

# U.S. Vietnam Policy: Mass Extinction?

By Dick Roberts

NOV. 2 — Latest reports from Saigon and Washington reinforce the evidence that Johnson's avowed policy of "unconditional negotiations" for Vietnam is rapidly being replaced by the bloody doctrine of "unconditional triumph." This was clearly the gist of remarks by two of the top government policy makers at the annual Association of the United States Army banquet, in Washington, Oct. 25.

Presently advisor to the President, and formerly U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell Taylor stated that "success" in Vietnam required neither the formal surrender of the "Vietcong," nor the destruction of the Hanoi regime.

"The end would come," the Oct. 28 *New York Times* reports Taylor as saying, "with the cessation of Vietcong activity and the 'eventual dissolution' of the guerrilla apparatus." Army Chief of Staff Gen. Harold K. Johnson added, "United States troops might have to fight a long war in Vietnam and then stay after the shooting stops."

These statements come at a time when it is increasingly evident that a long-range U.S. plan of destroying the resistance of the National Liberation Front would mean nothing short of the extermination of millions of Vietnamese people.

In what was described as one of the first "continuing" battles of the war, at Pleime, Oct. 19-27, the revolutionary guerrillas proved an obdurate and capable opponent of U.S. forces.

*New York Times* reporter Charles Mohr wrote from the scene of battle that "the most striking first impression of Pleime was the depth of professional respect the Americans had for their enemy . . . [The commanding U.S. officer] called the attacking troops 'the finest soldiers I have ever seen in the world except Americans.'"

Beneath the paternalism of this remark stands a cold hard fact. American aggressors are fighting Vietnamese patriots who are fighting for freedom, social justice and their own country. Mohr reports an American "rawboned and totally unclerical sergeant" as stating: "No more of this for me. I'm going to become the world's fastest clerk-typist."

The following day, Oct. 28, Mohr reported "air strikes have yet to defeat the Vietcong and have apparently killed far fewer guerrillas than the Air Force suggests . . . Some Government soldiers were so demoralized that they tried to sneak into Pleime with



**BERKELEY PROTEST.** About 10,000 demonstrators against the war in Vietnam marched from Berkeley on Oakland Army Base on Oct. 15 during the International Days of Protest. They were stopped by Oakland police.

mock bandages, posing as wounded men."

Several days later, small bands of Liberation Front guerrillas broke into two of the largest U.S. Marine airforce bases, at Danang and Chu Lai, to destroy 20 aircraft and damage 27 others. But the most revealing piece of information which leaked through the heavily screened news reports from Vietnam last week was one sentence in an article which was not about Vietnam at all.

The article, which appeared on page 35 of the Oct. 31 *New York Times*, concerned the annual report of the privately financed United States Committee for Refugees. The Committee report stated "that by Christmas of this

year the figure [of refugees] for Vietnam alone would increase from 600,000 to one million."

The effects of daily saturation bombing of the hamlets and towns of the South Vietnamese people is one aspect of the U.S. war-of-atrocities which Washington has most carefully concealed. But it is not hard to figure out the extent of the destruction when the number of homeless peasants driven into refugee camps increases at a rate greater than one hundred thousand per month.

Another inkling of the truth was revealed when the results of a "map-reading error" by "South Vietnamese officials" led to U.S. planes bombing a "friendly vil-

(Continued on Page 2)

## THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 40

Monday, November 8, 1965

Price 10c

## N. Y. Pro-War Parade A Thoroughgoing Flop

By Barry Sheppard

NEW YORK—The parade down Fifth Avenue in favor of the Vietnam war held here on Oct. 30 was a dismal failure for the pro-war forces. In spite of a week-long front-page campaign boosting the parade by one of New York's major newspapers, the *Journal-American*, in spite of official support by the City Council, and in spite of the fact that the Vietnam war has the solid backing of both major parties, the pro-war parade was small and right-wing in character.

It was essentially a demonstration for ultra-right mayoralty candidate William Buckley. The march was typified by a large banner reading "Support Johnson in Vietnam, Buckley in NYC."

The *Journal-American*, a Hearst paper, which sponsored the march along with Democratic Councilman Matthew Troy, predicted a march of 100,000. The *New York Times* had a headline the day before the parade predicting 50,000. Yet the highest estimate the police dared make of the turnout was 25,000. A CBS newsmen reported this figure on TV, and added that he would lop off a considerable number from that figure.

I counted sections of the parade and timed it, and using the highest count, it is my estimate that the parade was actually 12,000 at the most. The crowd watching the parade was thinner than the crowd at the 30,000-strong anti-Vietnam-war parade two weeks earlier.

Even if the march had equalled or doubled the antiwar march in size, that would still have been a defeat for the pro-war forces, considering the fact that they were demonstrating for a war going on at the present time, and which is crucially important to the ruling

### Buckley's Boys

#### Used Front Group

NEW YORK—When Barry Sheppard was covering the pro-war parade for *The Militant* he went up to a group of demonstrators from Columbia and asked them who organized their contingent. They all replied "an ad hoc committee." But then the leader of the group came over, apparently thinking Sheppard was from Fordham University, and confided: "Behind the scenes, the group that really organized it was the Students for Buckley." He said that was off the record.

class in this country, and considering all the publicity and official support given the march.

The parade was dominated by right-wing veterans' organizations, exile groups, and the ultra-right organized in the Buckley-for-mayor movement. I never saw so many Buckley pins — the little yellow and black buttons were everywhere.

As the marchers passed the reviewing stand, where Buckley stood smiling alongside Senator Javits and Attorney General LeRoy J. White, they cheered and yelled "God bless you, Bill," and "We want Buckley!" Lindsay and Beame, the Republican and Democratic mayoralty candidates, didn't dare show up, and Mayor Wagner "had the flu."

All of the ideas and programs of the ultra-right were aired. Signs carried by the marchers ranged

(Continued on Page 4)

## Interview With S. African Freedom Fighter

By Dick Roberts

This is the first part of an interview with I. B. Tabata, the president of the Unity Movement of South Africa. Tabata is presently touring the United States to publicize the activity of the Alexander Defense Committee, an organization founded last year to raise funds for the defense of South African political prisoners and the support of their families.

I. B. Tabata has been active in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa's oppressed black majority for over three decades. In 1956, the Nationalist Government placed him under a five-year ban and confined him to the city of Cape Town. On the midnight that the ban ended, in 1961, he resumed his organizational work throughout South Africa under the conditions of heightened government repression, both in the towns and in the "Native Reserves."

In May 1963, however, it was clear that Tabata's arrest was imminent. With the police-van outside his door, he escaped through Natal to Swaziland, a British protectorate inside South Africa, and now he resides in Lusaka, Zambia.

With such an impressive career of struggle for freedom as his

background, Tabata is far from the kind of person who would dwell on past accomplishments. When I began the interview by asking him about some of his previous experiences in South Africa, he quickly replied, "you must not expect me to recall such facts, because I have no memory for them. What is important at all times is that you act, that you just do what you consider necessary."

In that spirit, he began by talking about the case of Dr. Neville Alexander, which inspired the Alexander Defense Committees in West Germany, England, Canada, and here, and why these committees are so important for the present struggle of South Africa.

"Dr. Alexander," Tabata began, "was a young student in Cape Town. He was a member of the students' organization affiliated with the Unity Movement, and he got a scholarship to Germany where he obtained his doctorate of philosophy. In Germany, he spread the ideas of the Unity Movement, and when he came back, he organized a study group which tried to study all the literature there is on guerrilla warfare, and all the possibilities of meeting the situation in South Africa."

"Soon Alexander was arrested and tried, with ten other young people in the group. They were all

members of the Society of Young Africa, an affiliate of the Unity Movement, and also of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA), the national political organization of the Unity Movement. All were convicted together, and Alexander is now serving a term of ten years in the concentration camp on Robben Island.



I. B. Tabata

"However, we do not believe," Tabata added, "that they will let him out even when that term is over. Sobukwe, for instance, the president of the Pan-African Congress, served his term and thereafter they passed laws to hold him. He's still in Robben Island to this day, and it is expected that most of the political leaders will be kept there even after they have served their term of sentence."

Explaining the complete breakdown of legal means open to the South African black, Tabata continued, "Even so, ten years is an extremely heavy sentence, especially in view of the fact that it was never proved that Alexander actually — and in fact he never did — commit an act of sabotage. They were simply studying. The court itself did not find it necessary to prove any sabotage or any intention of sabotage. The mere fact of studying and exploring literature was enough to convict him."

"Today in South Africa the rule of law has been abrogated. It is not necessary to prove a man has committed a crime, nor that he had the intention of committing the specific crime. It's only necessary to prove that he did something which might in the end lead to a crime. This makes it im-

(Continued on Page 3)

### Antiwar Convention In D.C. Nov. 25-8

Delegates from the local committees to end the war in Vietnam are meeting in Washington over the Thanksgiving holidays to discuss establishing a national organization.

Each anti-Vietnam-war committee is entitled to two voting delegates for its first 100 members and one delegate for every additional 100 members or fraction thereof. Everyone who is against the war is invited to attend and participate.

For information on housing write: Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam, P.O. Box 19249, Washington, D.C. 20036.



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

An editorial in the Oct. 8 *Missouri Teamster* took exception to allegations of treason that have been raised against two U.S. college professors who have "publicly expressed the hope that the Viet Cong will win the struggle now taking place in Southeast Asia."

"Americans have been raised on the glories of our revolution and the drama of our civil war and rejoice that the freedom of man triumphed in each case," continues the editorial. "But where other countries are concerned, revolution and civil war shake us to our roots."

The editorial further observes, "Americans may or may not believe that we should have troops fighting there on the side of the landowners and vested interests, who refuse free elections and whose newest leader, General Nguyen Cao Ky, told a London newspaper in July that 'I have only one hero — Hitler.' But whether we are for or against our involvement there we cannot deny others the right to speak their piece."

The 1959 *Armour Automation Pact*, which had been widely heralded as a safeguard of workers' jobs against increasing technological advancement in the packing industry, has not lived up to expectations.

According to Russell E. Dresser, a vice president and director of the Packinghouse Department, Amalgamated Meatcutters and

Butcher Workmen of America (AFL-CIO): "Professors and students of labor relations all over the country found in it some glamorous promise of new things to come in labor relations. Somehow our agreement got top billing as an answer to the whole problem of automation."

Writing in the October *Butcher Workmen*, Dresser continued, "It has not stopped or solved the problems of automation. It has not kept Armour or any other packer from closing down plants when such closing seems to meet economic needs of stockholders. It has not maximized jobs in the packinghouse industry or ended unemployment among packinghouse workers. Actually, the total of jobs in the industry is down by at least 20,000 below the level which existed when we signed our 1959 agreements."

Eleven million man-days of labor were lost during the first six months of 1965, according to a report by the U.S. Labor Department. The loss was attributed to 2,020 strikes involving some 852,000 workers, the greatest number since 1960.

Negotiated general wage increases were higher than for any year since 1960, when the first six months' average was 9.2 cents an hour. For the same period this year, general wage increases averaged 7.5 cents in manufacturing and 10.2 cents in non-manufacturing, for an overall average of 8.3 cents.

—Tom Leonard

## SUPERMARKET BLUES

# Cost of Food Jumps

By Herman Porter

If you do the grocery shopping in your family, you undoubtedly noticed a sharp rise in the price of meat at the beginning of the summer. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, prices of meat and poultry jumped more than 6.5 percent on the average from May to June. That, unfortunately, was only the beginning. For the next year or so you'll see the prices of many things rise more rapidly than they have at any time in the last eight years, though probably not as rapidly as they rose in the most inflationary post-war periods.

Prices of canned and frozen fruits and vegetables are going to jump in the near future. These prices are going up for a combination of reasons. Falling farm prices and the government's policies caused farmers to cut back production. Bad weather reduced the size of many crops further.

### Multiple Increases

The smaller crops brought higher farm prices but these increases were multiplied by canners, wholesalers, and retailers. A California Department of Agriculture study cited in the Oct. 25 *Wall Street Journal* showed that a three cent increase farmers got for asparagus wound up costing shoppers 12 cents. Some canners expect to make more money on this year's small crop than on last year's large one, the same article points out.

A clearer picture of what has happened to prices, and who has benefited, can be gotten by examining a few price indexes. All of the indexes cited below compare the situation for any month or year with the average situation in the period 1957-59. A composite of average prices in each category

## How to Spread Profit Margins

Manufacturers have a variety of tricks to squeeze extra money out of consumers. One is to reduce package size while keeping prices the same. Another is to dilute the product. The peanut butter industry, for example, likes to stretch its product with vegetable oils. The government now proposes that peanut butter must contain at least 90 percent peanuts. A consumers group demanded that a product with less than 95 percent peanuts in it be labeled peanut spread. Industry spokesmen were against both proposals.

like medical care, and the cost of rent went up much more quickly — 17 percent and 7.8 percent respectively from the base period to 1964.

During the period from 1958 to 1964 there was less inflation than during any other post war period. Wholesale prices, the prices businessmen pay, remained almost unchanged, but consumer prices rose about 1.2 percent each year.

But this period of wholesale price stability came to an end this year. Wholesale prices have begun to rise — though not rapidly as yet — and the rise in consumer prices will therefore speed up. The wholesale price index for all commodities reached 102.9 in July, up 2.5 points from a year earlier. The consumer price index rose to 110.2 in July.

## ... Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

lage," Oct. 31. According to papers the following day, the pro- peller-driven Skyraiders killed 48 civilians and wounded over 50 others.

What is much more significant than the carelessness this "error" revealed is that it shows U.S. pilots are bombing villages. How about the hundreds of village-targets each day which aren't errors? Or are all these people the "Vietcong?"

These facts do not stack up to a description of a war that the United States is winning. What they describe is a war in which an heroic people is defending itself against increasingly superior forces of aggression.

Winning the war — in Washington's terms — is possible, but it will mean writing one of the bloodiest chapters in the history of mankind, because there is only one way this can be done. That is by bombing the people into submission, bombing them until they are either dead, or in refugee camps. And it will require long years of U.S. military occupation afterwards, to make sure no one ever dares to fight for freedom again.

## N. Y. Forum Slates Report on Cuba

NEW YORK — A Canadian socialist who visited Cuba last summer will speak at the Militant Labor Forum on his observations of political developments in Cuba. The meeting will be held Friday evening, Nov. 12, at 116 University Place.

The speaker, Peter Masson, is active in the left wing of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. He is a member of the executive committee of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Masson, who has travelled in Latin America and Southeast Asia as well as Cuba, will present an estimate of "Cuba's Politics and Leaders."

## Weekly Calendar of Events

### AD RATES

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

### BOSTON

A HIDDEN CHAPTER IN THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR. Speaker: Mary Alice Styron, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

THE GHETTO SPEAKS OUT. Panelists: Chester Robinson, chairman, West Side Organization; Jerry Herman, former Crane High School teacher, dismissed for militant activity against school segregation; Crane High School student, active in the school protest movement. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, rm. 204, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: I. B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement of South Africa. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. Central Methodist Church. Contrib. \$1, students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Alexander Defense Committee.

### LOS ANGELES

FARRELL DOBBS, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party, speaks on What Program for the Antiwar Movement? Fri., Nov. 12 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## Your Help Is Needed

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

### MINNEAPOLIS

BEHIND THE INDOONESIAN CRISIS. Speaker: Bill Onasch. Fri., Nov. 12, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

CUBA'S POLITICS AND LEADERS. Speaker: Peter Masson, Canadian socialist recently returned from a visit to Cuba. Fri., Nov. 12, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### PHILADELPHIA

CUBA'S POLITICS AND LEADERS. Hear a report by Peter Masson, recent visitor to Cuba. Sunday, Nov. 14, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine Sts. Contrib. \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### SAN FRANCISCO

THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM. Speaker: Hayden Perry, socialist educator and lecturer. Fri., Nov. 12, 8:15 p.m. 1722 Page St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## Drew University Drops Critic of Vietnam War

Drew University in Madison, N.J., has refused to renew the teaching contract of James Mellen, an instructor in political science. Mellen is an outspoken opponent of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. He is also secretary-treasurer of New York's anti-establishment Free University.

The Drew University chapter of the American Association of University Professors has protested the dropping of Mellen from the faculty as a violation of academic freedom.

Meanwhile, in another development, the American Civil Liberties Union announced that it will defend pacifist David Miller who burned his draft card. The ACLU is challenging the constitutionality of the new law under which Miller was indicted.

## Campaign Is Now Under Way For \$18,000 Socialist Fund

Members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party are now engaged in raising an \$18,000 Socialist Education fund with a target date of Dec. 15 for completion of the drive.

The fund will help to defray the heavy expenses involved in the publication and circulation of socialist literature. It will help to make possible a greater flow of literature explaining the U.S. role in Vietnam and helping to mobilize opposition to it; it will make possible the publication of more analytical material on the Freedom Now struggle as well as material dealing with major world events and questions of socialist theory.

Needless to say, it is precisely today when there is the greatest interest in years in such literature as well as the greatest need for it, the costs of publishing are higher than ever.

Groups throughout the country have pledged to raise \$17,575 of the \$18,000. We are hoping that readers of *The Militant* will contribute at least the balance of the remaining \$425 listed in the scoreboard below. (A veteran New York area supporter of *The Militant* has already started the ball rolling with \$50.)

The quotas accepted by the various areas may not sound like a huge amount in today's inflationary world but we know that in many cases it will take real digging to keep up with our long-standing fund-raising tradition — to meet the quota IN FULL AND ON TIME.

Meanwhile, we urge all supporters of *The Militant* who wish to make a contribution — large or small — to do it now.

Send your contribution to: Socialist Fund, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Goal	Received	Percent
Cleveland	\$ 700	\$ 310	44
St. Louis	150	60	40
Denver	200	74	37
New York	4,800	1,661	35
Twin Cities	1,250	400	32
Oakland/Berkeley	800	200	25
Philadelphia	275	65	24
Milwaukee	350	79	23
Chicago	1,600	750	21
Detroit	1,100	206	19
Los Angeles	3,600	697	19
San Diego	200	22	11
Newark	150	5	3
Allentown	150	—	—
Boston	1,000	—	—
San Francisco	800	—	—
Seattle	450	—	—
General	425	50	12
Total as of Nov. 1:	\$18,000	\$4,579	25

## Marxism and The Negro Struggle

Articles by:

Harold Cruse  
George Breitman  
Clifton DeBerry

50c

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



# ...I. B. Tabata Interview

(Continued from Page 1)  
possible to defend yourself when you're charged.

"Furthermore," Tabata continued, "there is a deliberate plan by the government to stretch out the period of the trial. For instance today they might call in some case, where before a witness or two would be necessary, 20 or 30 witnesses. Most of them have nothing to add to the case, and in some cases they even call more than 100 witnesses.

"The whole idea is to make it impossible for the defendant to avail himself of defense because no single individual has money

enough to obtain a lawyer for that length of time.

"Now that is one way in which these defense committees are important. They make it possible for the defendants at least to have legal defense in court. But let me add a point which you people here would perhaps not readily appreciate.

"That is how vital it is, that when a man is arrested he should feel that his comrades are with him. They must be able to get the best defense possible, and to do this, they must have the funds to do it.

"It is also vitally important when a man is convicted — and

we know in advance that a man is going to be convicted, as a matter of fact, the defendant himself knows it — but the important thing is that when we go to court we are able to present our point of view. And in placing our point of view in the court itself it becomes clear that far from our man being there on the dock, it should be Verwoerd who should be on the dock.

"Every case emphasizes this aspect of it, and we would not be able to do it unless we had the help of the committees.

"The next thing of importance is that when a man is finally serving, it is necessary for him to know that his family is cared for. If he knows that his comrades and other people around the world are so interested that they are keeping them alive, then he will go to jail feeling that he is doing his job. Going to jail itself becomes part and parcel of his contribution to the struggle for liberation."

Given the savage nature of the South African police-state repression, it is difficult for Americans to understand how it is possible for organizations like the Unity Movement to continue working for liberation. I asked Tabata if he would discuss the nature of political work in South Africa today, outside of the defense work for those who have been arrested.

In order to explain this, Tabata began by sketching the social structure of South Africa. "South Africa," he stated, "shares with all backward countries the one fact that the population is predominantly peasant, that is, those who seek to earn their living from the land. I think this would be found anywhere in the world where the countries are backward.

## U.S. View

"But America thinks of South Africa as a highly developed country in Africa. What Americans do not know is that South Africa has deliberately sought to keep the black population — over 75 percent of the total population — as far as possible tied to the land.

"They are not allowed to take roots in the cities. Officially their home is in the reserves. The Group Areas Act divides up the various racial groups, declaring the whole of South Africa as a white group area, except tiny enclaves known as the reserves, where Verwoerd intends to build what is known as Bantustans.

"These reserves make up less than 13 percent of the total area of South Africa. It is known these cannot hold, cannot support, even a third of the black population. And yet by law, the rest of the black people are thrown into these reserves, and that is supposed to be their home.

"The whole idea here is that they should starve there and be forced to come out — and when they come out, they have no rights of residence. This enables the whites to control black labor as they want to, and they use the pass system and all other devices in order to control this labor, in order to direct it to places they want, at the gold mines, the white farms, and the industries, and in the quantities they want.

"So that you can say the whole of the black population is peasant, landless peasants it is true, but peasants. Those few who stay in towns have no right to be in towns. They are there only insofar as they are employed by whites in town.

"This means that the bulk of the population is the black landless peasants, and this is our starting point, that no meaningful movement or organization can be created without the peasantry. So we concentrated in building up organizations, and in politicizing the peasantry."

Tabata then discussed the Cape African Teacher's Association, an affiliate of the Unity Movement, as an example of the type of organization which is presently



**RACIST COPS IN ACTION.** Durban, South Africa, 1959. Years of brutal repression have trained South African freedom fighters to develop organizations "invisible" to the white racist government and its extensive police apparatus.

active in the liberation struggle.

"CATA works specifically in the field of education, fighting for proper education, better schooling conditions and services. It is very important because throughout South Africa there are schools — in every area, every district of the Transkei. That means that in every one of these there is a branch of the Cape African Teacher's Association, which takes the ideas of the Unity Movement to the peasantry.

"Each branch serves as the center for the distribution of ideas, wherever they are, and this assisted us tremendously in politicizing the peasantry as a whole. The soil was there created for the growth of what is today the most powerful individual organization, the peasant organization, which the peasants themselves created.

"Now your question was, how do we manage to function in this special climate? You will say, are you still allowed to exist? The reply is, we are not allowed to exist officially, though there has been no official ban on the Unity Movement.

"We are an indigenous organization, and if Verwoerd has to ban us, it would come out that he is banning all opposition inside of the country. What he has done, instead, is to ban individuals. He has banned, imprisoned, house-arrested, or banished every single official of the Unity Movement and the officials of the affiliated organizations.

## Seems Leaderless

"So that the organization is virtually leaderless — insofar as he is concerned. But then Verwoerd found out that this itself didn't seem to work because the people simply continued to work. Fortunately for us, we had already anticipated this, because from 1948 when the National Party came into power, we knew, and we said so, that the more fascist wing had taken over and things were going to be more difficult.

"Fascism was going to be more naked, so we started to train various levels of leadership, and we are proud to say that we managed. Now, when Verwoerd found out that he couldn't kill the organization by banning the leaders, the known leaders, then he started by another means. He passed a proclamation making it impossible for more than 10 people to assemble and discuss throughout the reserves.

"You all know about the 90-day detention law, which has now been suspended, and you got to know about this because it was the first time such a law affected white people too. But long before that there was Proclamation 400 which is even worse than the 90-day law. Under this law, any policeman of any rank can at any

time of day or night arrest any black person, and put him under detention for an indefinite period. This law has placed literally thousands of people in jail. It was passed long before the 90-day detention act and it still continues today even after the other one has been withdrawn.

"People outside are of the opinion that since the Sharpeville massacre Verwoerd has practically destroyed the organizations of the African people, and that is because for them, the organizations of the African people were those that they read of in the publications of the ruling class.

"But the truth of the matter is that long before Sharpeville there had been bigger Sharpevilles. For us in South Africa, we were completely surprised why there was so much publicity about Sharpeville when there were occasions before where far more people were mowed down — just killed and nobody seemed to know anything about them.

"In other words, the population of South Africa had become acquainted with Sharpevilles. That alone gave the population time enough to adjust itself to this new situation and they learned to live in it, so that far from being demoralized by Sharpeville, to them Sharpeville appeared slight as compared to what they were used to.

"The population had had time to be demoralized and to regather their forces again so that by the time of Sharpeville they had already been used to this kind of life and they were used to holding their public meetings. Up to this day, although no more than 10 people are allowed to meet, it is a common occurrence in the villages that a meeting is called and over a 1,000 people turn up on the mountainside.

"The police know that these meetings occur. But, you see, in the far away places, the police stations would have few police at a time. No policeman could go from one of these stations to such meetings. He would just be killed, finished.

"In fact, political organization continues. The people do continue to meet and to discuss their problems and build their resistance, and that's how they function to this day. Illegality was forced upon the people and they have learned to live illegally."

## REVIEWS and REPORTS

**NEGROES IN AMERICAN HISTORY: A FREEDOM PRIMER** by Bobbi Cieciora and Frank Cieciora. Illustrations, Frank Cieciora. The Student Voice, Inc., 51 pages, paper, \$1.50.

One of the best kept secrets of the white capitalist rulers of this country has been the true history of the Negro people. Schools, novels, movies, TV, radio — all media used to reach the public — generally deny the historic role black people have played. This history is seldom told, it is not taught, it is just as if it never happened.

When we think about early America, white faces come to mind. But Negroes are as much a part of this country's history as the pilgrims or pioneers. They were here before the pilgrims; they were pioneers themselves. The North would not have won the Civil War without Negro soldiers and spies. If not for black senators, congressmen and governors, we wouldn't have the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution today.

We're supposed to learn history in our schools, but the vast majority of Americans — black and white — have little or no knowledge of Negro history. This 51-page book, written for children, is a good beginning in making the truth known.

The authors pose the question of why "we don't know more about us" and point out: "That big question why is a threat and a challenge to the people who have kept us from knowing us. Which makes this a dangerous book."

Negro history in America is

documented in the book's eleven chapters, beginning with the Revolutionary War and going up to the present freedom struggle. The book is short, so each chapter outlines, rather than details, major events and the roles of outstanding individuals.

After discussing the role of Negroes in the American Revolution, the authors deal with the slave revolt in Haiti and its impact on the slaves in North America. They tell about heroic Negro women, Negroes and Indians, black cowboys and outlaws.

The book takes up the Civil War and the Reconstruction era, and the lives of Frederick Douglass and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. It describes how Dr. DuBois was persecuted and jailed by the government and how he advised Negroes not to fight in the Korean War against their colored brothers.

The last chapter, "The Modern Movement," restricts itself to the nonviolent movement in the South and thus does not give a complete picture of the freedom movement today. Discussion of the struggles in the big city ghettos, North and South, and such figures as Malcolm X, should be included in any future editions.

This beautifully illustrated book is one that everybody should read — young and old. Parents should suggest to their children's teachers that they use it in school. It can be obtained by writing to: The Student Voice, Inc., 360 Nelson St., Atlanta, Georgia, 30313.

—Carol Barry

**WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM**, By Doug Jenness. A Young Socialist Pamphlet, 1965, 22 pp., 10¢.

A short, concise and accurate explanation of the United States war against Vietnam has long been needed. "War and Revolution in Vietnam" comes closer to filling that need than anything this reviewer has yet seen.

Written in a simple, straightforward style, this well-documented pamphlet should prove equally interesting and informative to college students, factory workers and high school students.

Doug Jenness has managed to fit into 22 pages the essential history of Vietnamese-French relations, Japanese conquest, British involvement and the United States role as ultimate successor to the European and Asian imperialists. At the extremely low price of 10¢, this pamphlet will win wide acceptance and approval from the rapidly growing number of opponents to the United States war in Vietnam.

—Ed Shaw

## An Ideal Gift Suggestion

We're tempted to suggest that if you're looking for something for a friend who has nothing, buy him a one-year subscription to THE MILITANT. But so that there won't be any misunderstanding, we'll simply say that it's an ideal gift for the friend who should be thinking about the world we live in and what to do to change it.

Let us know if you would like us to enclose a gift card with your name.

Send the name, address, zip code number and \$3 to THE MILITANT, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003. (And if your own subscription is running out, remember to treat yourself.)

## How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers

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



# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 29 - No. 40

345

Monday, November 8, 1965

## Meany Aids Anti-Labor Forces

The labor officials who have responded to the demands of the Johnson administration for support to its criminal war policies in Vietnam are playing with napalm in more ways than one. In an attempt to bolster their vanishing "influence" with the administration, they find themselves in the role of the most slavish apologists for Johnson's war crimes and among the most rabid pro-war voices in the country.

Out of consideration for their "coalition politics" with the liberal administration, these bureaucrats now find themselves in a coalition with the ultra-right on the war and even on civil liberties.

This was dramatically pointed up on the Oct. 30 pro-war parade in New York in which the few unions which participated, including the International Longshoremen's Association, marched alongside a sea of ultra-right slogans and buttons advertising the ultra-right mayoralty candidate. In line with AFL-CIO President George Meany's provocative declaration that unions should "find ways" of "dealing" with antiwar demonstrations, some of the ILA members brutally assaulted peaceful antiwar pickets near the parade route.

A no less dramatic example of where the unions' real interests lie occurred in Berkeley. There an antiwar demonstration Oct. 16 by the Vietnam Day Committee was attacked by a right-wing-led motorcycle gang, the Hell's Angels. This gang, along with another called Hitler's American Sons, were used a few days later as strikebreakers in nearby Richmond. In its hour of need, the local union involved called the VDC for aid and got it in the form of a mass turnout for a picket line which shut the plant down and kept the gangs of strikebreakers away.

## ... Pro-War Parade Flops

(Continued from Page 1)

from appeals to patriotism and "Back our boys" to such Birchite favorites as "repeal fluoridation." One of the fluoridation signs was pasted on a truck carrying a float.

Other signs said: "Better dead than red"; "Vietnam now, China next"; "Rid Rutgers of reds"; "Times, Post and Herald Tribune — stop covering up for reds"; "We register dogs, why not Communists — Buckley for mayor"; "What's wrong with being right?"; "We're for civil rights in Vietnam — Dr. King, where are you?"; "Atom bomb the Vietcong"; "Support your local police"; "Communies go home"; "Freedom for Yugoslavia"; "Keep Communist rats out of our school system"; and "Peace creeps should be tried for treason."

There were a lot of signs like "Bomb Hanoi" and "Drop it." One group carried a red wooden bomb with "Bomb Hanoi" painted on it.

Another sign showed a picture of Castro with the caption, "I got my job through the New York Times."

### Mounted Cops

The parade was headed by six mounted police. Following and forming the bulk of the march were contingents from right-wing veterans organizations, the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, usually with their children marching in formation behind the adult contingent, all in uniform.

Mixed in with the American Legion and VFW were other groups in uniform, some from Catholic schools. One was called "Our Lady of Perpetual Hope Cadets." Another group, the "JFK Cadets," consisted of about 25 children 8-10 years old. I asked the woman leading the group just what the "JFK Cadets" were. I'm still not exactly sure what they are, but she told me they're an independent youth group that marches and drills "according to Navy standards."

Interspersed throughout the march, and swelling its numbers and length, were 25 bands, some

of them associated with veterans groups and Catholic schools, some provided by the city, and others hired for the occasion. One band was dressed in Confederate uniforms and played "Dixie." There were troop-train-locomotive floats from the American Legion, and three floats depicting the Marines implanting the flag on Iwo Jima.

Then came the civilians. Cuban, Hungarian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Croatian and other exile groups, and the mayoress of San Juan with ten or so other Puerto Ricans, formed the international contingents. The Cubans, who carried a big Cuban flag draped in black, chanted "All the way with LBJ."

### College Students

In addition to a number of Catholic colleges, there was representation from Columbia University and City College. Other organizations identified were the Young Americans for Freedom, *National Review* magazine, the Park Slope Patriots, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, various kinds of conservative groups, and a local post office.

The reactionary stand by the national AFL-CIO in support of the war was also indicated by the presence of a few union banners. The National Maritime Union, Marine Carpenters, Sugar Workers, Building and Construction Trades Council and the Window Cleaners were each represented by a handful. Only one union turned out significant numbers, the gangster-dominated International Longshoremen's Association, which brought out well over 1,000 members to rub elbows with the union-hating ultrarightists.

A few acts of violence against peaceful spectators were perpetrated by members of the ILA, and some spectators were severely beaten.

The march itself gives an indication of just how actively supporters Johnson's war — the right wing. It also demonstrated that the mass of Americans have not been stampeded into any kind of pro-war hysteria.

# Malcolm X Speaks

The following is the next installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963:

### Installment 3

## THE HOUSE NEGRO AND THE FIELD NEGRO

There were two kinds of slaves, the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes — they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good because they ate his food — what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved the master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master's house — quicker than the master would. If the master said, "We got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, we sick?" We sick! He identified himself with his master, more than his master identified with himself.

### Crazy Idea?

And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let's run away, let's escape, let's separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that's what we call them today, because we've still got some house niggers running around here.

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about "I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro.

And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America, this good white man? Where you going to get a better job than you got here?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain't left nothing in Africa," that's what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa.

### Field Negro

On that same plantation, there was the field Negro. The field Negroes — those were the masses. There were always more Negroes in the field than there were Negroes in the house. The Negro in the field caught hell. He ate leftovers. In the house they ate high up on the hog. The Negro in the field didn't get anything but what was left of the insides of the hog. They call it "chittlings" nowadays. In those days they called them what they were — guts. That's what you were — gut-eaters. And some of you are still gut-eaters.

The field Negro was beaten from morning to night; he lived in a shack, in a hut; he wore old, castoff clothes. He hated his master. I say he hated his master. He was intelligent. That house Negro loved his master, but that field Negro — remember, they were in the majority, and they hated the master. When the house caught on fire, he didn't try to put it out; that field Negro prayed for a wind, for a breeze. When the



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

master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he'd die. If someone came to the field Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," he didn't say "Where we going?" He'd say, "Any place is better than here."

You've got field Negroes in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man's house on fire, you don't hear the little Negroes talking about "our government is in trouble." They say, "The government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: "Our government!" I even heard one say "our astronauts." They won't even let him near the plant — and "our astronauts!" "Our Navy" — that's a Negro that is out of his mind, a Negro that is out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent.

### Get Numb

That's Tom making you non-violent. It's like when you go to the dentist, and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there and because you've got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer — peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don't know what's happening. Because someone has taught you to suffer — peacefully.

The white man does the same thing to you in the street, when he wants to put knots on your head and take advantage of you and not have to be afraid of your fighting back. To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, to suffer peacefully. Don't stop suffering — just suffer peacefully. As Rev. Cleage pointed out, they

say you should let your blood flow in the streets. This is a shame. You know he's a Christian preacher. If it's a shame to him, you know what it is to me.

There is nothing in our book, the Koran, that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That's a good religion. In fact, that's that old-time religion. That's the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about; an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life for a life. That's good religion. And nobody resents that kind of religion being taught but a wolf, who intends to make you his meal.

This is the way it is with the white man in America. He's a wolf — and you're sheep. Any time a shepherd, a pastor, teaches you and me not to run from the white man and, at the same time, teaches us not to fight the white man, he's a traitor to you and me. Don't lay down a life all by itself. No, preserve your life. It's the best thing you've got. And if you've got to give it up, let it be even-steven.

The slavemaster took Tom and dressed him well, fed him well and even gave him a little education — a little education; gave him a long coat and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them. The same strategy that was used in those days is used today, by the same white man. He takes a Negro, a so-called Negro, and makes him prominent, builds him up, publicizes him, makes him a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for Negroes — and a Negro leader.

Next week: The Negro leaders.

## Group Formed To Aid Deacons

NEW YORK — About a month ago the New York Friends of the Deacons for Defense and Justice was established here. The new group is headed by Rique LeSeur, assistant to Charles Sims, president of the Bogalusa, La., chapter of the Deacons for Defense and Justice. The new organization aims to raise money, food and clothing to aid those freedom fighters in the South who have lost their jobs because of their activities in the freedom struggle.

The New York Friends of the Deacons need office equipment for their headquarters at 271 West 125th St. They can be reached at 749-8745.

Charles Sims, who was in New York to raise funds last week, had to return to Bogalusa after his home was fired at by white night riders on Oct. 30. On Oct. 21 during demonstrations against segregation at a county fair 69 children were arrested in Bogalusa. Six adults, leaders of the black community, including Charles Sims, were also arrested and charged with impairing the morals of minors. The next day some 200 others were arrested and beaten.

### NEW YORK

### NEW YORK

## Honor WALTER AND MIRIAM SCHNEIR

authors of "Invitation to an Inquest"

the book that is exploding the Rosenberg-Sobell Case

## BANQUET FOR FREEDOM FOR MORTON SOBELL

SAT., NOV. 20, 6:30 P.M.

Hotel Sheraton-Atlantic (NYC)

Speakers: JOHN HENRY FAULK, WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER

Reservations \$12.50 per person or come as a guest by obtaining contributions for 10 books (\$60).

AUSPICES: SOBELL COMMITTEE

150 FIFTH AVENUE

TELEPHONE: 243-6030



## THE DOMINICAN CRISIS

## U.S. Disarming People

By William Bundy

OCT. 30 — As the forces of revolution and counterrevolution continue to mount toward another inevitable clash in the Dominican Republic the two-month-old provisional government headed by Hector Garcia-Godoy is acting as a coyer for the U.S. efforts to disarm the popular masses and leave them at the mercy of the well-armed Dominican military oligarchy backed by U.S. troops. These efforts, however, are still meeting with questionable success.

On the one hand the U.S. troops have succeeded in occupying the downtown sector of Santo Domingo formerly held by the constitutional forces. But on the other hand popular demonstrations against the U.S. occupation continue to increase and strikes and clashes between the oligarchy's forces and the people have spread across the country.

The constitutional revolution of last April 24, which overthrew the military dictatorship, armed the people. The revolution which defeated and would have disbanded the old army except for the U.S. invasion of April 28, has released a revolutionary process which is continuing to develop force.

## Stability Gone

The old way of life, in which the country's peasants and workers toiled for starvation wages for the benefit of the wealthy oligarchy and U.S. investors, has lost its stability.

The provisional government was set up under an agreement by which the constitutionalist commander Col. Francisco Camaño resigned in return for a promise of elections next spring. But it has been unable to restore the old disciplines of labor, rent and taxes. These cannot be restored with the masses in a revolutionary mood. An honest election in this situation would result in an overwhelming rejection of any politician associated with the U.S. invasion or the old Trujilloist oligarchy. Therefore, from the point of view of the U.S., disarming the people is the key to finally crushing them.

The U.S. military cannot accomplish this task by itself without open warfare and without committing a force many times the present 8,500 U.S. troops (augmented by a few contingents from several Latin American dictatorships under the name of the Organization of American States).

## Count on Help

The U.S. has been counting heavily on the control which it exercises over the provisional government and on the hope that the provisional government would be able to trick the people into giving up their arms. But both the old military oligarchy and the U.S. invasion are so unpopular in the country that the provisional government has had to publicly present itself as opposed to the presence of U.S. troops and as favoring drastic social changes within the country. This has led to an increase of rumors about a right-wing military coup against the provisional government.

Such a coup, and the nullification of the election promise, might very likely be on the order of the day once the people were disarmed. But under present circumstances, the U.S. has adopted a stance of arbitrating between the provisional government and the military oligarchy.

The latest moves in the continuing effort to disarm the people began in mid-October. The downtown sector of Santo Domingo, where the armed constitutionalist forces had been in control until the "reconciliation accord" and the resignation of Camaño, had been surrounded by a cordon of U.S. and OAS troops who searched



Lyndon Johnson

everyone leaving the zone for arms.

The "reconciliation accord" provided for armed civilians to turn their arms over to stations set up by the provisional government, and when the government announced this was proceeding, the search cordon was lifted. Shoppers came and went freely for some 36 hours. Then several shooting incidents occurred between armed right-wing groups who had entered the zone and constitutionalist civilians, including some longshoremen. It was clear that all the guns were not turned in.

Garcia-Godoy then ordered the Dominican armed forces — that is, the military oligarchy — to "restore order" on the docks of Santo Domingo. The military occupied the Ozama fortress, which was occupied last April by the constitutionalists. The sight of the right-wing military forces taking over in the area brought armed civilians out and on Oct. 19 heavy fighting ensued. The military insisted on a house-to-house search for arms of the downtown area, but were resisted on a house-to-house basis.

Garcia-Godoy then ordered the

military to cease these operations, and set up joint civilian-military teams to conduct the search. This search produced few weapons.

Rafael Tavera, spokesman for the June 14 Movement, the leading anti-imperialist group in the country, said Oct. 22 that several members of his group had been murdered by right-wing gangs in outlying areas of the country. The June 14 Movement had opened a public headquarters in the downtown sector of Santo Domingo which was threatened with attack by rightist gangs. Tavera also announced preparations for an eventual general strike against the U.S. occupation of the country.

On Oct. 25, some 2,000 U.S. and OAS troops, backed by 17 U.S. tanks and some light tanks of the Dominican oligarchy, occupied the downtown sector of Santo Domingo. This was done under the cover of a "request" by Garcia-Godoy that the U.S.-OAS forces stop the fighting between the Dominican military and the civilians in the downtown sector. That area is now in U.S. control, but U.S. troops are reportedly not searching houses.

## Disturbances Spread

Meanwhile the disturbances spread to other parts of the country as right-wing bands conducted raids looking for "Communists." Armed civilians resisted.

The U.S. troops occupied the plants of the newspaper *Patria*, which had been the voice of the constitutionalists under Camaño, and *La Nacion*, which had been the voice of the Garcia-Godoy regime. *Patria* then appeared in mimeographed form from undisclosed quarters.

An indication of the sort of duplicity the U.S. and the provisional government must use in their attempts to fool the Dominican people is the fact that on Oct. 28 the U.S. provided some five million dollars for the provisional government to meet its payroll. The U.S. contribution, according to the Oct. 29 *New York Times*, "is being channelled through the Organization of American States and receives no publicity here."

## World Events

## Soviet Film Shows Trotsky

The first Soviet film to depict Trotsky since the mid-1920s has recently been previewed in Moscow. "The Salvo of the Aurora," a feature film about the Bolshevik seizure of power in St. Petersburg, includes both Stalin and Trotsky among those who played a role in the historic events.

The film is symptomatic of a recent trend toward greater objectivity in the Soviet Union about the Soviet past; but the degree of objectivity is not yet great. The pretense has been dropped that Trotsky was an unperson. (Stalin, too, has suffered from "unperson" treatment: since the de-Stalinization drive, his role in Soviet history, for good or evil, has often been ignored or sloughed over. Likewise, Khrushchev is treated now as though he had hardly existed.)

Still, the treatment of the person Trotsky suffers from lack of candor. Not surprisingly, the film omits the fact that Trotsky organized the Bolshevik insurrection, by agreement with Lenin who was in hiding: Trotsky's one appearance in the film is at a Menshevik (!) meeting called to oppose a Bolshevik uprising; he denies any intention to seize power. The film portrays Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky, and Antonov-Ovseenko, who were actually secondary figures, as the organizers of the insurrection. This is a

standard distortion that has been in the official Soviet history books since the 1930s.

The film treats Stalin's role more accurately. He plays no leading part, but merely votes with the majority of the party leaders in favor of Lenin's call for armed insurrection.

## Puerto Ricans Protest War

Several hundred young people of the Puerto Rican independence movement marched Oct. 31 outside a U.S. army base in Puerto Rico, Fort Buchanan, to protest the war in Vietnam and the drafting of Puerto Ricans to fight in it. According to the Associated Press, Norman Pietri, head of the FUPI — University Federation for Independence, said his organization was opening a campaign against U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Pietri branded the drafting of Puerto Ricans as an expression of U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico.

## Abolish Death Penalty

Capital punishment was abolished in Britain by vote of Parliament Oct. 28. The death sentence for crimes of any kind was ruled out for a five-year period, until 1970, but it was considered unlikely that the grisly institution would be reinstated by Parliament. The bill was sponsored by Labor Party MP Sidney Silverman, who has been pressing for abolition since the end of World War II.

## Belgians Stage March Against U.S. Viet Policy



**SOLIDARITY.** Large poster carried at head of Brussels march read: "Today, thousands of Americans demonstrate in the United States against the military intervention of the USA in Vietnam. We are in solidarity with their action and we answer their appeal in favor of an International Day of Demonstrations."

BRUSSELS, Belgium (*World Outlook*) — Some 3,000 persons marched in Brussels Oct. 16 in observance of the International Days of Protest against U.S. military intervention in Vietnam called for by the Vietnam Day Committee of Berkeley, Calif. It proved to be the biggest demonstration in Europe.

The march was sponsored by the "Committee for Struggle Against Neocolonialism and Fascism" headed by Pierre Le Grève, the left socialist member of parliament. The main organizer of the demonstration was Jean Godin, who became prominent during the Algerian war for his work in the solidarity movement in behalf of the Algerian freedom fighters.

The Brussels demonstration was backed by three unions — the railway workers, gas and elec-

tricity workers, and teachers — as well as the Young Guard Socialists, the Socialist Students, the Communist Youth and the Communist Students.

In fact, it proved to be a united-front demonstration that included all the left wingers of the Brussels regions — members of the new Socialist Workers Confederation, the pro-Moscow Communist Party, pro-Peking Communist Party and left-wing Social Democrats still inside the Socialist Party, all marching together.

The parade was headed by Pierre Le Grève; the Liège member of parliament, François Perin; two senators of the Communist Party; Ernest Mandel, editor of the weekly *La Gauche*; Jean Godin; and leading representatives of the youth movements supporting the march.

The main slogan of the march was "U.S., Get Out of Vietnam!" This slogan appeared on hundreds of posters and banners and was chanted along with other militant slogans expressing solidarity with the Vietnam revolution and hostility to the policies of American imperialism and the support it has been receiving from the Belgian government.

## In Forefront

In the forefront of the parade was a huge placard proclaiming solidarity with the thousands of progressive Americans demonstrating the same day against the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

The march has already had a very significant and important result. The congress of the Liège regional federation of the Belgian trade union movement, which met Oct. 23-24, passed a resolution extending fraternal greetings to the Vietnam Day Committee and expressing its solidarity with all demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. The regional federation represents 100,000 workers.

The Social Democratic and pro-Moscow currents succeeded in watering down the resolution by including the clichés about "peace through negotiations" and "an appeal to the United Nations" for a cease-fire among all concerned, including the "Vietcong." Nevertheless, the stand taken by the congress is of great importance. This is the first time that a large trade union body in Western Europe has solidified with the appeal issued by the Vietnam Day Committee.

## Swedes Oppose Viet War

How does the rest of the world look on the supposed holy war led by L. B. Johnson to "stop communism" in Vietnam? An opinion poll in Sweden sheds some light on the question. The non partisan Swedish Institute of Opinion Research announced Oct. 1, after polling 1,056 people representing a cross-section of the society, that 7 out of 8 Swedes oppose U.S. policy in Vietnam.

## Step Forward in Argentina

The student movement of Argentina took a big step forward when it held the first national meeting of Anti-Imperialist and Revolutionary Students in Buenos Aires in mid-September. Thirty-seven student organizations from colleges throughout the country attended. The organization was formally established, but it was agreed that for the time it will serve primarily to coordinate activities.

The meeting had been called by a coordinating committee set up by student groups in Buenos Aires and La Plata. This committee had already begun the organizing work for demonstrations against the Vietnam war Oct. 15-16, in response to the appeal of the Berkeley, Calif., Vietnam Day Committee. This work was given a big boost by the national gathering.

—George Saunders



# A Top-Notch Introduction to Socialism

By George Novack

[*Socialism on Trial*, the official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony at the first Smith Act trial in 1941, is once again available in a new edition by Pioneer Publishers. This is the fourth printing of this popular book, which contains one of the finest introductory expositions of the basic ideas of socialism available in English. The new paper edition, 111 pages, sells for \$1 and can be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003.

[The following is the introduction to the new edition. It was written by George Novack, who was the national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the committee which organized the defense for the victims of the first Smith Act indictments.]

*Socialism on Trial* is the verbatim testimony of James P. Cannon, then national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in the 1941 trial of 28 prominent members of that party and of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544. Eighteen were convicted and served 12 to 18-month sentences in prison during 1944-45.

The Minneapolis Case was the first peacetime federal prosecution for sedition in American history and the first under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act. It was engineered by the Roosevelt Administration as part of its war preparations. The following circumstances prove this beyond honest dispute.

In the spring of 1941 Daniel J. Tobin, head of the Teamsters International and of the Democratic Party Labor Committee, came into headlong conflict with Local 544. That union had been the spearhead of labor organization in the entire Northwest. Its leaders refused to abandon their vigorous struggle to improve working conditions or to give political support to Roosevelt's policies in the rapidly approaching entry of the United States into World War II.

After Tobin moved to appoint a receiver over the union with absolute powers, its 4,000 members voted on June 9, 1941 to disaffiliate from Tobin's AFL organization and accept a charter from the CIO. Four days later Roosevelt's secretary, Stephen Early, announced at a White House press conference, as reported in the *New York Times* of June 14, 1941, that Tobin had complained to Roosevelt by telegram and that "when I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning he asked me to immediately have the government departments and agencies interested in the matter notified . . ."

## Twin Cities Raid

Thirteen days later FBI agents raided the branch offices of the Socialist Workers Party in St. Paul and Minneapolis, carting off large quantities of socialist literature, much of which could have been purchased in bookstores or obtained in any public library. On July 15 a Federal Grand Jury handed down an indictment drawn up by the U. S. Department of Justice.

In addition to granting a personal favor to his union supporter Tobin, the President, anticipating direct participation of the United States in the coming war, wished to isolate and silence the advocates of socialism so that their views might be prevented from gaining a hearing among the millions of Americans drawn into the slaughter.

Toward this end his Department of Justice invoked for the first time the Smith Act passed in 1940. The sponsor of this ultra-reactionary legislation was poll-tax Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, leader of the anti-labor bloc in Congress. This was the first statute since the Alien & Sedition Acts of 1798 to make mere advocacy of ideas a

federal crime. The AFL and CIO opposed its enactment and the American Civil Liberties Union pleaded with Roosevelt to veto the law because it violated the Bill of Rights. But the President affixed his signature to it.

Count 1 of the indictment, based on an 1861 statute passed during the Civil War against the Southern slaveholders, alleged a "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence."

Count 2 of the indictment, based wholly on the Smith Act, charged: (1) Advocating overthrow of the government by force; (2) Publishing and circulating literature advocating this; (3) Forming organizations "to teach, advocate and encourage" such overthrow; (4) Becoming members of such organizations; (5) Distributing publications which "advised, counseled and urged" insubordination in the armed forces.

The trial began Oct. 27, 1941 in the Federal District Court at Minneapolis. The principal government "evidence" consisted of innumerable quotations from articles in the American Trotskyist press going back to 1929. Public writings, public addresses of the defendants, radio speeches, leaflets distributed by tens of thousands — these were the main proofs of "conspiracy."

The government further introduced as evidence photographs of the great teachers of Marxism. It introduced leaflets such as one advertising a public talk by Vincent R. Dunne on how the Socialist Workers Party had mobilized 50,000 anti-fascists in New York on Feb. 20, 1939 to combat a rally of the Nazi German-American Bund in Madison Square Garden. The indictment and prosecution flatly characterized as criminal the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

## Revolutionary Defense

This attack was met unflinchingly by the defendants. In no labor trial in this country have defendants so consciously and systematically defended their revolutionary doctrine, utilizing the courtroom as a forum from which to proclaim their real views. The conduct of the defendants at the trial and throughout the case belongs to the best traditions of international socialism.

The jury returned a verdict of "not guilty" on the first count of the indictment, thereby revealing the flimsiness of the government's case. On the second count 18 defendants were found guilty. They were sentenced on Dec. 9, 1941, the day war was declared against Japan.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to handle this case, carried the appeal through the Eighth Circuit Court, which sustained the convictions, up to the U.S. Supreme Court. The highest court three times refused to hear the petition of the 18.

Here was a manifestly unconstitutional law clearly abrogating the right of free speech. The case was the first to be tried under this law. The President, who appointed the judges, was waging the war ostensibly to make the world safe for democracy. The law had been widely denounced — even in the halls of Congress — as "enough to make Thomas Jefferson turn over in his grave" and as "without precedent in the history of labor legislation." Yet without explanation the final court of appeals rejected the request of the defendants to review and reverse their convictions.

The flagrant injustice of their imprisonment aroused considerable indignation. The American Civil Liberties Union declared: "This is a case which should never have been brought to court under a law which should never have been passed. Never before has the Supreme Court refused to review a case of this importance."

Recognizing the vital importance of the Minneapolis Case to the



James P. Cannon

cause of civil liberties and labor's rights, almost 150 international and local unions, representing over five million workers, supported the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee and its effort to obtain presidential pardon for the 18. But they were forced to serve their full sentences.

Among the applauders of the government prosecution of the 18 were prominent spokesmen for the Communist Party. Blinded by hatred of their Trotskyist political opponents and their unrestrained backing of the imperialist war effort, the Stalinist leaders failed to heed J. P. Cannon's warning in the Minneapolis courtroom that the precedent set by the prosecution of the SWP members in Minneapolis could and would be later directed against others. That came to pass when the shifting international strategic interests of the capitalist rulers changed the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union into hostility and the Cold War began. From 1948 on, scores of U.S. Communist Party leaders were brought to trial and given harsh prison terms under the Smith Act.

Communist Party spokesmen have recently recognized the grievous error of their refusal to protest the victimization of the Socialist Workers Party members. The lesson of their misconduct remains as a warning to others, especially to those liberals and union leaders who, out of anti-Communist prejudices and commitment to Cold War policies, have in turn failed to fight the government attacks upon the civil liberties of the Communists. Such disunity undermines the defense of democracy and emboldens the witchhunters and forces of reaction to further aggressions. The old solidarity slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all" remains the best guiding line for maintaining civil liberties.

Too many Americans are inclined to rely on "liberal" officials to protect constitutional and civil rights. An antidote to such over-trustfulness is given in the testimony supplied by Francis Biddle who, as Solicitor General, authorized this first application of the Smith Act. In his autobiography, published 20 years after the event, Biddle wrote: "History showed that sedition statutes — laws addressed to what men said — invariably have been used to prevent and punish criticism of the government, particularly in time of war. I believe them to be unnecessary and harmful. This particular law made it criminal to advocate destruction of the government by force and violence. I doubted whether any speech or writing should be made criminal. I thought that this provision might be declared unconstitutional

under the First Amendment of the Constitution, which protected freedom of utterance. And, with some reluctance, I authorized a prosecution so that the law would be tested at the threshold, and taken to the Supreme Court, where it would, I hoped and believed, be knocked out . . .

"The judgment was sustained on appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals; but to my surprise the Supreme Court refused to review it. The victory for the government became a defeat for me. The law stood on the books. Uncomfortable about the result, I was not surprised when the American Civil Liberties Union and some of my liberal friends attacked me.

"I have since come to regret that I authorized the prosecution. I should not have tried to test the criminal provisions of the statute in this particular case . . . There had been no substantial overt acts outside of talks and threats, openly expressed in the time-honored Marxist lingo." (*In Brief Authority*, pp. 151-2.)

Biddle was rewarded for his compliance in the Roosevelt-Tobin conspiracy by appointment as U.S. Attorney General soon after. His later repentance may testify to the pricking of his conscience. But that was no solace to the 17 men and one woman who served months in prison nor was it any substitute for justice.

One of the most enduring and valuable byproducts of this celebrated case makes up the content of this pamphlet. It is the official court record of the testimony given by the veteran revolutionist, James P. Cannon, founder of

American Trotskyism.

Here is the unrehearsed, untouched battle between the prosecuting attorney and the chief defendant. Here are the penetrating questions of defense attorney Albert Goldman, himself a defendant, in his attempts to make plain what the Socialist Workers Party really stands for, despite constant efforts of the prosecution to create obstacles, becloud the issues, trap the defendants.

More important than the dramatic form is the substance of this presentation. In the course of the questions Cannon ranges over the broad field of Marxist theory and clarifies the revolutionary socialist program that discloses the only way out of the horrors of capitalist rule.

This remarkable document most closely resembles the memorable declarations of Eugene V. Debs who suffered imprisonment for his socialist convictions during the First World War. *Socialism on Trial* has come to be recognized as the simplest and best introduction to the application of Marxist ideas to the United States.

Cannon's testimony has been translated into several languages and gone through three large printings in English. It has already helped educate two generations of radicals in this country. This new edition should serve to acquaint the oncoming generation of anti-war militants, civil-rights fighters and radical workers with the merits and meaning of the Marxist method and program as the most effective guide in the struggle against the evils of capitalism and for a socialist America.

September 27, 1965

## 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 following exchange is part of the court record of the first Smith Act trial in 1941, reprinted from *Socialism on Trial*. In this section, James P. Cannon, who is presently national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party and who was then its national secretary, answers questions put to him by Albert Goldman, attorney for the defense.]

**Q:** Now, what is the opinion of Marxists with reference to the change in the social order, as far as its being accompanied or not accompanied by violence?

**A:** It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence.

**Q:** Why?

**A:** That is based, like all Marxist doctrine, on a study of history, the historical experiences of mankind in the numerous changes of society from one form to another, the revolutions which accompanied it, and the resistance which the outlived classes invariably put up against the new order. Their attempt to defend themselves against the new order, or to suppress by violence the movement for the new order, has resulted in every important social transformation up to now being accompanied by violence.

**Q:** Who, in the opinion of Marxists, initiated that violence?

**A:** Always the ruling class; always the outlived class that doesn't want to leave the stage when the time has come. They want to hang on to their privileges, to reinforce them by violent measures, against the rising majority and they run up against the mass violence of the new class, which history has ordained shall come to power.

**Q:** What is the opinion of Marxists, as far as winning a majority of the people to Socialist ideas?

**A:** Yes, that certainly is the aim of the Party. That is the aim of the Marxist movement, has been from its inception. Marx said the social revolution of the proletariat — I think I can quote his exact words from memory — "is a movement of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority." He said this in distinguishing it from previous revolutions which had been made in the interest of minorities, as was the case in France in 1789.

**Q:** What would you say is the opinion of Marxists as far as the desirability of a peaceful transition is concerned?

**A:** The position of the Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully.

**Q:** And in the opinion of the Marxists, is that absolutely excluded?

**A:** Well, I wouldn't say absolutely excluded. We say that the lessons of history don't show any important examples in favor of the idea so that you can count upon it.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.



# 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.]

## Pittsburgh Episode

Pittsburgh, Pa.  
On Saturday, Oct. 23, two bricks were hurled at 715 Copeland St. One brick broke through the Pittsburgh Committee to End the War in Vietnam's front window and the other through the front window of an innocent couple living on the second floor.

This happened at about 8:30 p.m. On early Sunday morning, Oct. 24 at 5:30 a.m., two more bricks were thrown, but this time both were thrown through the Pittsburgh Committee's front window. That made three bricks through the Pittsburgh Committee's and one through the window of the couple living upstairs.

The newspaper accounts, of course, obscured the danger imminent for both peoples. The bricks all passed not only through the windows, but well into the living rooms of both tenants. Luckily, no one was present in either room at the time of the throwing. But, if the throwers would have been a little earlier or later, people could easily have been seriously injured or killed. The papers knew of both acts of terror.

The police were notified both times, but they could offer no

help. They said police protection is out of the question.

No doubt both acts of "patriotism" were done by teenagers who knew no better. But, the Pittsburgh Press has been smearing the Oct. 15-16 demonstrations quite thoroughly knowing full well the consequences of their actions. But, we are all familiar with this type of happening.

The truth of matters such as this never gets published, that is why we are sending the material to you. At least, the small number of people in Pittsburgh who receive your paper will know what really happened.

Reader

## Dodd's Performance

Los Angeles, Calif.  
We saw Senator Dodd on the TV the other evening and as usual he was spewing his venom. He made the statement that *The Militant* was "Communist." We know he has diplomatic immunity and seems to be another McCarthy.

We are glad he does not represent our state. He worked on the gun subject until he was blue in the face and now he wants American mothers to send their sons to Vietnam to be slaughtered.

P.Z.

## Private Profit Toll

Los Angeles, Calif.  
"No Pay, No Power, Boy Dies in Lung," the headline said in the local Hearst paper.

Why socialism! So that a polio-stricken eleven-year-old boy who lived in an iron lung would not

be killed by the private power electric utilities who shut off the electricity in his home. No money — no electricity. That's the conscience of capitalism.

The boy's mother worked the iron lung by hand. She left the machine for "just a few minutes," the newspaper report said. When she returned her son was dead.

How will she respond to those ads from "Your Private Electric Power Companies" extolling private enterprise? How will you?

R.K.

## Establishment Shook Up

New York, N.Y.  
A wave of near-hysterical comment has been coming from officials of the U.S. government and other "pillars of society" (i.e.: the Junior Chamber of Commerce) since the International Days of Protest on Vietnam, Oct. 15-16. The all too familiar charges of a "Moscow plot" and the promise of an FBI investigation have been given to the public. General Hershey, sworn to uphold the laws of the land, declares his wish to violate the Constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech by drafting college students who oppose our nation's policies.

What is behind this massive campaign to destroy the growing movement to End the War in Vietnam? It is fear by the rulers of our society because thousands of Americans, especially young people, are beginning to see the truth and refuse to support in any way the defense of American capitalists' investments in Vietnam. Thousands of Americans are be-

ginning to see that basic changes are needed in our society to end the danger of war.

Let the FBI investigate all it wants. Their antics will only be laughed at by the ever growing number of Americans who say: END THE WAR IN VIETNAM NOW!

P.B.

## Social Security Gimmick

Boston, Mass.  
I just learned from an article in the *Boston Globe* that the Social Security has two sets of rules on income for retired people. Those who supplement their checks by working can only earn an extra \$1,200 a year.

But those who are self-employed may earn any amount they want, provided it's done in a certain number of hours. For some it's only 45 hours a month. For others, in highly skilled vocations like dentists and doctors it's only 20 hours, with no limit on what they earn in those 20 hours.

This really shows the inequities between classes. It made me even more aware of double standards for rich and poor.

M.L.

## Mail Service Worse

West Orange, N.J.  
A few weeks ago I wrote you, in connection with a discussion in *The Militant*, regarding the lateness of arrival of the paper. At that time, I was getting it one week later than the date. Since then, I've been getting it two weeks late.

Today is Oct. 22; the last issue I have is that of Oct. 4!!!

This lateness, of course, tremendously decreases the value of the paper for those victimized by the post office thusly. Would it be at all possible for you to do anything to remedy the situation? I, for one, would certainly appreciate it. The paper gets better and better; the postal service worse and worse. Are other periodicals similarly delayed?

F.A.

## Likes Vietnam Coverage

Minneapolis, Minn.  
Just a note to say how much I like and use Dick Roberts' excellent articles on Vietnam!

Such articles are very important for us in various areas. In preparing a talk for our Teach-In here I went back over Roberts' ar-

ticles in *The Militant* for information and inspiration and I found both.

Joe Johnson

## Ike Gets Grilled

New York, N.Y.  
For a change I saw a good show on television. Via the Early Bird satellite they presented a program called "Town Meeting of the World" with students in London, Paris, Belgrade and Mexico City addressing questions about the U.S. to General Eisenhower, UN Ambassador Goldberg and U.S. Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall. Most of the questions were directed to Eisenhower and Goldberg and were most about Vietnam.

Ike was his usual keen-witted self. When a London student asked about U.S. atrocities in Vietnam, he shot back: "Were you there?" The student said he was willing to take the papers' word for it.

Another student asked him why it was that after the American voters rejected Goldwater and his policies the Democrats were carrying his policies out. Ike told him: "I want you to know I am not speaking for the government, but for the people."

A girl from Paris asked why federal laws couldn't be enforced in the South. Ike said we aren't perfect but try to do our best.

He got a good laugh when he answered a question about U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and Latin America and said we're not imperialist because once we get things settled in another country we get out and that besides we had abandoned the policy of intervention.

When Goldberg tried to say that the U.S. wants peaceful settlements of problems in other countries without any outside interference, a Mexican student interrupted to ask why, if that's true, the U.S. is intervening in the Dominican Republic and everywhere else.

I'm sure that antiwar students in this country were inspired to see their counterparts from other parts of the world firing the same questions at government spokesmen as they are. And I think it may have shocked some Americans out of their complacency to see how sharply people in other parts of the world are questioning what the U.S. is doing.

Melissa Singler

## Thought for the Week

"The current campaign to tell us how the demonstrations are 'hurting our boys in Vietnam' is a cruel hoax, because those who wage the battle for peace are doing more for the boys than those who would escalate the war still further." — Editorial in the Oct. 22 *Missouri Teamster*, voice of St. Louis, Mo., Teamsters Joint Council.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**LBJ Chips** — Two Texas entrepreneurs are doing a brisk business with the perfect souvenir — a 98-cent package of "LBJ Land Chips." Chips is a Southwestern euphemism for cattle droppings. The dried chips are currently being sold in cellophane bags but the company is planning to switch over to boxes "so that there will be an element of surprise." Apart from the price, why in the world should anyone be surprised at being sold a box of manure as an LBJ souvenir?

**Least Encouraging Headline of the Week** — We cast our socialist vote early Nov. 2 and then picked up a copy of the *New York Times*. Our eye went to a headline: "Police Play Key Role in Counting Vote."

**Vietnam Slum Clearance** — Describing a Vietnamese village reception for Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, the *New York Times* reported: "Hundreds of children waving paper American and Vietnamese flags, cheered the party as it walked down the dirt road to the village. The villagers told newsmen that until a week ago, when provincial officials learned of Senator Kennedy's impending visit, they had lived in sapling-and-thatch lean-to's. Today, the lean-to's were gone, replaced by tidy huts in neat rows along dirt streets freshly scraped by bulldozers."

**The Joyous Life** — The following are excerpts from a South Vietnam dispatch to the Oct. 24 *New York Times*: "Driving an automobile in the South Vietnamese countryside can be a surprisingly agreeable experience despite the war . . . There is much to see and enjoy. South Vietnamese peasants in conical hats work in flooded rice paddies, standing up to their thighs in the warm ooze of some of the most fertile mud in the world . . . Children of local militiamen play gaily alongside a tangled barbed-wire

fence near a skull-and-crossbones sign warning that the few yards just beyond are heavily strewn with mines."

**Think You've Heard Everything?** — Two grade school children were suspended for three days in Chester, Pa., for bringing their own lunch to school instead of paying 35 cents for school-supplied meals. The school board president asserted that to qualify for federal subsidies all the children must participate in the lunch program. He didn't say if the parents of the suspended brother and sister could afford the \$3.50 a week the school lunch costs for both.

**No Monkey Business** — Five Baptist ministers in Binghamton, N.Y., went ape when they heard the local high school was going to produce the play, "Inherit the Wind," which is about the 1925

Tennessee trial of a school teacher charged with teaching Darwin's theory of evolution. The Binghamton Baptists said the play "went directly against what they were teaching." The school principal ordered the production cancelled.

**When Things Get Tough** — Eugenia Sheppard reported from Acapulco, Mexico, to the *New York Herald Tribune*: "The social season is about to open here like some giant tropical flower. Nobody can doubt that Acapulco is the next stop after Palm Beach on the society jet. Many collectors of vacation houses already own them in both places . . . Most of the houses stay open all year with a maid in charge, so the owners can drop in unexpectedly if the going gets too tough somewhere else."

—Harry Ring

## A UNIQUE COMBINATION

For a limited time, THE MILITANT and the YOUNG SOCIALIST are offering a special joint combination offer. For only \$1 new readers may obtain a four-month subscription to THE MILITANT, which is published weekly, and a six-month subscription to the YOUNG SOCIALIST, a magazine which appears every other month.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR AND THIS COUPON TO P.O. BOX 471, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
STREET \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_



## Grapes of Wrath in California

## Farm Workers Fight for Union

By Gordon Bailey

DELANO, Calif. — Grapes of wrath are being trod in the vineyards of California's Central Valley as once again a section of the agricultural workers struggle for union recognition and higher wages. Beatings, jailings, and gun fire have been the growers' response to a strike in the Delano area that is now entering its third month.

The main core of strikers are some 1,500 Filipino farm workers organized by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO. Unlike most California harvest workers, these Filipinos are not migrants but live in the same area the year around in labor camps owned by the big business growers. Most of them are men without families, condemned to loneliness because immigration laws when the farm workers were brought in barred Filipino women, and prevailing prejudice makes intermarriage difficult.

Working about ten months harvesting and pruning vines, the Filipinos average \$2,000 a year. This is \$1,000 below the government's official poverty level. They are asking a piece rate of 25 cents per box and a time rate of \$1.40 per hour. This is the scale recommended by U.S. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and is being paid elsewhere in California. The grape growers now pay only \$1.20 and 10 cents a box.

The strike has been joined by the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). Formed in Delano three years ago, this organization goes beyond the strict wages and hours issues of the usual trade union. According to its founder, Cesar Chavez, the NFWA

offers services for many aspects of the farm worker's life. It runs a credit union, a cooperative grocery, burial insurance fund, and legal aid service. Its 2,000 members are mostly Mexican-Americans though some Negroes and Anglos [English-speaking whites] also belong.

The strike has attracted the attention of many concerned people in San Francisco and Los Angeles. A group of ministers came to Delano in a "demonstration of Christian concern." Several members of CORE and students from Berkeley and elsewhere are helping on a full or part time basis. The growers are fighting back with all the weapons at their command, including the county and city officials. The Philippine consul came to town to advise the strikers to return to work saying the growers had told him they "could not afford higher wages." The strikers have appealed to Manila for his removal.

## Texas Scabs

While strike supporters are condemned as "outsiders," the growers have been recruiting scabs from as far away as Texas. They claim to have a 40 percent work force, but it is unskilled and inefficient. It is also unreliable since many workers walk out of the vineyards when pickets call to them to join the strike.

Police have banned speaking on the picket line because appeals in Spanish had effect on the unfortunate workers recruited to scab. Forty-four ministers and others were arrested for shouting the single word "Huelga" (strike). On some picket lines they permit "Huelga" but a deputy with a tape recorder records any utterance beyond this single word and four pickets have been arrested for

exceeding this limit on free speech.

The strikers have severely limited resources. Standard strike relief is limited to three meals a day served in the strike headquarters. The AFL-CIO has allocated some funds but not nearly enough. If the strikers could offer some strike benefits to the desperately poor workers recruited as scabs they could dry up the growers' labor supply.

The growers refuse to recognize the strike or the unions. They evicted the Filipinos from the camps they have lived in for years, throwing their belongings into the dusty road. But while arrogant, the growers are vulnerable to serious financial loss. The harvest is not complete and a single heavy rain could ruin grapes still on the vines. Also if the vines are not pruned properly there will be no crop next year. The strikers hope to be able to keep the pressure on through the pruning season, but this means a long strike with heavy drain on local resources.

This strike has special significance for several reasons. It is the first strike since the *bracero* program (workers recruited in Mexico) was virtually eliminated. It is the first time in recent history the Filipinos and Mexican-Americans have been united in a strike. The NFWA represents a new stable base of organization for Mexican-Americans and others who are not farm workers all the time. Students and other city people are being involved.

Greatly increased aid, particularly from the rest of organized labor is crucial. This is a real war on poverty. Aid can be sent to AWOC, 1457 Greenwood St., Delano, Calif. or to NFWA, Box 894, Delano, Calif.

## New York Jury Clears Cop Who Killed Youth

NEW YORK — Another cop has been cleared in the death of a Negro. Patrolman Arthur Crichlow was cleared by a Brooklyn grand jury in the gruesome death of Theodore Jones, 20, whom he clubbed to death at Coney Island last July.

Meanwhile, the New York Department of Hospitals is supposed to be investigating the hospital treatment — or lack of it — received by Jones before he died.

The victim's family is suing the City for \$1.5 million and Patrolman Crichlow, also a Negro, will have to appear in court later this month.

The killing occurred in the Coney Island amusement area on the night of July 24. Jones and some friends joined a large group that were dancing in the street to recorded music from one of the amusement places.

Jones' friends insist that Patrolman Crichlow first indicated that it was all right for them to join the dancing and then suddenly told them to move on. They added that when he did so Jones told him that he ought to make up his mind. The cop grabbed him and said he was arresting him for disorderly conduct. He said that while he was looking at Jones' identification, Jones tried to grab it back and that he then "instinctively" clubbed Jones on the head.

## Opposite Story

Four witnesses who were directly at hand testified the opposite. They said that the cop swung without provocation. A fifth witness said: "All of a sudden the policeman turned swiftly in front of the boy and swung with all his might with his billy stick. At no time did the boy make any attempt to strike or reach toward the officer in any way."

Bleeding heavily, Jones was taken to the local police precinct house. There it was decided to send him to the hospital and an



ambulance brought him to Coney Island Hospital. A wound over his eye was stitched and X-rays taken. An hour and a half later he was discharged from the hospital, and returned to the station house where he lay on a cell cot for five hours.

He was then taken to a local Criminal Court where a court officer commented that Jones "doesn't look good." Patrolman Crichlow replied: "He's drunk."

Jones was kept in the courtroom for four hours and then, after the court postponed the hearing, he was removed to an adjoining prison. There two doctors ordered him sent to the hospital.

He arrived at the emergency room of Kings County Hospital at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. X-rays were again taken and it was quickly established he was suffering a fractured skull. Eight hours later surgery was ordered but did not begin until 1 a.m. Jones spent four hours on the operating table.

He died the next afternoon. The New York Civil Liberties Union has intervened in the case.

## LOLITA, LILY AND FIFITA

## Red Tape and SNAFU in Cuba

Cuba's efforts to cope with the problems of bureaucratism is reported on by *New York Times* correspondent Richard Eder in an Oct. 27 dispatch from Havana.

He reports that the Cuban government is concerned with the two aspects of bureaucratism — needless red tape and inefficiency on the one side and corruption and privilege on the other. He quotes Fidel Castro as telling a recent meeting that "the sterile, unproductive bureaucracy is the opposite pole from Communism."

Eder then quotes a Cuban official who told him:

"There are two aspects in which the bureaucracy is destructive. One is its incompetence, its paper-shuffling, its waste of time. The

other is the power it has, in an economy of scarcity, to decide who will receive and who will not."

Eder then describes a widely visited government exhibit devoted to the aspect of bureaucracy involving waste and inefficiency. The exhibit was prepared by the staff of Cuba's noted humor magazine, *Palante*.

The following is Eder's description of the exhibit:

"It is a model of what purports to be the central office of a mythical government enterprise, the Consolidated Coffee Counter and Hole-in-the-Wall Administration."

"The visitor is led through a complicated series of detours simulating the endless corridors of a

government office, and passes signs with inscriptions such as: 'Don't bother us,' 'You need another signature,' 'The man who decides this is on vacation,' and 'Lily is having lunch.'

"He passes a giant table of organization. It is headed by a Super Big Boss whose only connection with the rest of the organization is through three avenues labelled 'Lolita,' 'Lily' and 'Fifita.'

"Lolita supervises the Department for Saying No, the Rubber Stamp Office and the Impenetrable File. Lily supervises the fourth vice president. Fifita does not supervise anything but she has influence."

"This is made evident by the next exhibit, a Roster for Planned Illness. A notice besides the roster explains that unexpected sick leaves are hampering office work. Therefore, it continues, workers must now sign up to be sick."

"Of the 16 days shown on the roster, Fifita has seven. She is to have two colds, one visit to the chiropractor, one sore throat, a stomachache, a visit to the dentist and a day off to go with her aunt to the gynecologist."

"Fifita is also in charge of collecting funds to buy a present for the Super Big Boss."

"Further along, the visitor comes upon Fifita herself. She is a mannequin holding a cigarette and talking, in frozen immobility, into a telephone."

"The exhibit ends with a notice to the employees. It warns:

"We must intensify our paper work to the maximum. There must be no laxity or favoritism on this point. We must demand more and more forms from everyone, without exception."

## Cops Whitewashed On Watts Killings

By M. Swaback

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 27.—Police and National Guardsmen killings during the August Watts uprising were ruled justifiable homicide at the recently concluded coroner's inquest.

Councilman Billy G. Mills, in a statement quoted by the *Los Angeles Times* said there was a "concerted effort to negate the full disclosure of all pertinent facts surrounding the deaths attributed to the emergency last August" and added: "The result has been, regardless of the facts . . . complete exoneration of law enforcement personnel."

Despite protests from defense attorneys (who were then ousted from the hearings), capitalist justice rolled on. Attorney Hugh R. Manes of the American Civil Liberties Union was twice ejected from the hearings for requesting permission to examine witnesses on behalf of his clients.

## One Case

In one case Los Angeles cops testified they shot a young man because he was looting clothes. The young man's friend testified he was taking his own clothes from a burning building. Nevertheless — justifiable homicide. In another case a hard-of-hearing milkman on his way to work was killed by National Guardsmen. They testified they shot because he started up his car after being ordered to halt. However his wife

and attorney pointed out that he was shot through the face and all indications were that the bullets entered his car from the rear.

Twenty-six of the deaths were ruled justifiable homicide, one accidental and five criminal. The deaths due to "criminal means" were attributed to "unknowns." These unknowns were either directly or by implication identified as Negroes participating in the uprising.

LOS ANGELES — The first public meeting of the Independent Socialist Discussion Club at Los Angeles City College was held on Oct. 26. The hall was filled with over 200 students and the doorways and aisles were so jammed that many were turned away.

"The Watts Revolt and Police Brutality" was the subject of the panel discussion. Frank Greenwood, Negro playwright and participant on the panel, said there were revolts during the era of slavery and there will continue to be revolts until the black people have made up for the past 300 years.

Michael Hannon, former police officer suspended for his civil rights activity and member of the Socialist Party, was the other participant on the panel.

The Independent Socialist Discussion Club is the only socialist club on a Los Angeles junior college campus.



SET EXAMPLE. Major Juan Almeida, head of the Cuban army (left), and Antonio Nunez Jimenez, then Agrarian Reform director, at Harlem lunch counter during October 1960 visit to New York with UN delegation headed by Fidel Castro. Leading Cuban revolutionaries make a practice of not living on higher scale than rest of people.