perspective of the movement striking out on its own politically.

On the basis of analyzing power relationships under capitalism, Marxists are convinced that to achieve its goals such a new political movement must be finally based on the organized working class whose economic power and social cohesiveness give it the

capacity to achieve so fundamental a change in society. But that, obviously, is music of the future. Today large numbers of the white workers are brainwashed by capitalist propaganda, numbed by relative prosperity, and immobilized by reactionary-minded union bureaucrats whose fat-headedness is exceeded only by the size of their rumps.

Equally important, and probably closer to realization, is the development of black political power in this country. We have seen the first expressions of this necessary trend in the formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and, in some Northern cities, efforts to establish Freedom Now parties.

But the fact that a political movement based on either the unions or Negro people is not in the immediate offing does not mean that radicals must abstain from politics.

## Fundamental Changes

In my opinion, the Socialist Workers Party has given a good example of how opponents of capitalism can advance their cause in a practical, effective way within the framework of the present limited opportunities.

The SWP proceeds from the conviction that fundamental changes must be made in social relations and political institutions if the evils of capitalism are to be abolished. It rejects the utopian illusion of a "parliamentary road" to socialism. But it does not turn its back on the opportunities that elections offer for spreading its ideas.

For example, while some people in the New York antiwar movement were knocking themselves out in the futile effort to win the Democratic nomination for Ryan, supporters of the SWP were gathering the signatures necessary to put Clifton DeBerry on the ballot. Their effort will now make it possible to offer a meaningful choice for those who can't swallow Gov. Rockefeller's nominee, Lindsay, or Tammany boss Buckley's choice, Beame.

And the choice will be a meaningful one. Emblazoned on the front of the SWP election platform is: "Against the War in Vietnam." Seventy-five thousand of these platforms are now being distributed throughout the city by SWP campaigners. With more supporters and more funds that number can be increased. In addition, SWP candidates are reaching thousands over radio and TV.

The New York elections are of national significance and attract national and international interest. Every vote recorded for the Socialist Workers ticket will be properly interpreted as a vote against the Vietnam war. On that basis alone, it seems to me that it would be well worth the while of every antiwar fighter in the New York area to campaign for DeBerry and his running mates. It's a good, sound way of getting into politics.

## The American Way of Life

## The Richest Country in the World

The Johnson administration has given the economy another shot in the arm — not a king-sized shot like the Vietnam war, but a good healthy one just the same. And they've done it in a way that gives expression to their deep feeling of concern for the welfare of one of the most venerated segments of America — our Senior Citizens.

They did it through an act of Congress that boosts Social Security benefits by seven percent and makes the benefits retroactive to last Jan. 1.

The retroactive checks being mailed out this month will run \$32 to \$48 per person. The monthly increases will range from \$4 to \$8.90 a month for each retired worker, raising the total monthly payments to anywhere from about \$70 to \$132 a month.

Cynics will no doubt be quick to point out that the increase averages no more than a modest 20 cents a day. They just don't understand that a small increase for a lot of people can do a great deal. For example, it is estimated that the increase will pump an extra \$1.2 billion into the economy in the next few months and \$100 million a month thereafter.

And the impact is already being felt. In St. Petersburg, Fla., where there are a large number of retirees, cash registers are "zinging," reports the Sept. 22 *Wall Street Journal*.

Such fast results are due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of our old folk are good, open-handed Americans. "The recipients will spend the money as fast as they get it," reports the *Journal*.

That doesn't mean they'll spend it foolishly. Most stores reported increased business when the bonus checks started coming, but not in such things as jewelry and landscape-nursery items.

But there was a sharp jump in the sales of food, clothing, pots and pans, toothpaste and patent medicine. One pharmacist reported a 15 percent increase in business, indicating, he said, "that some of these people had been unable to pay for prescriptions until the retroactive checks arrived."

There are others besides jew-

elry and rosebush salesmen who aren't getting in on the bonanza. Doctors, for example. Most of the elderly, reports the *Journal*, feel that their ailments can wait until Medicare begins. "I have a tumor on my back," explains one older, "but I figure both it and I can wait until next year when Medicare goes into effect."

While the retirees will have to give some thought as to how to spread around that extra cash, part of the decision is being made automatically. Some of the money, the *Journal* found, will go for increased prices. "Six months ago I paid 10 cents in a local cafeteria for a plate of grated carrots. Now I pay 18 cents," reported a retired toolmaker. "A year ago I could buy a decent meal for \$1; today it costs me \$1.25."

A grocery owner admitted prices had gone up, attributing it to "higher costs to us."

A local restaurant operator explained his price hikes with the far-sightedness that marks a real American businessman. He's charging more, he explained, "because of an expected minimum-wage law governing restaurants."

But part of that seven percent increase will be going to improve the lot of our senior citizens. The *Journal* reports how some of them are spending the extra money.

A retired bricklayer has already spent the retroactive check. "Nineteen dollars for a car repair job, \$10 for some overdue bills and a few dollars at the drug store."

One old couple said they would be moving from "a \$10-a-week room with cockroaches," to a "clean \$13-a-week room."

A retired carpenter said the hike in his benefits from \$100 a month to \$107 "will make life a little easier."

"My hotel room costs me \$40 a month," he said, "and, if I watch it, I can eat in cafeterias for \$2 a day. So I can scrape by — except in those months with 31 days."

Asked by a *Journal* reporter what she would do with the increase, a silvery haired widow of 70 felt the quality of the reporter's suit coat and asked: "Sonny, when was the last time you had chewing gum for breakfast?"

—Herman Chauka



Bayard Rustin



# THE MILITANT

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345

Monday, October 4, 1965

## Gas in Vietnam

In our issue of Sept 20, we warned: "... there are ominous signs that the U.S. may be planning to reintroduce and extend the use of deadly gases in the Vietnam conflict." The article said that the so-called investigation of use of tear gas by a Marine battalion commander in Vietnam "may well have been a trial balloon for another test of U.S. and world opinion."

Two days later, on Sept. 22, the Associated Press reported from Saigon: "The U.S. military command in Saigon has asked Washington to re-examine its policy against using nonlethal gas in certain conditions in the war in Vietnam."

"... The Defense Department said that Gen. William G. Westmoreland, U.S. commander in Vietnam, has always had the authority to permit use of tear gas and other nontoxic agents under appropriate circumstances."

The second paragraph quoted makes clear that the U.S. government was lying when it responded to world protest last spring with the assurance "that field commanders would be ordered to make no further use of gas of any type." (*New York Times*, March 8.)

At the time of the so-called investigation of the Marine commander it was further revealed that despite this alleged order tear gas is still standard equipment for Marine forces in Vietnam.

What is really being "reconsidered" now is if world opinion can be conditioned to the use of gas. Such use is, of course, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which bans the use of all gases, "asphyxiating, poisonous or other."

But after the host of other international laws that have been trampled under foot by the U.S. in the course of this monstrous war, the ban on gas is just one more scrap of paper.

## Imperialist Arrogance

The House of Representatives includes a number of far-out right-wingers who occasionally present some pretty wild anti-communist resolutions which then get passed because everyone else is afraid of being branded soft on you-know-what.

At first glance we thought this was the case with the House resolution Sept. 20 which favors the U.S. taking upon itself the formal right to "resort to armed force" anywhere in Latin America where there is a threat of "intervention of international communism, directly or indirectly, however disguised..."

Now we're not so sure. The resolution was introduced with the support of all but one member of the House Foreign Relations Committee. Further, Rep. Armistead Selden (D-Ala.) announced that "the State Department generally agrees with the objectives of the proposed resolution and so stated in its testimony before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs." Rep. John S. Monagan (D-Conn.) added that "the strengthening and broadening of the language of the resolution was suggested by a representative of the State Department who testified before the committee."

The resolution rolled through Congress 312 to 52.

Its passage was protested by the Congresses of Colombia and Peru. An Argentine government spokesman took a dim view of it. In Brazil and Mexico it was denounced by all shades of opinion.

The State Department then announced it wasn't a statement of government policy. Another trial balloon?

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# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**INVITATION TO AN IN-QUEST** by Walter and Miriam Schneir. Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965, 467 pp. \$5.95.

The authors of this book worked five years investigating every aspect of the Rosenberg-Sobell "atom spy" case. Among other things, they studied the trial record, interviewed everyone connected with the case who could be found, and traveled to remote parts of the United States in search of individuals and evidence. In the course of their investigation they discovered new evidence which was not brought to the attention of the court in the 1951 trial.

This book is especially important for young people who do not remember the Rosenberg case, which marked the darkest point of McCarthyism. For all readers, the book documents the witchhunt nature of the persecution and legal murder of the Rosenbergs, and deals a blow to the witch hunt itself. Reviewers of the book writing in the capitalist press have clearly been shaken by the facts it presents, and have called for a re-opening of the case on the basis of the book.

### Careful Analysis

The Schneirs make a careful and documented analysis of the background of the infamous and controversial case, including both the scientific and political events that the atomic bomb grew out of. Since Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell were accused of being members of a conspiracy to deliver national defense data to the Soviet Union, it appears to be in order to present both the political factors that surrounded the case as well as the scientific discoveries involved, as the authors have done.

The Rosenbergs were charged with having arranged to obtain from Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg's brother, David Greenglass, certain drawings which were then passed to a Soviet agent. Greenglass worked as a machinist at the Los Alamos, New Mexico project where the first atomic bomb was produced. The go-between in this transaction was said to be Harry Gold, a Philadelphia chemist, who confessed to acting as a spy for the Soviets, and was a principal witness against the Rosenbergs. However, the Schneirs discovered new evidence which makes it highly doubtful that Gold ever saw the Greenglasses, to say nothing of receiving any atomic drawings from them.

### Long Accounts

In addition, after his arrest and imprisonment pending sentence, Gold tape-recorded and wrote voluminous records of his supposed activities as a spy, for the information of his attorney. In none of these extensive records does he mention his alleged trip to Albuquerque, where he was supposed to have identified himself to the Greenglasses by matching up the cut pieces of the top of a Jello box, received the drawings and paid \$500 for them.

Apparently Gold, a man with a vivid imagination and, by his own admission, able to transform himself into a spy and back into normal existence by some kind of mental gymnastics, only "recalled" this incident after many dozens of hours of questioning by the FBI. These sessions included the showing of motion pictures of Greenglass as well as the streets of Albuquerque in order to identify the one where Mrs. Greenglass had an apartment.

There is a very strong suspicion that this exchange of money and drawings was a complete fabrication. If so, the entire case falls



**JUDGMENT.** This was how The Militant expressed its view of the execution of the Rosenbergs in June 29, 1953 cartoon by Laura Gray.

flat on its face as no other evidence concerning atomic secrets was given at the trial.

In fact, there was no evidence at all connecting Morton Sobell to this incident. Only one witness involved him and even according to this witness, his connection with the case was very tenuous. He was accused only of being a member of the alleged conspiracy, supposedly headed and master-minded by Julius Rosenberg. Ethel Rosenberg was supposed to be the typist who typed notes turned over to her husband Julius.

The authors correctly point out that all the evidence at the trial that directly sought to involve the Rosenbergs and Sobell in a crime came from people who were themselves confessed accomplices. Such evidence, given in the hope of receiving a lighter sentence, is highly suspect and usually requires substantiation that cannot be refuted. However, nothing that Gold and Greenglass testified to was supported by documents or even corroborated by disinterested witnesses. The trial was held at the height of the McCarthy witch-hunt period, during the early stages of the Korean War, when the political atmosphere of America was polluted by a raging Communist and spy hunt. In the actual conduct of the trial proceedings questionable practices were common. For example, Elizabeth Bentley, a renegade member of the Communist Party and self-proclaimed former member of a spy ring, who was making a good living as a professional anti-Communist witness before courts, Congressional committees and other forums, was given the witness stand as an "expert" on Communist and spying practices although she did not know any of those involved in the trial.

The presiding judge acted at times like one of the prosecutors. One of the government attorneys was the notorious Roy M. Cohn, who later distinguished himself as part of the McCarthy Senate committee of witch hunters.

If the Rosenbergs and Sobell were innocent of the charges for which they were convicted, there is a strong and inescapable implication that they were the victims of a frame-up. The evidence of the Schneirs supports this idea. The moving hand was the FBI and its head, J. Edgar Hoover.

Hoover, after the arrest and confession of Dr. Klaus Fuchs in England, was determined to find some Americans who could be tied in with him. He found them in one way or another, guilty or not.

The conclusion of the authors is, "Not only were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg — and Morton Sobell — unjustly convicted, they were punished for a crime that never occurred."

The Rosenbergs were executed in the electric chair at Sing Sing prison after two years of unsuccessful appeals. Both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower refused them executive clemency despite a world-wide appeal from people in every walk of life. The only thing that remains for them is to clear their names. Morton Sobell remains imprisoned, sentenced to 30 years. Efforts to secure parole have so far been unavailing. But both Harry Gold and David Greenglass are now free. They have been paid for their testimony.

Finally, more than 14 years have gone by since the trial. Evidence that the victims were unjustly convicted is stronger now than it was then. How is it that the government that convicted them has not, in all these years, made public any information that would strengthen its case? Surely, with all the criticism, they have not stopped looking for fresh evidence. The only conclusion one can reach is that there is none.

—Milton Alvin

## Schneirs to Speak At B'klyn Meeting

**NEW YORK** — Walter and Miriam Schneir, authors of the new book on the Rosenberg case, *Invitation to an In-quest*, will speak at a reception on Friday, Oct. 8, 8:30 p.m. at the home of Robert and Madelon Bedell, 245 Kane St., Brooklyn. Honored guests include Helen Sobell, Jane McManus, William Price, Fred Halstead, Carl Marzani, Paul Sweezy and others. Donation \$1. All proceeds will go to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.



# Juan Bosch Tells U.S. To Leave Santo Domingo

By Arthur Maglin

SEPT. 29 — The continued strength of the Dominican revolution was reflected in the mass demonstrations which occurred following the return of Juan Bosch to the island republic. The continued danger to the revolution was also apparent in the brutal murders and shootings of Constitutionalist supporters by Dominican militarist forces.

Speaking before a crowd of 50,000 in Santo Domingo, Bosch demanded that the United States be arraigned before the International Court of Justice, and that it pay the Dominican Republic an indemnity of \$1 billion for its counterrevolutionary military intervention into the internal affairs of the Dominican people.

He called for "strikes, demonstrations and appeals" to drive out the U.S. and other foreign troops. Denying the State Department charge that the April revolution was in the hands of the Communists, Bosch said, "The Dominican Communists themselves know that it was not and was never in the hands of the Communists."

The generally militant tone of the speech by Bosch — who is a liberal pro-capitalist, not a revolutionary — undoubtedly reflects a continuing revolutionary mood among the masses of Santo Domingo. The key problem, however, is to what degree the new Garcia-Godoy government and the U.S. occupation forces are succeeding in their efforts to disarm the people.

It was only the fact that the people of Santo Domingo were armed that prevented mass killing by the reactionary militarists and the U.S. occupation forces. The continuing danger of attacks on the people was pointed up by the recent shootings of Constitutionlists. The State Department may well be laying the basis for new acts against the Dominican people with hypocritical claims that Bosch may ignite a new crisis

in the country.

On Sept. 27, Blanco Calgano, a high school student, was shot in the back and killed by a sentry outside the National Palace in Santo Domingo. The student was in a demonstration protesting the take-over of Dominican schools by occupation force troops. Five local schools have been commandeered by American troops for use as offices and barracks.

Other government violence has cost the lives of at least three people, plus 17 wounded, since Bosch's return.

State Dept. spokesmen reported that the Johnson administration intends to ignore Bosch's demand for a U.S. indemnity.

## Arrest of Leftist Leader Triggers Fresh Fighting By Bolivian Tin Miners

An Associated Press dispatch of Sept. 22 from La Paz, Bolivia, reports, "A tense calm returned to the Catavi-Siglo Veinte tin mining zone today after weekend fighting that left more than 30 dead and at least 100 wounded."

"Witnesses said groups of miners bombed public buildings in the mining zone with dynamite charges Saturday after the arrest of Isaac Camacho, a member of the Revolutionary Left Party, which is led by Trotskyite Communists."

"The party has been in the forefront of miners' opposition to the government's plan to reorganize operations in the nationalized mines, which have consistently lost money. The reorganization plan involves reduction of the work force and pay cuts."

"Miners attacked public buildings in the village of Llallagua in the mining zone Monday and fought troops, using rifles and home-made grenades."

"The La Paz newspaper *El Diario* said air force planes machine-gunned the rebels at Llallagua before quiet was restored."

## Unification Congress

By José Valdés

SANTIAGO (World Outlook) — The founding congress of a revolutionary Marxist party was held here on August 14-15. Various groups and parties with delegates from the most important provinces of the country attended. By majority vote the new united party was named *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario* (MIR) [Revolutionary Left Movement].

The MIR is the result of successive unifications that took place during the past year, the details of which are as follows: 1) Unification in February 1964 of the *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* (POR) [Revolutionary Workers Party], which had a long Trotskyist tradition, with the *Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista* [Revolutionary Communist Movement], a group of Communist youth that developed as a result of the Sino-Soviet conflict.

2) Unification in May 1964 of the MRC and the *Oposición Socialista de Izquierda* [Left Socialist Opposition], giving birth to the *Partido Socialista Popular* (PSP) [Popular Socialist Party].

3) Unification in May 1965 of the PSP with the *Movimiento de Independientes de Izquierda Allendista* [Independent Left Allendist Movement], a group composed of rank-and-file committees that supported the presidential candidacy of Allende. This formation retained the name of the PSP.

4) The PSP and *Vanguardia Revolucionaria Marxista* [Marxist Revolutionary Vanguard], together with groups that had left the Communist and Socialist parties, and revolutionary trade unionists like Clotario Blest called the Founding Congress that created the MIR.

This process of revolutionary regroupment in Chile is part and parcel of the unity process bringing together the Marxist groups that have appeared generally in Latin America since the Cuban Revolution.

In this way the most important Marxist-Leninist party yet to be



Clotario Blest

formed in Chile has come into being. Its importance can be judged not only by its political positions and the quality of its leaders but by the number of active members, the majority of them young workers, peasants and students.

The congress elected a central committee of 21 members — 11 from Santiago and 10 from the provinces. The central committee is composed of youth in its great

majority and experienced leaders like Enrique Sepúlveda, founder of the POR and Chilean Trotskyism, who was unanimously elected general secretary; Humberto Valenzuela, former general secretary of the POR; Clotario Blest, president of the *Central Unica de Trabajadores* [Central Labor Union] for nine years; Oscar Weiss, who was a member of the central committee of the Socialist party for various terms until he broke with it because of its reformism; Santibañez, regional leader of the Communist party who just broke away from the CP because of its revisionism; the author of this article; and other worker and student leaders.

The first paragraphs of the "Declaration of Principles and Program" declare:

"The aim of the MIR is to overthrow the capitalist system and replace it by a Workers and Peasants Government, led by organs of proletarian power, whose task will be to construct socialism and gradually eliminate the state until a classless society is reached."

"The MIR bases its revolutionary action on the historical fact of the class struggle. The MIR recognizes the proletariat as the vanguard class that must win to its cause the peasants, intellectuals and impoverished middle class."

## ... Loopholes in Medicare

(Continued from Page 1)

Both the American Medical Association and the insurance lobby have fought any form of Medicare for years. Their seeming capitulation this year came only after the bill had been compromised to include the main demands of both opponents. According to the *Wall Street Journal* of July 30, the insurance lobby began an undercover fight for the bill after several large health insurance companies which had begun selling "over 65" policies in 1962 found costs for the benefits under these policies far outstripped the very high premiums. When the insurance trust found it was losing money it suddenly decided it would be all right for the federal government to pay the health bill for the aged.

When AMA forced the supplementary doctor coverage section into the bill, it too "capitulated." It is interesting to note that in a top level conference Johnson held with leaders of the AMA, the insurance lobby, and the American Hospital Association (which had supported Medicare from the start), immediately after he signed the bill, he gave even more concessions — regional committees composed of local doctors or their association representatives and insurance companies (including Blue Cross) will set fees and hospital costs!

According to the *New York Telegram*, Aug. 9, "N. Y. Doctors Fear Medicare But Will Go Along." The "fears" the interviewed doctors expressed were that their offices and the hospital beds would be cluttered up needlessly. They say Medicare will bring about "mass medication" but not "quality care." One doctor admitted that the bulk of his practice is people over 50 years old. "You can't build a practice on young people — they don't get sick often enough."

The majority of the 20 million old people in the USA came out of the working class. They are the men and women who built this country into a vast bastion of wealth. They have earned the right to a comfortable old age, free from worry and want.

Every metropolitan country in this world, except the United States, recognizes that the health

of its citizens is one of its most valuable natural resources.

I talked to a doctor the other day. He supports Medicare as a "step in the right direction . . . it is something, and next year we can fight for more." Even in its truncated form Medicare is a "step." But it falls far short of meeting the real needs of an aging population.

The real answer to a genuine "Medicare" program would be one that recognized the needs of the whole population for fundamental health. That, of course, would be socialized medicine. That, of course, would take the profit motive out of the medical profession. Under socialized medicine research to conquer all disease would be possible. And under socialized medicine, those generations coming up would not have to face the endings of their lives made bitter by chronic diseases which today are on the increase.

When you plant a tree seedling you make sure it is healthy, give it the food and sun and medication it needs, make sure its surroundings are right, so it will grow into a thing of beauty.

Why then should not our children have the same care and attention, so that, one day, when they face old age, they will have the basic health necessary to live out their lives in comfort? Why should the added years which medical science has made possible be filled with pain and misery?

Medicare is a feeble, faltering step. But it is only the beginning of the real fight — a fight which must end in real medical care, hence real health, from the cradle to the grave.

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## World Events

### Arrest Indian Trotskyists

The Trotskyists in India, along with other militant tendencies, have been subjected to repression in the current crisis. Recently in West Bengal, two Trotskyist leaders, Kanai Pal, a member of the West Bengal assembly, and Naren Biswas were held under the witchhunting Defense of India laws.

### Japan Housewives Protest

Some 15,000 Japanese housewives staged an outdoor rally followed by a chanting parade through downtown Tokyo Aug. 23 to deliver a three-point protest to the Diet (Parliament). The resolution, which will be introduced into the Diet by the Socialist and Communist parties, asks the government to drop its support to the U.S. war in Vietnam, not to ratify the Japan-Korea "normalization" treaty, and to initiate countermeasures against the rising cost of living.

### Spanish Professors Fired

The Spanish government has fired five professors for taking the side of students last spring during big demonstrations for the right to form student unions free of control by the official Falangist party. A solidarity movement with the professors has begun. Already, on Aug. 28, José María Valverde, professor of art history at the University of Barcelona resigned in sympathy, and students are planning to resume demonstrations.

### 'Pravda' Editor Bounced

Aleksei Rumyantsev, editor of *Pravda*, who recently attracted attention when he printed an attack on the views of the editors of *Izvestia* [see *The Militant*, Sept. 20], an unprecedented event in recent Soviet history, has now been "retired" from his post.

The official story is that Rumyantsev had a "heart attack." Remember how Khrushchev retired on account of "age"? He has been replaced by Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Simyanin. But the shift came soon after his controversial editorial, which suggests that the differences in Soviet ruling circles, differences which remain largely concealed, are growing quite sharp.

Rumyantsev's ouster came on the eve of a meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Reportedly this session will take up a proposal to extend to all of Soviet industry the use of profit-type incentives (what is called "Libermanism" — after the Soviet economist who proposed them). Thus far these incentives have been tested in only a few enterprises.

### Ugly Trend in Algeria

The government of military usurper Colonel Boumedienne in Algeria, in keeping with its incapacity to resolve the present crisis and to offer a genuine solution to the current economic difficulties, is searching desperately for some diversionary political issues.

Thus, since the beginning of

September, the Algerian press has launched a big offensive against the "pieds-rouges" (The French colonialists were contemptuously called "pieds-noirs," black feet. Boumedienne's propagandists have coined the term "pieds-rouges," red feet, for French socialists who rallied to the Algerian cause in the freedom struggle and who, since then, have aided in reconstructing the war-torn country as technical assistants or advisers.)

The most virulent example of this propaganda offensive appeared in *Revolution Africaine*. The article, by one Malik Bennabi, recalls the worst period of McCarthyism and rabid anti-Communism in America. Here are some excerpts:

"At the present time, the evil we must worry about in Algeria is sabotage of the state apparatus. Communist Russia had to face this peril in the 1927-1939 period."

"It is worse than an armed attack because they can gnaw away at this apparatus silently, in the dark, until it falls to pieces, without our hearing anything or seeing anything."

Such literature would warrant only an ironic smile if it were not combined with repression of the former left wing of Ben Bellaism. For example, Mohammed Harbi, a leading left-wing figure in the FLN, was arrested August 9, according to the Paris paper *Le Monde*. Also arrested have been a number of French technicians cooperating with Algeria who are considered to hold leftist views.

— George Saunders



## FREEDOM FIGHTER

## A 16th Century Peasant Leader

By Roger Harrison

For Germany, as for the rest of Europe, the 14th and 15th centuries were times of deep crisis. Large sections of the landed nobility were ruined while others were expanding their holdings; towns and manufacture were growing with breathtaking rapidity; and revolts became ever more frequent among the hard-pressed peasants, on whose backs the whole social structure stood.

The Catholic Church was not immune to the effects of the crisis and to new ideas. The Abbot Joachim of Flore developed his remarkable philosophy of stages of historical development. He expected the imminent advent of the Third Empire, the reign of the Holy Spirit, in which men would live in harmony and charity, liberated from both church and state. Popular imagination was fired by the myth of the savior-king, who would be sent by God to destroy the oppressors.

## Born in Germany

It was into this world that Thomas Muenzer was born, sometime around 1490, in the Saxon town of Stollberg. Almost nothing is known of his early life, except that he was born into the grinding poverty of the utterly dispossessed.

Probably Muenzer's exceptional talents were noticed by some parish priest, who provided for his early education. In any case, we find him, in 1513, teaching in Halle. His activities apparently extended beyond the performance of his appointed duties, for in the same years he was expelled from the city for leading a conspiracy against its ruler.

In 1517, with the coming of the Reformation of Martin Luther, he left the Catholic Church to become a Lutheran pastor. Two years later he met Luther, who used his influence to bring Muenzer to the pastorate of the textile manufacturing city of Zwickau. The friendship was brief. Luther, consolidating his position with the princes, was divesting himself of all those revolutionary impulses that had momentarily been expressed at the time of his break with the Church of Rome.

## Sought Masses

Muenzer was moving just as rapidly leftward. He sought his congregations among the plebeian masses; he helped them to organize politically; and he identified himself with the Anabaptists, theologically the most radical of the religious reformers.

His fraternization with the weavers of Zwickau did not please the city fathers. He was expelled and, for more than a year thereafter, he wandered through Bavaria, Swabia, and Saxony, preaching to whatever assemblies of peasants and plebeians he could find. Finally, he was called to the pastorate of the relatively radical city of Allstedt, Saxony.

Here, Muenzer began to organize a secret confederation, a revolutionary party, to carry the Reformation to its completion. The program of this party was simple, uncompromising: the immediate establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. And the establishment of the Kingdom of God meant the abolition of all privilege

and of all property. Land and natural wealth should be collectively owned; everyone should perform productive labor; and the product of that labor should be placed in a common store from which each should draw according to his needs.

All authority, clerical or secular, which stands over against the people should be abolished. Here, the doctrine of the Abbot Joachim is made socially concrete: The reign of the Holy Spirit is possible only through the abolition of property. In Muenzer's program, communism is presented, perhaps for the first time, not merely as a way of life for certain individuals within the existing social order, but as an alternative kind of social order; as a principle of the total transformation of the world.

While Muenzer identifies the achievement of this new kind of world with the advent of the Holy Spirit, the agency of this transformation is supposed to be neither some miraculous, direct intervention of God nor the deed of some heaven-sent savior-king, but the conscious activity of the oppressed.

## Spread Message

These ideas Muenzer propagated among the plebeian elements of Allstedt and among the miners of the nearby Mansfeld copper region, for whom he had special respect and affection. His party was discovered and, early in 1524, Muenzer was again a wandering exile. He turned south once more, into Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia. During the summer and fall, he swept back and forth through the Black Forest, calling the peasants to arms and proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom. It is possible, though not certain, that Muenzer coordinated the various peasant and plebeian groupings involved in the revolt which took place in April, 1525.

However that may be, Muenzer was certain that the rebellion would occur, and in February,

1525, he returned to Saxony with the intention of leading an uprising there. The revolution, uniting the masses of Saxony with those of Franconia and Swabia, would then spread to the rest of Germany, to all of Europe, and soon thereafter, throughout the world. He chose Muehlhausen, where he had a number of trusted disciples, as his base of operations. Muehlhausen revolted in March, before the uprising in the south, and a petty-bourgeois, democratic regime was established.

## Peasant Revolt

By the middle of April, the whole of Swabia was in revolt. Peasant and plebeian armies were forming throughout Saxony, and numerous cities had followed Muehlhausen in establishing revolutionary regimes. The princes were mustering their armies to crush the rebels. Muenzer marched out from Muehlhausen with a force of 8,000 to engage the troops of Count Philipp of Hessen at Frankenhäusen, some sixty miles to the northeast. He expected that an army of the Mansfeld miners would join his forces. The miners did not appear, and by May 16, the revolutionary army had been annihilated by Philipp's larger and far better trained and equipped regiment. Of the 8,000 in the revolutionary army, more than 5000 were killed.

Muenzer was captured. Under torture, he revealed nothing and recanted nothing. After two weeks of "interrogation," he was returned to Muehlhausen and beheaded.

The princes, with Luther's furious support, "pacified" the land by fire, cannon, sword, and rack. The defeat was total. The imposed penalties increased the misery of the peasant; and the princes sat more securely on their thrones.

But through the darkness of the inevitable defeat, the light of that glorious moment of revolt shines into our future; and the brightest ray of that light streams from Thomas Muenzer.

## "LOOKING BACKWARD"

[Published in 1888, and depicting a model socialist society of the future, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* had a profound impact on the thinking of the time, selling in the millions of copies. In the following excerpt, the author explains to a reader in the future society what capitalism was like.]

By way of attempting to give the reader some general impression of the way people lived together in those days, and especially of the relations of the rich and poor to one another, perhaps I cannot do better than to compare society as it then was to a prodigious coach which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and sandy road. The driver was hunger, and permitted no lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow.

Despite the difficulties of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers who never got down, even at the steepest ascents. These seats on top were very breezy and comfortable. Well up out of the dust, their occupants could enjoy

the scenery at their leisure, or critically discuss the merits of the straining team. Naturally such places were in great demand and the competition for them was keen, every one seeking as the first end in life to secure a seat on the coach for himself and to leave it to his child after him.

By the rule of the coach a man could leave his seat to whom he wished, but on the other hand there were so many accidents by which it might at any time be wholly lost. For all that they were so easy, the seats were very insecure, and at every sudden jolt of the coach persons were slipping out of them and falling to the ground, where they were instantly compelled to take hold of the rope and help to drag the coach on which they had before ridden so pleasantly. It was naturally regarded as a terrible misfortune to lose one's seat, and the apprehension that this might happen to them or their friends was a constant cloud upon the happiness of those who rode.

## Compassion?

But did they think only of themselves? You ask. Was not their very luxury rendered intolerable to them by comparison with the lot of their brothers and sisters in the harness, and the knowledge that their own weight added to their toil? Had they no compassion for fellow beings from whom fortune only distinguished them? Oh, yes, commiseration was frequently expressed by those who rode for those who had to pull the coach, especially when the vehicle came to a bad place in the road, as it was constantly doing, or to a particularly steep

hill. At such times, the desperate straining of the team, their agonized leaping and plunging under the pitiless lashing of hunger, the many who fainted at the rope and were trampled in the mire, made a very distressing spectacle, which often called forth highly creditable displays of feeling on the top of the coach.

## Other World

At such times the passengers would call down encouragingly to the toilers of the rope, exhorting them to patience, and holding out hopes of possible compensation in another world for the hardness of their lot, while others contributed to buy salves and liniments for the crippled and injured. It was agreed that it was a great pity that the coach should be so hard to pull, and there was a sense of general relief when the specially bad piece of road was gotten over. This relief was not, indeed, wholly on account of the team, for there was always some danger at these bad places of a general overturn in which all would lose their seats.

It must in truth be admitted that the main effect of the spectacle of the misery of the toilers at the rope was to enhance the passengers' sense of the value of their seats upon the coach, and to cause them to hold on to them more desperately than before. If the passengers could only have felt assured that neither they nor their friends would ever fall from the top, it is probable that, beyond contributing to the funds for liniments and bandages, they would have troubled themselves extremely little about those who dragged the coach.

## Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and capitalism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

The term "power structure" has been used in the civil rights and antiwar movements. What do Marxists think of this term?

The use of the term "power structure" shows, I think, an awareness by the user that he and others like him do not have the power in this society, that someone else does have that power, and that such power is used to preserve the status quo of war and racism. Marxists generally agree with this, and regard it as an important first step in understanding our society and how to change it.

I have heard "power structure" applied by different people to different things, however. Sometimes it is used to mean the government, either national, state or local. Other times it is used to denote the owners of industry — for example the industrialists in a Southern city guilty of racial discrimination in hiring. It has also been used to describe the police, sheriffs or armed forces. For some, the term also covers the Democratic and Republican parties.

All of these ideas have some validity to them, and sometimes people use the term to mean all of them at once. Marxists see these different sides of the "power structure" as organically connected and serving the purpose of preserving the rule over society of a particular class.

That class is the tiny minority of capitalists who own the factories, mines, giant farms, railroads, etc. To preserve their position of wealth, power and prestige, to protect their ownership of the economy, and to defend the capitalist system, the capitalist class controls a structure of power. That structure Marxists call the state.



At the heart of the state, backing up all its institutions, decisions and laws, is an apparatus of force and violence (actual or implied) composed of sheriffs, police, armies, courts, jails, judges, etc. Legislative, executive and a giant host of bureaucratic bodies administer and direct this machinery of violence.

The capitalists, or the decisive sections of them, ensure their control of the state and make sure it defends them and their system nationally and internationally through their control of the major political parties. In our country the capitalists maintain their rule through the Democrats and Republicans.

The very rich control the two major parties through the power of the dollar to bribe, corrupt and buy. These parties are so structured that all major decisions come from the top down, and it is at the top that the capitalists' grip is the most firm. At the same time, of course, since the capitalists are a tiny minority, they control these parties from behind the scenes, while the parties present the appearance of being for "all of the people."

So Marxists view the "power structure" as the capitalist state, controlled by the capitalists through the capitalist parties, and designed to preserve the economic system which keeps the capitalists in a privileged position.

(For a thorough discussion of the Marxist concept of the state, read Lenin's *The State and Revolution*, available from Pioneer Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N.Y. 10003, 50c).

—Barry Sheppard

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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.]

## Japanese Peace Plea

Tokyo, Japan  
An open letter to American writers, editors and intellectuals: As writers and editors in Japan, we are sending you this letter for the first time to promote international understanding.

As readers of your poems, stories and articles in your periodicals, we want to hear from you directly your honest opinions.

What we are deeply concerned with, of course, is the Vietnam affair, especially the Northern bombings by the U.S. forces.

Our opinion is as follows:  
1) The U.S. military actions are an intervention in the domestic affairs of Vietnam.

2) The United States should

stop all military actions at once and should withdraw its forces from the land of Vietnam, signing and observing the Geneva Agreements.

3) The future of Vietnam should be left to the Vietnamese.

We are feeling the U.S. military actions in Vietnam bear many startling resemblances to those of Japanese militarism in 1930's, which began with the establishment of the puppet government in Manchuria under military coercion. And its end was, as you all know, miserably shown in the Tokyo Tribunal.

Mr. E. O. Reischauer, the U.S. Ambassador to Japan, has opposed this widespread feeling here, and justified the U.S. military actions by referring to the Greek case after World War II. But how could we compare Greece with Vietnam? What should be taken in consideration here is that unlike Greece, Vietnam has been long under French dominion. How could such a famous historian as Mr. Reischauer so easily forget that your country also before the Revolution in 1776 had been the British colony?

One of your classic writers, H. D. Thoreau, told us that "all men recognize the right of revolution, that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable." This was certainly the case in South Vietnam under the tyrannical Ngo-regime supported by the U.S. Government. All we need is strongly to safeguard the world peace and completely to abolish the genocidal weapons — atomic, bacteriological or chemical.

As the citizens of an Asian country, always we will remain your sincere friends hoping that you will co-operate with us in the campaign promoting the world peace. We want to hear from you earnestly.

Ichiro Haryu  
Hisao Hiyama  
Association of New Japanese Literature,  
37, Kawazo-cho Nakanoku,  
Tokyo, Japan

## Hero or Heroine?

Chicago, Ill.  
In *The Militant*, Sept. 20, 1965, a headline says: "Rosa Luxemburg: A Hero of Our Century." I hope that we agree that the proper title should have been: Rosa Luxemburg: A Heroine of Our Century.

Carrie Jasin

[We used the word "hero" in the headline rather than "heroine" simply because the latter word was too long to fit into the allotted space. Webster's unabridged dictionary offers several definitions of the word hero. One defines it as a "principal male personage" in a remarkable or dramatic event; another defines it simply as "a prominent or central personage taking part in any remarkable action or event." We based our use of the word on the latter definition. EDITOR.]

## Vietnam War

Pittsburgh, Pa.  
There is no doubt left. The big four — Johnson, Bundy, McNamara and Rusk — are on their collision course. The ultimate goal — war with China. There were some of us who believed they were using the Vietnamese for their experimental exercises and that after a while they would find an excuse to end the experiment.

But a re-evaluation must be made. There is no stopping the Hawks now. Old "Dove of Peace" Lippmann has taken up the Hawks banner, along with other previous dissenters. There are many more eager to fall in line.

The old trick of provoking the enemy and then accusing the enemy of what you yourself do is the policy of the administration today, as it always has been under imperialist leaders of the United States. What they fail to recognize is the fighting capabilities of the National Liberation Front, North Vietnam, China, and the people of the United States who must not sit by while the Hawks bring them to their ultimate nuclear doom.

I must refer to the Appeal to American Youth issued by M. S. Arnone of the *Minority of One*. If you haven't seen this call, it sends out an appeal to all rational-thinking Americans (I must generalize this call for all Americans, not just the young) to form companies of "soldiers" and help defend Vietnam and the entire world from the menace of the United States. If these cadres of peace can make the trip to Vietnam then that certainly is the ultimate goal. But if this is impossible then all must be done on the home front.

S. W.

## The Danger Facing U.S.

New York, N.Y.  
The United States is today the most hated country in the world. It's not the country itself, as is clearly understood, but its ruling

élite and its imperialist, piratical and racist policies. And curiously, perhaps more by the peoples of the "free world" than by the Socialist citizens of the world. Though the American people have also lost in grace and sympathy before the eyes of the world since the end of World War II. Its signs of arrogance and ignorance on the one hand (the same signs of the German people prior and during the last world war), and having become a Nation of Sheep on the other hand (its hysterical and deep-sickness of anti-Communism which has hypnotized it to follow blindly the thirst for power, greed and blood of its military-industrial rulers.)

Time is running short to save this country from a rightist dictatorship, and not a civil one but a military one. Solutions to the world's problems, as we all have seen of lately, are being sought strictly by and through military policies and strategies. The President that was elected by so many millions of innocent Americans, thought of as a "liberal" and a "dove of peace," has proven to be a double-talker, a hypocrite of the highest caliber, and a betrayer of the people who voted for peace.

This modern Texan democratic dictator of the United States, may be seen pretty soon wearing his five-star military uniform on the TV screens. With his Texan hat adorned with a peace dove, a big medal over his chest inscribed in God We Trust, two 45 calibre cowboy revolvers hanging from his beer-filled belly sides, and

hands dripping the blood of his atrocious murders of innocent Asians, Latin Americans and Africans.

Speak out, rise and be counted is the cry of the time — NOW!

As Edmund Burke's quotation goes: "All that is required for the triumph of evil is that good men remain silent and do nothing."

José (Chico) Cuba

## Tax Burden

Minneapolis, Minn.  
Under the auspices of the liberal Democrat Kennedy, a tax reduction was instituted for nearly all, if not all, people in the U.S. However, the rate of reduction increased in proportion to the amount of income. Then too, corporations as well as individuals received reductions. This, taken together with the continual reductions that industry is given (such as discounts for new plant and machinery and capital gains), places an ever increasing share of the burden of taxation on those least able to pay. The aged and the young, as well as workers, suffer from the increased regressiveness of sales taxes. And retired workers pay the same rate of personal property tax as those earning wages or those living off of profit created by workers.

These examples illustrate the economic fact of life that any Democratic or Republican tax program must be towards increasing the profit for those who own at the expense of those who do the work.

Jim Krahn

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

HUGE DEMONSTRATIONS PROTEST RACIST VERDICT IN LYNCH TRIAL — MISSISSIPPI OK'S MURDER; NEGROES WHO TESTIFIED IN DANGER — The anger of the Negro people over Mississippi's brazen acquittal of the fiendish lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till boiled over in massive protest meetings, such as have not been seen for decades, in the major cities of the country.

In city after city reports show the same story as here in New York. Protest meetings drew such huge crowds that halls were filled to capacity, then all available standing space was rapidly filled and then thousands more stood determinedly outside the meeting halls listening for hours to the speeches over public address systems.

The tremendous response, which everywhere far surpassed the expectations of the meetings' sponsors, showed the depths to which the Till lynching has stirred the Negro people. — Oct. 3, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

INDO-CHINESE BATTLE IMPERIALIST DESPOTS — American troops are being used against the Indo-Chinese movement for independence. Sent in by air, they broke up a demonstration on September 12 of Annamese Nationalists in Hanoi. They ordered Annamese leaders to release arrested local representatives of the French despots. In subsequent fighting, American troops inflicted casualties among the fighters for independence. An American officer in turn was killed and others wounded.

Saigon continues "under a virtual state of siege, with Annamese firing from places of concealment at French, British and Americans," according to press reports. The American army transport personnel was summoned from an airfield to help "guard" a hotel held by Allied troops.

The American forces are fighting in Indo-China, because, "we are committed," as CBS correspondent Bill Downs puts it, "to returning the old French colonial regime to Indo-China."

On September 20, the British Army declared martial law throughout south Indo-China "in a move to head off a threatened uprising by anti-French nationalists." — Oct. 6, 1945.

## It Was Reported in the Press

Orwell Fan? — We wouldn't have believed it if the item had appeared anywhere else but the *Wall Street Journal*. The paper's Washington Wire column of Sept. 24 reported: "A CIA limousine sports the license plate '1984.'"

News of the Week — We were struck by the revelations in a press release from the National Bureau of Economic Research. It reports publication of No. 93 in its series of Occasional Papers, a study of "Financial Adjustments to Unemployment." The paper is based on the findings of a six-state survey conducted over a period of five years by the U.S. Department of Labor. It definitively establishes that when people are out of work they tend to use up their savings and to go into debt.

Is That Friendly? — New York TV commercials keep assuring that, "You've got a friend at Chase Manhattan Bank." But apparently friendliness doesn't help. David Rockefeller, president of the bank, complained to the *Wall Street Journal*: "I'm often shocked to read surveys showing that many people today would like to see the banks nationalized."

Stoic — The Sept. 22 *Wall Street Journal* offers this philosophical observation from a regularly employed member of parliament in India: "We've had famine before. We shall merely tighten our belts. Perhaps 100,000 shall starve. The important thing is to destroy the Pakistani war machine."

Plaudit for Young America — Dr. L. Jolyon West, head of the psychiatry department at the University of Oklahoma, says the current generation of teen-agers may turn out to be one of the best yet. He said this generation "is giving a new quality to mankind" and has "basic beliefs of what is right and wrong and they have the courage to support these beliefs." He pointed to the success of the Peace Corps as an example of the "burgeoning idealism of American youngsters." Wonder what he thinks of the antiwar movement?

Clean Story — A Houston, Texas, high school student was expelled from school for wearing a Beattle-type haircut. His father demanded a hearing before the school board on the ground his son was being deprived of the right to an education. We were going to report the item anyway, on grounds of academic freedom, but were further induced to do so by what we assume was a typographical error in the account of the incident that appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. The paper reported: "The father contended

his son looks well-broomed when his hair is combed."

Progress Report — The Florida Police Academy says it is considering giving up its policy of separate training classes for Negro police rookies.

Ready to Quit? — A headline in the *Paterson Morning News* reported: "Mayor Proposes Youth Corps Clean City Hall."

Second Thoughts — It has been reported that windows have been smashed in the storefront headquarters of New York Republican mayoralty candidate John Lindsay. Newspaper accounts suggested that ultra-rightists of the Conservative Party were responsible for this and other acts of vandalism against Lindsay headquarters. A denial was issued by John Haggerty, a Conservative candidate for the State Assembly. The press release containing the text of the denial includes the sentence: "After all Hitler used a scapegoat for the Reichstag fire." The sentence is crossed out in ink. Did the Conservatives feel it might lose them some votes?

— Harry Ring

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## Thought for the Week

"Obviously, the military's manpower requirements could alter quickly and drastically. If the fighting in Asia spreads, its manpower needs could dwindle so swiftly that the question of unemployment would evaporate. On the other hand, peace in Asia could put considerable new pressure on the country's civilian economy to generate jobs." (*Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 27)



## More Blood to Flow in Vietnam War

## U.S. to Intensify Genocidal War

By Dick Roberts

SEPT. 27 — An ominous warning about America's future war plans for China was contained in the report in today's *Wall Street Journal* that the U.S. Air Force plans to convert at least one-third of its 600-strong fleet of B-52 nuclear bombers to conventional bomb capacity. Thirty B-52's based in Guam have conducted 55 conventional bomb attacks on South Vietnam since July 17.

While the *Journal* article stated that this change "will yield a capability to conduct mass conventional — non-nuclear — bomb attacks on China," there can be little doubt that some of the newly equipped bombers will be used to step up the saturation bombing of South Vietnam.

This escalation of U.S. counter-guerrilla war capability parallels increasing evidence that the Johnson administration intends to carry through the war in South Vietnam to the liquidation or surrender of the Vietnamese liberation forces, rather than negotiate a withdrawal of U.S. forces at a time when the National Liberation Front is in control of a large section of the country.

The New York *Herald Tribune*, for example, reported this morning that it had "authoritatively" learned that U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge, "has pressed the White House and State Department to mute talk about negotiations. His argument," the *Tribune* continued, "is that at a time when the tide of battle seems to have turned against the Communist Viet Cong Americans should avoid peace parleys."

Exceptionally rigorous press censorship of news from the Vietnamese battle fronts makes it impossible to gauge the validity of Lodge's contention that the U.S. is now "winning" the war. How-

## Those 'Terrorists' Killed by Gen. Ky

The character of U.S. press coverage of the Vietnam war is indicated by the reports that the execution of two U.S. war prisoners by the guerrillas was in retaliation for the public execution of three "terrorists" by the Ky dictatorship in South Vietnam last week. Just prior to those executions U.S. dispatches admitted that the three were to die not for "terrorist" acts but for the "crime" of leading a protest at Danang against the U.S. bombing of defenseless villages.

ever, the statement that the U.S. should not negotiate at this point, coming from the highest diplomatic authority in Vietnam, cannot be lightly dismissed.

It carries even more weight following similar reports by American correspondents in South Vietnam over the past two weeks. These included an article by associate editor of the *New York Times*, James Reston, written from Saigon Sept. 12, and an article by *Wall Street Journal* staff-reporter Robert Keatley, written from Hue, Sept. 21.

Both Reston and Keatley indicated that U.S. officials in Vietnam reject negotiations at this point and both ape the line that America now has the military capability to destroy the National Liberation Front.

"Importing some 130,000 U.S. troops," Keatley stated, "... has not only secured important areas but created large mobile reserves

that can rush to the rescue of posts under heavy Communist fire. Improved use of air power, ranging from giant B-52 jet bombers to tiny observer planes brings government raids on base areas where the Vietcong formerly could recuperate safely."

But Reston and Keatley, unlike Lodge, note that equally if not more important in determining Washington's unwillingness to negotiate at this point is the instability and unpopularity of the Saigon government.

"The South Vietnamese army," Keatley observed, "which is supposed to be defending the peasants, persists in the theft and vandalism that in past years caused many farm folk to begin aiding the Vietcong." Keatley found that a large student movement in Hue, which does not support the NLF, nevertheless opposes the military dictatorship in Saigon and has persistently demonstrated for negotiations with North Vietnam.

What the U.S. really fears is that if negotiations were held in the near future, the Liberation Front would have the upper hand. "Neither the South Vietnamese nor Americans," Keatley informs us, "want settlements that give the Communists' National Liberation Front a political role in the Saigon government."

## Estimate Duration

As for the amount of time that Washington thinks will be necessary to bring the Vietnamese people into line, "the best judgment here," Reston commented, "seems to be that it will take a year — some of our experts think two — to produce a sharp decrease in Vietcong raids." And Reston poses the big question in Washington directly: "Will the Vietcong crack under the steady American bombardment and the power of helicopters, or will the social and political structure of South Vietnam crack first?"

Beneath the journalistic rhetoric of the *Times* and *Journal* articles looms the cold hard fact that the United States is contemplating a genocidal war against the Vietnamese people. The incessant bombings of South Vietnamese villages have already produced over 600,000 refugees, most of them now homeless and foodless, besides tens of thousands dead. Total elimination of the liberation forces would bring the death toll into the hundreds of thousands, if not millions.

## Imperialist Logic

Unfortunately, such destruction is not beyond the logic of imperialist war. In the nine-year effort to suppress the Algerian revolution, the French (backed largely by U.S. guns and dollars) killed over one million people — almost ten percent of the population — while putting countless other hundreds of thousands in concentration camps.

Washington is outlining a similar course for Vietnam — except that the concentration camp plan of the French will largely be replaced by — saturation bombing. "In order to attack the Vietcong," Reston flatly asserted, "... bombers will have to hurt the civil population in the villages."

Attempting to excuse such a course, Reston concluded his articles with a piece of vicious arrogance that has rarely been matched in imperialist journalism. The "U.S. problem of hurting our friends or potential friends in order to hurt our enemies," Reston declared, will be modified by the fact "that the Vietnamese are a stoical people, who have suffered so much under the Mandarins, the French, the Japanese and their own leaders in Saigon ... that they will probably endure punishment longer than anybody from the West might think possible."

## Four Negro GIs Fight Being Sent to Vietnam

By Alex Harte

Young people in increasing numbers have been exposing themselves to personal reprisals in order to express their refusal to cooperate with the Johnson Administration's cruel war of suppression in South Vietnam. The latest addition to this growing list is Johnny L. Jackson of Washington, D.C., a Negro soldier with the U.S. Army First Cavalry Division.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from An Kahe in South Vietnam, Jackson has been imprisoned on charges of disobeying orders to prepare to move to South Vietnam. Three other Negro soldiers who did not want to go to Vietnam will also be tried on the same charges.

The four men also attempted a hunger strike aboard the U.S. troop ship *Buckner* when they were shipped out against their will.

Jackson was sentenced to six months in jail and forfeiture of two-thirds of his pay, according to the AP dispatch. He was tried aboard the *Buckner*.

The charges against the four specify that they refused to take inoculations and go through other procedures that normally precede movement overseas.

The soldiers are reported to have "mentioned the Congress of Racial Equality and the NAACP" in their protest against being sent to Vietnam.

Unfortunately, the dispatch was not clear about this. Neither CORE nor the NAACP have taken

## Refuses Induction Over Vietnam

George Jalbert of Grafton, Mass. refused Sept. 20 to report for induction because he opposes U.S. foreign policy in South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. He says he'd rather go to prison than fight in South Vietnam.

Jalbert, a 20-year-old former Holy Cross College student, cited the American government's position in the post World War II Nuremberg war criminal trials to back up his contention that the individual's international obligations transcend his obligations to the separate nations.

a stand against American involvement in South Vietnam.

In attempting to minimize the significance of the Negro soldier's protest, a First Cavalry Division officer said, "This group was a tiny minority that reflects badly on all the Negroes here." About 20 percent of the 16,000 men with the First Cavalry Division are Negroes.

The four young men represent a North-South cross-section of the U.S. Besides Jackson, one is from Chicago and two are from Florida.

## 400 at Vietnam War Protest On New York's East Side

By Roland Sheppard

NEW YORK — On Saturday, Sept. 25, the Tompkins Square Neighbors for Peace committee held a successful street rally on New York's Lower East Side against the war in Vietnam. Over 300 people cheered speakers representing many points of view.

Lynn Henderson, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Manhattan Councilman-at-large, pointed out that the United States government was not fighting a war for democracy in Vietnam, but a war against democracy. When Henderson called for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, he was interrupted with cheers and applause.

Since the rally was held in front

of the Ninth Street welfare building, all of the speakers pointed to the failure of the local "war on poverty," and explained where the funds for a real attack on poverty could be gotten — from the billions wasted daily in the dirty war in Vietnam.

Dave Gilbert, of the New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam, denounced President Johnson as a traitor to the ideals of the American Revolution of 1776.

At previous rallies against the war in Vietnam in this locality, right-wing groups had been successful in breaking up the meetings. To prevent a repetition, the Tompkins Square committee organized a defense guard. Because of this precaution, and the size of the rally, the few efforts by some rightist goons to break up the rally were quickly suppressed.

## More Speakers

Other speakers included José Fuentes, independent candidate for the State Assembly from the 67th Assembly District; Paul Krasner, editor of *The Realist*; Judy Mendel, of the Welfare Workers for Peace in Vietnam; Deirdre Griswold, Youth Against War and Fascism; Felipe de Jesus, Progressive Labor; and others.

Lynn Henderson was given another big hand when he concluded his talk by urging those at the rally to vote for independent candidates such as José Fuentes; Bill Epton, candidate of the Progressive Labor Party for State Senator and Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor.

## Life With Lyndon

[The following is reprinted from "Life with Lyndon in the Great Society," a newsletter circulated in Southern civil rights circles, written by Jack Minnis.]

The Mississippi Challenge is over. It failed to secure representation for Mississippi Negroes in the House of Representatives, as it had failed to secure that representation in the Democratic National Convention. It failed, not because Mississippi Negroes didn't know how to handle themselves in politics, not because the members of the House didn't understand the issues, or weren't fully informed, not because the people of the United States were kept from knowing what was going on (for they have little effective voice in what is done in Washington).

## Same Now

The challenge failed (who can dispute it?) because the words of Frederick Douglass, spoken to white America 113 years ago, are as true today as then: "... your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery ... a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States, at this very hour."

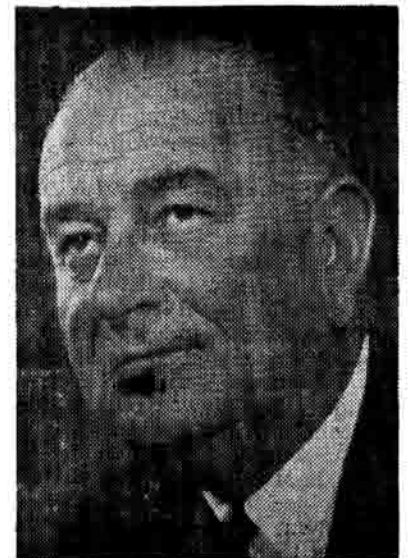
Omar Burleson, chairman of the Committee on House Administration, wrapped it all up very neatly when, explaining why the Committee recommended dismissal of the challenge, he said: "... all of the contestants in this case contend that Negroes have been systemat-

ically excluded from registering and voting in the State of Mississippi. But even if these charges are true I say to you, this House in the past has refused to declare a seat vacant where large numbers of voters were known to be illegally disfranchised." (emphasis added)

We heard some cries of anguished surprise when it was announced that the Lowndes County Grand Jury had indicted T. L. Coleman for manslaughter (instead of murder) for the killing of Jonathan Daniels and for assault and battery for the shooting of Richard Morrisroe. We're hard put to understand why anyone would have expected anything else. The grand jury that voted the indictments was selected by a jury commission the members of which are appointees of Governor Wallace. Since when did we have reason to believe that Wallace considers it a crime to kill a civil rights worker?



Lynn Henderson



Lyndon Johnson