

N. Y. Times Correspondent Explodes U. S. Lies About Bombing of Hanoi

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Ghetto Parents Elect School Bd.

By Eli Finer

NEW YORK — The refusal of the city Board of Education to even discuss the problem of inferior education in the city's ghetto schools resulted in the establishment of an "Ad Hoc Board of Education of the People of the City of New York" on Dec. 19.

Ghetto parents elected the ad hoc board after the official board closed down public hearings on the budget rather than listen to the complaints of the parents. At 2:45 p.m. on Dec. 19 Mrs. Lillian Wagner attempted to address the board "for five minutes" to discuss some of the problems of education for black children. She was ruled out of order by Alfred Giardino, vice president of the board. When the parents in the room demanded she be given the right to speak, Giardino called a recess.

Board President Lloyd K. Garrison then said that since Mrs. Wagner was not on the prepared list of speakers, she could not be heard. The parents were adamant, however, so the board canceled hearings until the following day.

Glamison Elected

After the official board walked out, the parents elected their own board, and continued the hearings. Rev. Milton Glamison, a leader of past school boycotts, was elected president of the ad hoc board. (Glamison was not present at the hearing, but came down at this point.)

In a statement released Dec. 20, the ad hoc board said, "We have attended hearings before every conceivable public body; we have studied, analyzed and reacted to voluminous reports; we have made recommendation after recommendation. None of our efforts have made an appreciable difference in the education our children are receiving."

The parents held hearings until Wednesday afternoon, Dec. 21, with the ad hoc board members refusing to yield the hearing room to the official board. At 4 p.m. the official board had the members of the ad hoc board arrested.

As those arrested were being brought to court, the official hearings started again. By 6:30 p.m.

What GIs Are Dying For

"It's a problem of national will, and South Vietnam scarcely qualifies as a nation." A U.S. official in Saigon as quoted in the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 16



Photo by Finer

JAILED. Rev. Milton Glamison, Brooklyn rights leader, is led to police van during sit-in at New York Board of Education.

the room was jammed to capacity with people waiting for the 8 p.m. hearing. The ghetto parents persisted, demanding to be heard.

During a discussion on the location of a new school in Queens, a Harlem mother got up and informed the board that "there are 1,200 children" in one of the ghetto schools, "but there isn't any lunch room." Garrison ruled her out of order. "Go to 127th St. to P.S. 68 and see for yourself," the woman continued.

Unwanted Testimony

"You are out of order!" Garrison shouted.

A woman next to me said, "I got two kids in school. My son in third grade reads on a first grade level, the second grade child is worse than a kindergartener. One teacher told the kids, 'I don't care if you learn or not, just so long as you're quiet.' White shirts and ties on assembly day. What has clothes got to do with learning?"

The mother who spoke about P.S. 68 said as she left the speaker's stand, "Every one of you got to be drummed down from there. We are asking for help. Do we

DEC. 27 — Washington's bombs did pour down on residential areas in Hanoi Dec. 13 and 14; Washington has bombed residential areas in Hanoi "for some time"; and Washington has bombed civilian populations in north Vietnamese cities consistently since at least as early as June 1965, one-and-a-half years ago — and only three months after Lyndon Johnson ordered the first bombing attacks on north Vietnam.

Utterly crushing the White House myths about the nature of the bombing raids in north Vietnam, these conclusions were reached by no less an authority in the capitalist press than *New York Times* assistant managing editor Harrison E. Salisbury.

The Pulitzer Prize winning correspondent is presently visiting Hanoi. His accounts of massive bombing of north Vietnamese ci-

By Dick Roberts

vilian centers were written in Hanoi Dec. 24 and 25.

In the first dispatch, Christmas eve, Salisbury refutes the State Department's contention that it had not bombed residential areas in Hanoi Dec. 13 and 14. "This correspondent is no ballistics specialist," he states, "but inspection of several damaged sites and talks with witnesses make it clear that Hanoi residents certainly believe they were bombed by United States planes, that they certainly observed United States planes overhead and that damage certainly occurred right in the center of town."

Dropping the couched language, Salisbury then goes on to describe in detail the effects of four residential bombings, three from the Dec. 13 attack and one which occurred Dec. 2: "The first area inspected was Pho Nguyen Thiap Street, about a three-minute drive from the hotel and 100 yards from the central market.

"Thirteen houses were destroyed — one-story brick and stucco structures for the most part. The Phuc Lan Buddhist pagoda in the same street was badly damaged. Five persons were reported killed and 11 injured, and 39 families were said to be homeless . . .

Simultaneous Attack

"The north Vietnamese say that almost simultaneously — also about 3 p.m. Dec. 13 — about 300 thatch and brick homes and huts along the Red River embankment, possibly a quarter of a mile from Pho Nguyen Thiap Street and equally distant from the Thongnhat Hotel, were hit. The principal damage was again done by a burst just above the houses, but there were also three ground craters caused either by rocket bursts or small bombs.

"This area, 200 by 70 yards, was leveled by blast and fire. Four persons were reported killed and 11 injured, most of the residents having been at work or in a large well-constructed shelter." The third site of bomb devastation in the Dec. 13 raid Salisbury describes was near the Chinese and Rumanian embassies.

"Also examined was a house on Hue Lane in the Hiaba quarter. It was reported hit Dec. 2, with the death of one person and the wounding of seven others including two children. *Contrary to the impression given out by United States communiques, on-the-spot inspection indicates that American bombing has been inflicting civilian casualties in Hanoi and its environs for some time past.*" (Emphasis added.)

Not only have civilians been the targets of U.S. rockets and bombs, according to Salisbury, but the dikes, protecting millions of north Vietnamese from floods, have been



Taking Oath

bombed in various raids. "The north Vietnamese cite as an instance the village of Phuxa, a market-gardening suburb possibly four miles from the city center.

"The village of 24 houses was reported attacked at 12:17 p.m. Aug. 13 by a United States pilot trying to bomb a Red River dike. The village was destroyed and 24 people were killed and 23 wounded . . . A crater 25 feet deep was reported blasted in the dike, but it was said to have been filled within three hours."

Even more devastating to the barrage of lies and distortions with which the White House has covered its murderous attacks on north Vietnam was Harrison Salisbury's second dispatch written Christmas Day. This one describes the effects of 18 months of previous bombings on Namdinh, "until recently . . . the third largest north Vietnamese city."

Namdinh, Salisbury states, is a cotton-and-silk textile town containing nothing of military significance. Its other industries include a rice-processing plant, a silk factory, an agricultural tool plant, a fruit-canning plant and a thread cooperative. But "Namdinh has been systematically attacked by American planes since June 28, 1965." (Emphasis added.)

Here are some of the most shocking parts of Salisbury's Dec. 25 dispatch: "Christmas wasn't a joyous occasion for Namdinh although strings of small red pennants decorated the old gray, stucco Catholic church and a white Star of Bethlehem had been mounted on the pinnacle of the tower. . . .

"The cathedral tower looks out on block after block of utter desolation; the city's population of 90,000 has been reduced to less (Continued on Page 2)

A Bloody Fifth Anniversary

"Without consulting Congress, without even informing the American people, President Kennedy has thrown U.S. troops into the civil war raging in south Vietnam.

"Already American soldiers have been killed and wounded. First reported casualty was an unnamed enlisted man killed in action on Dec. 22 [1961]. The flag-draped coffin bearing his corpse should soon be arriving somewhere in the U.S. This may well be the first in a long series of shipments for burial at home which became such a familiar aspect of American life during the Korean war . . .

"But Truman at least informed the nation of the action he was taking. Neither Kennedy nor any administration figure has yet informed the American people about the fateful decision in south Vietnam." The Militant, Jan. 1, 1962, reporting the first American combat death in Vietnam.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Gird for Strike at Oil Refineries

With most union contracts at oil refineries expiring by Jan. 1, the companies appear intent on forcing a nation-wide strike. The dispute involves 60,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers at 40 oil companies.

Only at the Sinclair Oil Corp. does the OCAW have a master contract throughout all plants. Although that agreement does not expire until next June, it has a wage reopener the union can invoke at any time. Negotiations at other companies take place on a plant-by-plant basis and involve about 400 separate contracts. Under past practice a settlement by one local union has generally set the pattern for others.

The OCAW is demanding a two-year contract with improved wages and assurances of job security. Wages vary across the country and now average about \$3.55 an hour. Since 1960 pay rates have gone up less than Johnson's 3.2 percent "guideline." During the same period there has been an average annual productivity increase of 6.9 percent, and unit labor costs have declined by 14 percent. The union wants an increase of 18 cents an hour in wages and medical insurance on Jan. 1, 1967, and another 18 cents an hour in wages on Jan. 1, 1968.

The union's key goal in current negotiations is job security. Since 1960 the industry has cut its work force an average of 5,000 a year, primarily as a result of automation. Consequently the OCAW wants a provision that will prohibit layoffs during the term of the next contract and prevent cuts in pay for workers demoted because of automation. Another demand is for full retirement benefits at the age of 62 instead of 65, as at present.

As usual, the companies have rejected prohibition of layoffs and wage cuts, calling the union demands an effort "to control management rights." One company spokesman said, "If they really carry this job security issue through, they're going to have trouble." He added that the industry is so automated that company supervisors could operate struck refineries. The oil barons are no doubt also counting on help from Johnson with Taft-Hartley injunctions.

Johnson has forced 2,100 United Steelworkers members back to work at Union Carbide's plant in Kokomo, Ind. His alibi is that the walkout "affected national safety by demaging the Vietnam war effort." The company supplies an alloy used to make engines for fighter planes, and the Pentagon held that the strike could "possibly result" in a shortage of replacement parts in Vietnam. On that premise Johnson got a federal district court injunction halting the work stoppage for 80 days under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Union lawyers carried the issue to the U.S. Court of Appeals. They argued that alloys similar to that produced by Union Carbide could be found elsewhere. Besides that, they contended, there was no evidence that the strike had affected a "substantial portion" of the engine industry and the Taft-Hartley Act requires such a finding before an injunction can be invoked.

The Appeals court upheld Johnson, saying there was no evidence "in concrete terms" of the size of the industry involved, but it was "common knowledge" that Vietnam required a "very substantial" commitment of resources. Union lawyers sought no further stay of the court ruling, but said they might appeal later to the Supreme Court.

Including the Steelworker members at Kokomo, about 8,000 workers have been on strike since last summer at 11 Union Carbide plants throughout the country. Two other unions are also involved: the OCAW and the Chemical Workers International. The main union demand is for coordinated bargaining, on a multi-union and multi-plant basis, for common union goals. Union Carbide insists that contracts be negotiated union by union, plant by plant.

After a five-week strike, members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have ratified a new contract with the Raytheon Co. Some 10,000 workers are involved at 26 plants across Massachusetts.

The agreement calls for a three-year contract with hourly increases totaling 34, 38 and 44 cents an hour in each of three classifications. Wages under the old contract averaged \$2.39 an hour.

It was the first strike in the history of Raytheon Co.

Back in the nineteenth century Samuel Gompers, a cigar maker, founded the American Federation of Labor, basing it on skilled craftsmen. Separate unions were formed in each trade, such as printing, building construction, tool and tie making, barbering, etc. Within a given trade category the craft setups were further subdivided. In the building trades, for instance, different unions were established for plumbers, carpenters, electricians and other specific crafts.

Each individual union tended to preoccupy itself only with its own narrow craft interests. Reflecting general adaptation to capitalist ideology, the term "business agent" was used to describe those handling union affairs. A dog-eat-dog attitude, typical of capitalist norms, prevailed in relations between unions. One craft often scabbled on another during disputes with employers. Acts of union solidarity were confined more or less to common defense of interests touching the crafts generally, and these were pressed without regard to the needs of other sections of the working class.

Hard-core craft unionists of today still show these traits, and they sometimes do so as outright finks. A case in point involves a hearing about the legal minimum wage for hotel service employees in the Catskill resort area of New York state.

New York law provides that the state minimum wage will be increased on Jan. 1 to \$1.50 an hour

from the present \$1.25. The minimum for hotel workers has been only 90 cents, 35 cents below the general minimum, and they have been pressing for the biggest increase they could get. A special hearing was called on the question by the state minimum wage board which was proposing a minimum wage of \$1.05 an hour for service employees.

Spokesmen for the resort hotels opposed the board's proposal, claiming that it would lead to the closing of many hotels. Officials of the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union called the hotel owners "prophets of doom," who had made the same dire forecasts years ago with the introduction of the 25 cent minimum wage.

At the hearing business agents for the plumbers, carpenters and electricians craft unions backed the hotel owners in opposing higher wages for waiters, busboys, chambermaids and bellhops. The carpenters' business agent was asked if his members, who get \$3.26 an hour, would take a pay cut to help out the hotel. He replied, "No."

The state board ruled that hotel workers will receive \$1.05 an hour in January, 45 cents below the general minimum wage. Anything they get beyond that will be entirely dependent upon scrambling for tips, and the hotel owners who exploit these workers will be legally absolved from any responsibility for paying them a higher wage.

In the Dec. 19 *Militant* we reported the terms of a strike settlement at General Electric's plant in Evandale, Ohio. Since then added details have been given in *The Machinist*, organ of the IAM. Union-company committees have been set up to study classifications of skilled jobs and to inspect the shops and set up safety rules. IAM members will be free to strike on March 3, 1967, over any remaining grievances that the company refuses to negotiate or arbitrate.

Halstead, Fuerst To Debate Issues On Road to Peace

NEW YORK — "What Program for the Antiwar Movement?" will be the subject of a debate at the Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, on Friday evening, Jan. 6. The participants will be Fred Halstead and John Fuerst.

Fred Halstead is a former member of the editorial staff of *The Militant* and is presently a contributor to it. He is now a member of the staff of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, a coalition of antiwar groups that has organized a number of massive antiwar demonstrations here.

John Fuerst is a leader of the Columbia University chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. He is a member of the editorial board of *Gadfly*, an antiwar campus publication.

Fuerst played a leading role in the recent confrontation at Columbia between students and the university president on the student protest against the CIA coming onto the campus to recruit personnel.

The essential issue in the debate between Halstead and Fuerst is the view held by many members of SDS that rather than trying to build a movement centered on the issue of opposition to the Vietnam war it is necessary to build a community based movement, based on community issues, which will develop a radical force capable of stopping future wars if not this one.

...U. S. Bombing Hanoi

(Continued from Page 1)

than 20,000 because of evacuation; 13 percent of the city's housing, including the homes of 12,464 people, have been destroyed; 89 people have been killed and 405 wounded.

"No American communiqué has asserted that Namdinh contains some facility that the United States regards as a military objective. It is apparent, on personal inspection, that block after block of ordinary housing, particularly surrounding a textile plant, has been smashed to rubble by repeated attacks by Seventh Fleet planes. . . .

"The textile plant, whose most dangerous output from a military point of view would presumably be cloth for uniforms, has been bombed 19 times, but it still operating under great difficulty. . . .

"Street after street in Namdinh has been abandoned and houses stand torn and gaping. One deserted street is Hang Thao or Silk Street, which was the center of the silk industry. Almost every house on the street was blasted down April 14 at about 6:30 a.m. just as the factory shift was changing.

"Forty-nine people were killed, 135 were wounded on Hang Thao and 240 houses collapsed. Eight bombs — MK-84's — accomplished this. These are huge weapons weighing about 2,000 pounds. . . .

"Another target in Namdinh has been the Dao (Black) River dike. The dike has been hit six times and there have been many near-misses. Breaching of the dike would seriously affect the region's rice agriculture. However, supplemental and reinforced dikes have been built."

Unanswered Question

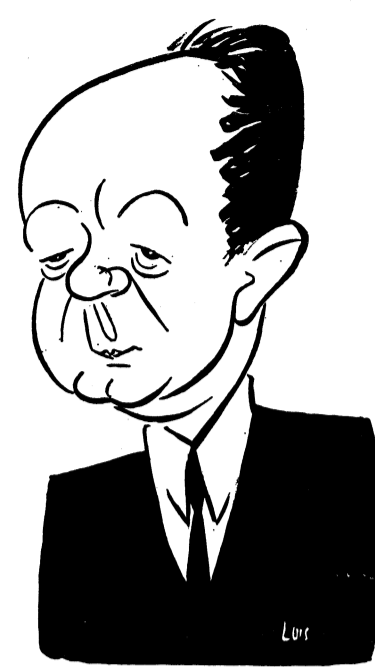
The *New York Times* reporter questions why this obviously non-military target has been so heavily hit by murderous air assaults. He cannot find a satisfactory answer: "Whatever the explanation, one can see," he continues, "that the United States planes are dropping an enormous weight of explosives on purely civilian targets."

"Whatever else there may or might have been in Namdinh, it is the civilians who have taken the punishment. A brief tour of Namha Province in which Namdinh lies, shows Namdinh is far from being exceptional.

"President Johnson's announced policy that American targets in north Vietnam are steel and concrete rather than human lives seems to have little connections



FACES U.S. BOMBS. Grace Mora Newman, one of four women now in Hanoi from U.S. (see story page 8). In his Dec. 27 dispatch to the *New York Times*, Harrison Salisbury reported he found himself in the same bomb shelter with the four women during a U.S. air raid.



Dean Rusk

with the reality of attacks carried out by United States planes."

Salisbury gives the example of another town, Phuly, about 35 miles south of Hanoi. "The town had a population of about 10,000. In attacks on Oct. 1, 2 and 9, every house and building was destroyed. Only 40 were killed and wounded because many people had left town and because an excellent man-hole shelter system was available."

Washington did not let Salisbury's dispatches go by without the expected denials that it is U.S. policy to bomb civilians. If anything, however, these served to underline the total disregard for truth and complete contempt of humanity that reigns in the nation's capital. Reporting from Washington Dec. 26, *New York Times* correspondent Neil Sheehan states:

"Administration officials acknowledged today that American pilots had accidentally struck civilian areas in north Vietnam while attempting to bomb military targets. The Defense Department issued a statement re-emphasizing that . . . 'all possible care is taken to avoid civilian casualties.'

"The statement conceded, however, 'It is impossible to avoid all damage to civilian areas.' Are records, perhaps, kept of these 'mistakes'? 'When asked to cite instances in which civilian areas have been accidentally struck,' Sheehan continues, 'officials also said they did not know of any particular cases. . . .

"The officials added that they believed instances of accidental bombing of civilian residences had not been widespread in north Vietnam. . . . 'In the specific cases of Namdinh and Phuly, targets have been limited to highway bridges and junctions, P.O.L. [petroleum, oil and lubricant] storage areas and air defense sights.'"

There was one significant, although not new, assertion in the midst of the Pentagon denial: "Any target, including highway and rail bridges, must be authorized in advance. . . . Where important targets are concerned, such as the oil depots near Hanoi and Haiphong, the White House itself must give the authorization."

One assumes that massive bombings of civilian centers like those Salisbury reports go in this category. It means that the lying begins at the very top.

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The Fight For Union Democracy

Steel Union: Case History of Bureaucratism

By Farrell Dobbs

Since I. W. Abel became president of the United Steelworkers, he has been publicized as a "quiet man" who gets things done through democratic mobilization of the union ranks. Nothing is said about his long identification with the dictatorial ruling machine in the union. Instead, Abel is depicted as a crusading leader who merits the workers' trust.

Members of the union can testify that he is nothing of the sort. His true image remains one of a bureaucrat floundering around in an effort to get off the hook of rank and file criticism. To probe into the union's present situation and Abel's role in it, a review of the background should prove helpful. It will also illustrate a broader problem: the general bureaucratic strangulation of internal democracy which, although varying in form and scope, exists throughout the union movement.

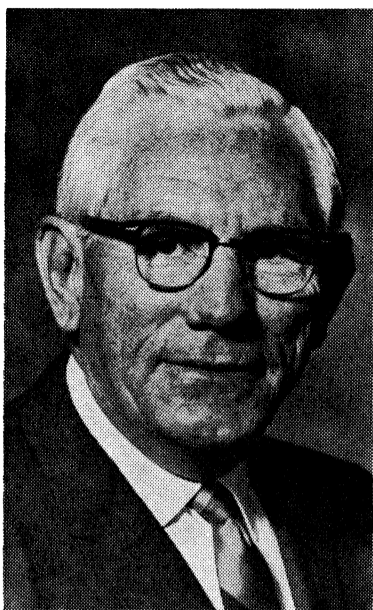
The present steel union had its origins in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee created in 1937 by the CIO. At the time such a provisional structure was tactically justified, since the CIO was just launching a unionization drive in steel, and it was also involved in a complex struggle with AFL craft unionists. It was another thing, however, for the CIO leaders to artificially perpetuate this loosely-defined setup, as they did for the next five years. Their object was to assure the entrenchment of a ruling bureaucracy before giving the union constitutional form.

SWOC was put under the command of Philip Murray, who was then a trusted aide of John L. Lewis, founding leader of the CIO. From the outset Murray ran things in dictatorial fashion, acting along class-collaborationist policy lines. Contract demands were shaped, not to meet the workers' basic needs, but according to what the corporations might give without a serious struggle. If there had to be a strike, the line was to end it as quickly as possible, forcing acceptance of whatever face-saving settlement the employers granted. The union was tied firmly to the Democratic Party and a policy of reliance on the capitalist government substituted for use of the workers' power.

Rule Widens

As the union gained substance the Murray bureaucracy raided the treasury for handsome salaries and lavish expense accounts. In an environment poles apart from the grind in the plants, the bureaucrats developed a calm, dispassionate view of the workers' problems. They gave "statesman-like" attention to the corporation's side in disputes and acted more and more as policemen against the workers. Membership rights were subordinated to bureaucratic special interests. Entire locals were subjected to disciplinary action. At conventions of the organization the delegates faced a bureaucratic steamroller.

It was not until 1942, after consolidation of dictatorial rule over the union, that Murray yielded



I. W. Abel

to membership demands to hold a constitutional convention. SWOC was displaced by a formal international union (with Canadian affiliates) — the present United Steelworkers. Murray was made president with vast constitutional powers. David J. McDonald, who got his start in the union as a stenographer for Murray, became secretary-treasurer. As the delegates were quickly to learn, formal adoption of a union constitution neither strengthened membership rights nor weakened bureaucratic rule.

Murray's Threat

Murray warned the 1942 convention: "I shall fight any attempt that is made to have little backroom caucuses while this convention is going on." He was serving notice that he would try to eliminate any group that exercised its democratic right to organize support for a program challenging the line of his machine. The threat was aimed at loyal union members who — denied free speech at the convention itself — were openly voicing discontent with Murray's policies in hotel lobbies.

Threats of the kind were backed up consistently by physical attacks on dissidents within the union. Such assaults were usually made on the sly, but one was later carried out publicly at the union's 1948 convention. Nick Migas, a delegate from Indiana, circulated leaflets attacking the signing of no-strike contracts with steel corporations and other bureaucratic policies. Murray had the leaflet read to the convention and then proceeded to whip the delegates into a frenzy against Migas. (As a reporter for *The Militant*, I was an eyewitness to the outrage that followed. — F.D.)

Murray took immediate advantage of the charged atmosphere he had created, using it to jam through convention approval of his wage policy. Meanwhile, Migas tried to slip quietly out of the hall, but he didn't make it. A pack of goons followed him out onto the street where he was caught and severely beaten.

When Murray died in 1952 a power struggle developed within the bureaucracy. The union constitution provided that the vice president, James Thimmes, should complete Murray's term in office. Thimmes was shoved aside by McDonald, who used his superior strength within the bureaucracy to have the international executive board install him as president. This direct violation of the constitution was later given a pseudo-democratic cover through an election referendum.

McDonald carried to new extremes Murray's line of peaceful coexistence with the labor-exploiting corporations. Hard-won union

gains were gradually given away. In 1959 the cost-of-living clause previously established in steel contracts was gutted, and wages remained relatively static until 1965. An almost universal breakdown of grievance procedures developed.

Under Murray a wage policy committee had been set up, comprised mainly of people on his staff and local union officials subservient to the top bureaucracy. This body, devised to circumvent membership control over negotiations with the corporations, was empowered to make decisions on contract settlements and regulate any strike action. In 1952 membership rights were further abridged by making the national officers the sole signatories of collective bargaining agreements. To give local officials a bigger stake in internal union stability and make them beholden to the top bureaucrats, pressures were put to further extend their tenure in office, from an original one-year and then two-year period, to a present term of three years.

Protest Grows

Opposition to McDonald first developed through a dues protest movement and then in the running of rank-and-file slates for election to top union offices. As membership dissatisfaction continued to mount other bureaucrats became worried. They finally decided to pull a palace revolt before all of them faced a rank-and-file uprising. With the backing of a section of the bureaucracy, Abel ran against McDonald in the February 1965 referendum to elect national officers. His main plank was a promise to restore membership control over basic union policy. In a close vote Abel was declared elected to the union presidency.

Upon assuming office he faced a big test in the re-negotiation of contracts in steel which were about to expire. As usual Johnson stepped in to help the corporations, bringing pressure against a strike by shedding crocodile tears about the need for steel to "back up our boys in Vietnam." Abel who supports Johnson politically, folded under the pressure. He settled for small wage increases, less than those being negotiated in other industries at the time. It was a raw deal for the steel workers whose wages had been virtually frozen for the previous six years. Local plant issues, mainly disputes over working conditions, were left unresolved. This miserable contract was rammed down the steel workers' throats in typical bureaucratic fashion.

Rising Dissatisfaction

Since then unrest has mounted among steel workers and is becoming widespread. Dissatisfaction has also grown elsewhere in the union. In earlier days the organization was composed mainly of steel workers, but today the situation is reversed with a majority of the members in industries other than steel. Workers in the latter category, disliking the overlordship of the steel-based wage policy committee, gradually began to force the creation of special councils in their industries to intervene in contract negotiations. They also raised increasingly strong protests against interference in their affairs by the bureaucratic hacks in steel.

These were the internal conditions under which Abel faced a union convention last September. In an effort to appease the membership he played the "democrat," put through some petty reforms and made will-o-the-wisp promises.

To give credit where it is due, Abel packed the convention with only half the usual number of

goons and nobody was physically assaulted. Delegates were given relative freedom to voice their criticisms, but there was a catch to it. Debate was allowed only on resolutions cleared for convention action by a bureaucrat-dominated resolutions committee. A decision made to expedite grievance handling to avoid "wildcat" strikes, with stress put on distinguishing between "good" and "bad" grievances. Proposals from the floor to eliminate the no-strike clause in union contracts were overruled.

Legalizing an already largely-accomplished fact, the convention authorized separate conference structures for the basic steel, aluminum, nonferrous and manufacturing industries. At the same time the wage policy committee was stripped of its power to ratify contracts, authorize strikes and call them off. The industry conferences, also rigged for bureaucratic control, will have authority to recommend strikes and approve contract settlements. Hazy-defined provisions are made for some form of consulta-

seemed little moved by Abel's "statesmanship." He was serving notice that, when the next round of union contract negotiations comes up in 1968, he will oppose "excessive" wage increases and he will count on Johnson to back him up.

Once the whole picture is brought to light, the record shows that the "quiet man" has not at all been capable of getting things done in a meaningful way. Like his predecessors in office, he has no stomach for a standup fight with the corporations. He has kept the union in the rut where Murray and McDonald put it, and there is no real prospect of things getting better under his regime.

Abel's tactics show that democracy has to mean more than the right to talk; it must also mean the right of workers to act in defense of their class interests. Achievement of full union democracy requires a fight to overturn bureaucratic rule and establish rank-and-file control. The program for that fight should include points of the following nature:

No restrictions on the right to strike. Abolish all no-strike pledges and all no-strike clauses in union contracts. Restore the full power of the local unions to take strike action through a democratic decision of the membership.

Full voice for the membership in determining contract demands. Rank-and-file control over negotiations with employers. No collective bargaining agreements to be signed until ratified by the workers involved.

Membership Control

Membership control over the handling of grievances, and freedom of action to enforce union conditions on the job.

No discrimination because of age, sex, race, national origin or political beliefs. Abolish all contract provisions and all clauses in union constitutions and by-laws that are discriminatory in any of these respects.

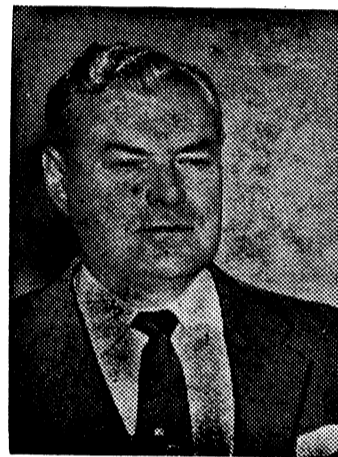
No impairment of the autonomous rights of local unions. Regular membership meetings of local unions at reasonably frequent intervals. Rank-and-file review and final decision in all proceedings involving disciplinary action against a union member.

Annual union conventions with all delegates to be democratically elected by the membership and all convention committees democratically elected by the delegates.

Yearly elections on a democratic basis of union functionaries in all categories from grievance men to top officials. All functionaries to be subject to recall if they default on their duties at any time during their term of office.

No union functionary to receive a salary higher than the top wage scale in the given industry. Expense accounts to be limited to reasonable needs for legitimate union activities. Full financial reports to the membership at regular intervals.

Freedom of expression for all views in opposition to the politics of incumbent union officials, including access to the union press.



David McDonald

tive vote by the membership. As usual the international executive board retains full supervisory control over contract demands, negotiations with the corporations and strike policy.

On balance the convention was largely a bust for the membership. Delegates were allowed to let off steam and nobody was roughed-up for it, but the bureaucrats remained firmly in the saddle. The policies adopted by the convention were those of the Abel regime and none other.

Abel's Requests

A few weeks after the convention Abel addressed a meeting of the Economic Club of New York City. There he called for a "summit conference of Congressional leaders, top industrialists, representatives of organized labor and other influential Americans." Such a gathering, he said, "...might consider adopting a program for a Great Society through which we could actually obtain . . . an equal sharing in our prosperity. It might establish a fresh list of national priorities . . . (with) the same kind of unhesitating commitment that we give to appropriations for national defense, space exploration and the building of supersonic planes." The audience of bankers and businessmen greeted his remarks with restrained applause.

The same night Roger M. Blough, chairman of United States Steel, spoke at New York University. He deplored what he termed "the fact that when Presidential authority is successfully defied, as it has been so consistently on the wage side . . . (it) can hardly fail to have an effect upon the moral fiber of the nation and to undermine respect for government generally." The double-talking Blough, whose profiteering outfit recently decreed a whopping price increase on steel produce,

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Monday, January 2, 1967

Detroit's Responsibility

The Detroit Common Council has postponed decision on a petition asking that the city pay the widow of Leo Bernard funeral expenses, and Walter Graham and Jan Garrett hospital costs rising from the May 16 shooting of the three young socialists (see page 8). The excuses given for the postponement — and, if the decision turns out to be negative, for that too — hinge on the city's denial of its responsibility for failure to prevent the shooting.

Atty. Ernest Goodman, acting for the victims, charged that the city failed to act when both the Secret Service and the local police knew that the killer, Edward Wanielek, was mentally ill and had proclaimed his intention to "kill communists." Michigan has a law under which police may initiate commitment proceedings against such people even if, as in this case, the wife or nearest of kin refuse to have them institutionalized. Wanielek's wife, fearing that she might be made part of the madman's "communist conspiracy," certainly cannot be held chiefly responsible for what her husband did.

Wanielek's act, whether or not it had been suggested to him by others, certainly got secret applause from the incipient fascist gangsters who have been boasting of their intentions to kill communists and other opponents of the Vietnam war.

One of the members of the Detroit Common Council made the "profound" observation that society in general has a responsibility to all victims of the mentally deranged. The fact that Michigan has no legal procedure to compensate such victims is deplored, "But what can we do?" says the Council, implying the answer is "Nothing, because the state has not passed a law on these things." This is cheap moralizing which avoids the clear fact that the city was derelict in this case and could have prevented the crime.

Although legally not liable (such is the law!) despite the fact that it could have prevented the killing, the city is being watched carefully as it deliberates on this case. People in Detroit are asking, "Is police protection for everybody or, as in Alabama or Mississippi, only for those who agree 100 percent with the ruling powers?"

The city must recognize its error and accept the guilt which is in great part its own. Verbal expressions of sympathy on the part of the Common Council, while Leo Bernard's widow is made to cover the funeral costs and Walt and Jan have to cover their medical expenses, would hardly be recognized as meaning the city learned from its error.

If the city does not materially recognize its error, the right-wingers and future potential Wanieleks yet unknown to society will come to feel they have the city government on their side and will be more confident than ever that they can trample on the rights and snuff out the lives of those who disagree with their deluded conceptions of freedom.

The recent anti-Communist shooting in Milwaukee indicates that we are not speaking of a long-term prospect but a present reality.

The Unknown Soldiers

On Christmas Day the soldiers who guard the tomb of Unknown Soldiers at Arlington National Cemetery laid a wreath on the tomb to honor the unidentified dead of World War I, World War II and the Korean "police action." The ceremony came five years and three days after the killing of the first American serviceman in Vietnam. In proper time, an unidentified victim of this war will also be placed in the tomb. All of them can properly be described as unidentified victims of an imperialist system that breeds one war after another.

Official government homage to the unknown soldiers is the most revolting kind of hypocrisy. But meaningful tribute can be paid to them by redoubling the fight to end the Vietnam war and to abolish the system responsible for it.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver, Colo. 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 982 6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

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

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St., San Diego, Calif. 92113.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party. LA 2-4325.

Lesson of Bosch Election Failure

Dominican Youth Set Independent Path

By George Saunders

A cryptic Oct. 31 *Reuters* dispatch from Santo Domingo reported that Juan Bosch had resigned his leadership of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, the social reformist grouping which rode to the fore on the wave of the April 1965 uprising. (Colonel Francisco Caamaño Deño was a PRD activist.) According to the dispatch, Bosch "told the closing session of his party's congress last night that his resignation would avoid the danger of bossism in the party." It was added that he intended to leave soon for a vacation in Europe.

Since losing the presidential race to Balaguer last June, Bosch has counseled a "constructive" attitude toward the conservative and pro-U.S. regime. Even before that, Bosch's willingness to run in an election imposed by the U.S. occupying force, coupled with the extremely conciliatory tone of his campaign, showed that he had no fundamental opposition to Balaguer and the pro-imperialist oligarchy Balaguer represents.

Bosch's campaign was supported uncritically, even enthusiastically, by the pro-Moscow Dominican Communist Party. The Fidelista June 14 Movement gave the Bosch campaign critical support — offering some very sharp and very valid criticism — and they blasted the PCD for its glossing over of Bosch's role. Although they did not field a revolutionary alternative to the two bourgeois candidates on the presidential level, the June 14 Movement did run their own candidates, showing healthy revolutionary instincts. Their avowed aim was to use the electoral arena to bring a revolutionary view before the masses. The pro-Peking Dominican Popular Movement followed a policy of boycott toward the elections.

Programmatic Questions

Now the question of the elections, of attitude toward the regime that issued from them, and of the road to Dominican liberation in general has been sharply posed within the reformist PRD itself.

Revolutionary processes most commonly appear first among the youth. The documents approved at the recent national plenum of the Dominican Revolutionary Youth, (JRD), youth group of the PRD, are a case in point. The documents were considered "explosive" by the top leaders of the adult party.

The Dominican press was also disconcerted by these documents; none of the Dominican dailies would print them. Finally, *Ahora* [Now], a magazine which was a reactionary government mouthpiece before the April uprising but which since then has had a remarkable evolution to the left, printed them in its Oct. 31 issue.

The two most important documents are the "Political Declaration" and the "Declaration of Principles." The first "condemns U.S. aggression in Vietnam and demands withdrawal of the troops." It also "condemns the dictatorial regimes of Latin America and Europe," (Ongania, Castelo Branco, Franco, Salazar, etc.)

The "Political Declaration" takes the following attitude toward the Balaguer government: "In the light of the corrupt origin of the present government, the PRD cannot consider it 'legal' and therefore should not confront it with a 'constructive and creative' position."

The document continues: "The Dominican people have rejected this government. How then can a revolutionary party collaborate with an anti-popular, anti-national government committed to the interests of the exploiters?" It demands that the Balaguer regime be confronted "with a resolute and



INTERVENTION. U.S. Marines man tank during "mopping up" of Dominican revolutionaries during last year's U.S. intervention there.

revolutionary position." (Emphasis in original.)

The JRD envisages its own role as "not to support the 'constitutionality' of a fraud and an imposition, but to prepare our people for the long and bloody struggle that they will have to launch in order to achieve their liberation." The major step is "to end the Yankee domination of our country." And it concludes that "our principal enemy is Yankee imperialism." The task of the JRD is said to be "to make our party the vanguard of that struggle" whose victory can be assured only "with the people, not with conciliators."

When Bosch at the PRD congress deplored U.S. imperialism because it "divides people in underdeveloped countries into Communists and anti-Communists," he must have had the evolution of his own youth movement in mind. But, a true liberal to the last, he does not choose sides; he chooses to go to Europe.

The JRD's "Declaration of Principles" is even more significant. In it the JRD defines itself as "a front of exploited classes which has emerged from the national reality as an instrument of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and which derives its principles from the materialist study of society and history."

The declaration goes on, "Our party has been created to contribute to the profound and radical transformation of the social, economic and political structure of our country," adding that this transformation "must take place through the wise teachings of democratic socialism."

Within the left, the JRD declares that it is the "only left movement with possibilities of confronting the offensive of the right wing and of Social Christian reformism." (It defines the latter as "a fulcrum of the Catholic Church" which "preaches timid reforms that will not destroy the capitalist system.")

Rejecting blind anti-Communism, the document states that the JRD "was founded to fight against imperialism, feudalism and the oligarchy. Our differences and our struggle with the Communist parties is not our first task as a revolutionary youth. We have to see in communism a competitive force, and our youth must, for the sake of democratic socialism, present the Dominican people with a clear and optimistic alternative." As for the parent PRD, the document has some implied criticism: "The PRD was not established simply to achieve power or to

maintain certain formal aspects of democracy, which in our country only serve the interests of a privileged minority."

Giving the concept "democratic socialism" a more militant interpretation than is usually found, the "Declaration of Principles" states: "Democratic socialism means that it depends on the exploiting class whether peaceful or violent means are required to carry out a revolution." Also, "In struggling for the national revolution, democratic socialism takes as its goal the building of a democratic, socialist society. Socialist because the wealth, public services and the basic industries of the country will be in the hands of the state, while the other means of production will be directly in the hands of the workers through co-operatives; and the state will control all phases of the economic and social process. Democratic because the people will be assured of housing, education, food, and will be able to express their political and religious opinions freely and also to choose, without any compulsion, their political leaders."

Revolutionary Demands

On the immediate tasks of the Dominican revolution, the JRD took some strong positions. On land reform: "... we ... call for an integral agrarian reform capable of destroying the latifundist system, which involves not only distributing state-owned land, but expropriating the land of the oligarchs in order to destroy their political power." On national independence: "... we will struggle against the subjugation of our country by foreign powers." On democracy: "... we believe in the democratic system of government, but the struggle for democracy cannot take place through democratic means ... Even when the electoral process is functioning, there are other class mechanisms of compulsion, military and religious threats, which falsify and take away its content."

Thus Bosch's reformist party seems to be following a pattern familiar in Latin America in recent years. It was out of Betancourt's party that the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) split, primarily as a youth movement. And in Chile, whole layers of the youth of the reformist Socialist Party have evolved toward revolutionary Marxism.

The JRD, with its call for struggle against imperialism, not shying even from an armed struggle, and for nationalization of industry and the basic means of production, has departed sharply from both wings of the adult movement.

U of Pennsylvania Defies Protest

Germ Warfare Research Goes On

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA — Fifteen months have passed since antiwar activists here accidentally discovered and then exposed the cruel and inhuman subject matter of two mysteriously-named research contracts, Projects Spicerack and Summit at the University of Pennsylvania's unostentatious Institute for Cooperative Research (ICR). More than a year after the initial exposure of the use of the ICR as a front for Penn's dirty work for the U.S. Air Force (Spicerack) and Army Chemical Corps (Summit), scarcely a week goes by without discussion of these two biological and chemical warfare research contracts in an important faculty or student meeting or on the front page of the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, the undergraduate newspaper.

One year ago, on Dec. 10, 1965, the University of Pennsylvania Committee to End the War in Vietnam found itself a small and isolated group when it picketed the College Hall office of U of P President Gaylord P. Harnwell and had to defend itself against a mob of over one hundred campus hooligans as smiling campus guards stood by.

Made Gains

Things have changed a bit since that day when the university administration so brazenly decided *not* to protect the right of peaceable assembly. Today the same university administration is showing itself very sensitive to public opinion. Five days ago, the student government began hearings on "secret research" and called Provost David Goddard to testify. Goddard, whose office was recently asked to supervise the germ warfare contracts in an administrative reshuffling, made the surprising admission that it was a mistake to renew the Spicerack contract in April.

Goddard indicated that "inadequate supervision of what has hap-

pened since 1953 may have led to mistakes in this area of research." History belies Goddard's assumption that the contracts were "mistakes" caused by "inadequate supervision." Penn has had germ warfare contracts since Project Big Ben began in 1950. By far the most lucrative contracts have been Big Ben, which was terminated in 1953, and the present combination which began with the initiation of Spicerack in 1963.

Big Ben's heyday coincided with the Korean War; after this war, the ICR was born, and with it such exotic-sounding projects as Hot Pipe and Caramu, but these were much smaller contracts. Again the U of P became especially adept at attracting millions of dollars for germ warfare work in 1963 when it became clear that the U.S. government and its military experts were preparing for a major "counter-insurgency" war, planning ahead for the huge escalation in Vietnam. The coincidence between the two wars and Penn's largest biological and chemical warfare projects demonstrates that Goddard is not quite accurate in attributing these projects to "mistakes."

Dr. Goddard's admission of supposed university mistakes does, however, indicate a change. It is the latest in a series of steps by the Penn administration to change its public face. In the year since the Committee to End the War in Vietnam was forced to defend itself against physical violence, continued demonstrations, public rallies and nationwide publicity have been mobilized by the U of P CEWW and faculty opponents of germ warfare research. The mounting wave of adverse publicity has tarnished the administration's image.

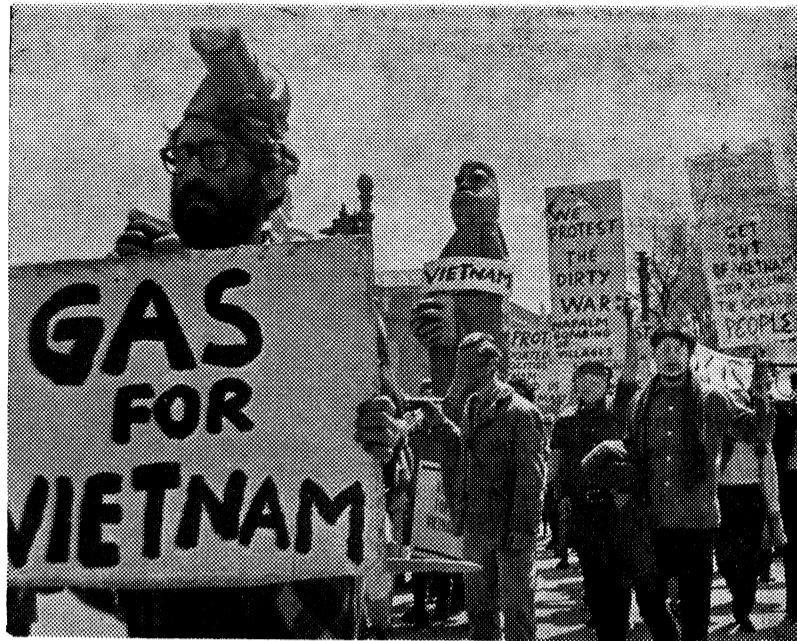
Instrumental in attracting national and international attention was the booklet, *Germ Warfare Research for Vietnam* (published by the Phila. Area CEWW, and available from the Bring the

Troops Home Now Newsletter, 34 Park Row, Rm. 607, New York, N.Y. 10038). The pamphlet documented the ICR's research into the aerial dispersal of arsenic, and cyanide, the spreading of anthrax and influenza epidemics, and the creation of rice famines. The obvious connection with U.S. use of chemical defoliants, poison gas, saturation bombing and napalm to conduct a policy of genocide in Vietnam was discussed as well. The pamphlet's distribution led to exposures of the genocide research in *Viet Report* and *Ramparts*, and finally, stories in *Newsweek* and *Time*.

Faculty Speaks Out

Meanwhile, the U of P Faculty Senate voiced its opposition to the controversial research. The university administration has latched onto every loophole to ignore the will of the faculty and students. Since the Faculty Senate has twice overwhelmingly passed resolutions opposing secret research, Dr. Krieger has subsequently stated that his research is not secret: He explained to the student government that he merely does not want to publish. And President Harnwell continues to give press releases to the *New York Times* claiming that the university has abolished secret research. In fact, the administration explains that they conferred with the Air Force brass and decided to change the wording of the Spicerack contract to fit the university's supposedly new "publishability guidelines."

Two days before school began this September, Harnwell issued a press statement claiming that the Institute for Cooperative Research would be abolished; the *Times* ran a front-page story that assumed that the germ warfare contracts were being terminated, along with the institute in which they are housed. The university's press statement explained, however, that the closing of the ICR was "merely an administrative change."



PROTEST POISONING. Bread and Puppet Theater members protest U.S. use of gas in Vietnam during antiwar demonstration in Washington.

Even this administrative maneuver has not been carried out, we learned recently. Dr. Carl Chambers, University Vice-President for Engineering Affairs and head of the ICR, was asked at a student government hearing whether the ICR was still in existence. "Yes, the ICR still exists," he explained, "but it will be disbanded as soon as we can find other university departments to take on the various projects that are now handled by the ICR."

This mere administrative change which apparently has not occurred is a part of the university's new public face, as is Dr. Goddard's statement about a "mistake" which hasn't been corrected, and the statement by Dr. Knut Axel Krieger, Director of Project Spicerack, at a Dec. 10 student government hearing, that he was interpreted too literally by the reporter from *Viet Report* when he told her that he receives field data from actual combat situations; "I'm afraid that I misled the reporter," he said.

It is a reasonable public face that the university is trying to present — the image of a liberal,

well-meaning person who sins occasionally but then repents. But business is as usual at the Institute for Cooperative Research. The genocide research continues. And the university administration's "credibility gap" gets larger, as it tries vainly to draw criticism away from this despicable research.

As might be expected, such administrative maneuvers have served only to cement and strengthen the faculty and student opposition to germ warfare research.

Biological and chemical warfare research is an issue that has helped build the antiwar movement because the cruelty of such inhuman weapons graphically demonstrates the nature of this war against the entire people of Vietnam. This issue may become an important focal point on other campuses where such research is going on. Student newspapers at NYU and Brown have recently attempted investigations of the research on their campuses. Cornell Aeronautical Laboratories has a \$2 million Biological-Chemical-Warfare sub-contract from the U of P.

Saigon Army Fails in Pacification Role

By Ed Smith

The White House long ago abandoned hope of using Saigon government troops to crush the guerrilla forces in Vietnam in open battle. This task was given over to U.S. forces in the Autumn of 1965.

At that time, however, the Pentagon hoped to put Saigon troops to use in occupying territory that the U.S. armies had seized from the National Liberation Front. This key element of the pacification program is essential to the Pentagon perspective of "limited war." U.S. troops would be used in "search and destroy" maneuvers to root out NLF units in the countryside and crush their base; Saigon troops would be sent into the devastated area to prevent the re-emergence of villages loyal to the revolutionary armies.

Base Requirements

Even so, the "upper limits" of U.S. troop commitments were continually raised: In the Spring of 1966, Washington learned that it could not count on Saigon forces to keep the large cities under complete control. This was a main lesson on the revolts in Saigon, Hue and Danang. At all times, two-thirds of the total U.S. forces are limited to defending U.S. military bases near the cities.

But now Washington is finding out that GIs will probably have to do the whole job. Pacification attempts, using Saigon government troops to occupy land after U.S. search-and-destroy operations, have been a total failure. The Saigon army has reached its upper

limit of potential recruits. Desertion is still running at almost 20 percent. And this is true in spite of the fact that such desertion is punishable by death.

These facts have not been sifted from hints and rumors in the international press. They have been revealed by top officials in the U.S. government and by leading American newspapers and magazines. The go-ahead signal for telling the truth about what is happening in Vietnam appears to have been given by an investigation recently conducted by the Senate preparedness subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee under the leadership of powerful Dixiecrat Senator John Stennis (D.-Miss.).

The findings of the Stennis committee were reported by *New York Times* military expert Hanson W. Baldwin in a brief news article Dec. 9. In essence, Baldwin writes, the committee found that the U.S. is not "significantly closer to bringing the war to conclusion than it was a year ago."

Stennis reported that the NLF remained "tough, disciplined, well-trained and determined." By comparison, the Saigon "forces have not proved adequate to the task of rooting out the underground Vietcong political and administrative structure and providing the population with defense against terrorist attacks and small-scale assaults."

Stennis emphasized the lack of progress in the pacification program. Because of it, he held, "this war may go on for several, if not many, years. A long drawn-out

and bloody war of attrition which will entail increased casualties and continued war costs of \$25 billion or more" is almost inevitable, Stennis insisted, without heavy reinforcements.

When it is released in greater detail, it is clear the Stennis committee report could serve the same function as the Mansfield Report last January: as a justification for huge troop increases. Meanwhile other magazine and newspaper articles have filled in facts not released in Stennis' findings.

The Dec. 5 *U.S. News and World Report* described the Saigon government and army: "Where the south Vietnamese have control — and this means in the most vital areas — things are not going well at all . . . The south Vietnamese Army is found to be without decent or effective leadership in one battalion after another, despite years of intensive U.S. effort to give that Army spirit and backbone."

Desertion Rate

"Desertions are high — almost another 100,000 men from regular and regional forces this year — and no one seems to be able to put an end to it."

"At the top," the Saigon regime "is a government of power blocs and factionalism in the French tradition. Leaders in Saigon are preoccupied fighting to keep their grasp on power. At just about every level below the top it is a government of local fiefs, run by entrenched military sycophants or petty, underpaid civil-service officials . . .

"In the Mekong Delta, south of Saigon, where half the country's population lives, Americans are convinced that there is hardly a district or a province chief who has not bought his job from a higher up in return for a crack at the available riches."

"In practical terms, this means that officials impose their own 'unofficial' forms of taxation to get their money back and show a profit. This money lines private pockets — it does not get Saigon to help fight the war."

U.S. News and World Report continues, "Americans who wonder why the performance of the south Vietnamese Army sometimes is held in such low regard get a clearer idea of the reasons here at the scene. A Vietnamese private, at \$23 a month, is paid less than a housemaid in Saigon. He gets as little as 5 cents a day for his rations. His officers often use his recreation allowance on themselves."

"His promotions are blocked by favoritism and red tape. His efforts to visit his family are made incredibly difficult. There is no commissary system for his family and the allotment they get is barely enough to keep them off the streets. One of every six military men deserts in the course of a year."

On Dec. 12, the *New York Times* took up the subject of the Saigon army, in a front-page article from Saigon by R. W. Apple, Jr. "The south Vietnamese Army is not now an effective fighting force," Apple begins. "Among the complaints registered against [it] by the men

who know it best . . . are the following: poor leadership, harshness toward the civilian population, corruption, lack of aggressiveness . . .

"United States officials now concede that the south Vietnamese population can support no further expansion of its defense establishment. Almost 35 percent of the men of military age (16 to 45) from areas controlled by Saigon are now under arms . . ."

Guerrilla Expertise

"The guerrillas fight better — so well that many American officers consider them the wildest, most tenacious, enemies ever faced by the United States. An extreme but not an atypical example was a soldier, armed only with grenades, who challenged an entire platoon of American infantrymen near Pleime late last year."

"A similarly extreme but not atypical example of the performance of government troops was the action of the commander of a company of regional forces north of Saigon this fall. Advancing on the flank of an American unit, the south Vietnamese lost one man to a sniper's bullet. The commander turned his unit around and marched it to the rear."

Apple calculates that of a total army of 603,000 troops, there were 96,000 desertions last year — roughly the same rate given by *U.S. News and World Report*. This year, he continues, the rate is not much lower: "About 18 of every 100 members of the Vietnamese armed forces will have deserted sometime in 1966."

Castro's Interview With Playboy

By Harry Ring

The January issue of *Playboy* features a lengthy, informative interview with Fidel Castro. The interview was obtained by Lee Lockwood for a book, *Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel*, which is slated for publication by Macmillan in March.

Extracted from some 25 hours of taped conversation in Spanish, the interview is wide-ranging. It includes an impressive picture of the gains registered by the Cuban Revolution, an effective indictment of U.S. policy in its efforts to act as imperialist policeman of the world, and a discussion of many Cuban problems (It also includes some rather stupid polemical interjections by the editor of *Playboy*.)

For the U.S. press, the most newsworthy aspect of the interview was Castro's statement that in return for the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba in 1962 the U.S. had made additional commitments to the publicly stated one not to invade Cuba.

Rebutting the U.S. claim that the non-invasion pledge is not in effect because Cuba refused to permit the inspection of its territory, which the USSR has unilaterally agreed to, Fidel added: "... and I can say to you that even more agreements exist beside, about which not a word has been said ... One day, perhaps, it will be known that the United States made some other concessions in relation to the October crisis besides those that were made public."

Other Agreements

He said the additional agreements were not drawn up as a formal pact but it "was an agreement that took place by letter and through diplomatic contacts."

The U.S. State Department issued a denial on this, but declined to discuss it.

Also of interest to the press was Castro's candid expression of the dim view that the Cuban took of Khrushchev beginning with his unilateral agreement to withdraw the missiles from Cuba. He described Khrushchev's conduct during the missile crisis as "a serious affront" to Cuba. He stated that at the time Khrushchev was ousted, Cuba's relations with him "had reached their lowest ebb."

Asked if this was because the Cubans felt Khrushchev should have "taken a tougher line with the U.S.," Fidel replied, "Just that, yes."

He added that since Khrushchev's removal, Cuban-Soviet relations have "improved considerably."

Another part of the interview that proved of interest to the press was Fidel's reply to a question about the rumors that Che Guevara had been executed. Fidel declared:

"Those who write such stories will have to square their accounts with history. The truth is that Che is alive and well. I and his family and his friends receive letters from him often. We do not have anything to say about his whereabouts at this time, however, because it would be unwise, possibly unsafe for him. When he is ready and wants it to be known where he is, we will tell it first to the Cuban people, who have the right



TOOK FIRM STAND. Fidel Castro meets with UN General Secretary U Thant during historic October 1962 missile crisis. Thant came to Havana to persuade Cubans to accept Washington-Moscow agreement for inspection of Cuba, allegedly to see if missiles had really been removed. Cuba declared agreement violation of its integrity and refused.

to know. Until then, there is nothing more to be said."

An aspect of the interview that is likely to be the subject of discussion in the radical movement is Fidel's estimate of the revolutionary perspectives for the U.S. While his formulations, as they are presented, are ambiguous, they give the impression that he sees little prospect for a revolutionary development among the American workers because of their relative affluence. He sees the class struggle instead as an international one, with the U.S. capitalist class arranged against the exploited of other countries.

The interviewer asked: "Is it your conviction then that the U.S. would be better off under socialism or communism?"

Fidel replied: "No. I am a Marxist, and as a Marxist, I believe that revolutions are engendered by a state of misery and desperation among the masses. And that is not the situation of all the people of the United States, but only of a minority, especially the Negroes. Only the masses can bring about a change of social structure, and the masses decide to make these great changes only when their situation is one of desperation. Many years could pass without this happening to the masses of the United States."

He continued: "In reality the struggle between the classes is not being conducted inside the United States. It is being conducted outside U.S. borders ... Though I understand a certain amount of protest is being heard in some North American universities, it is not the masses of the U.S. who fight today against North American capitalism, because U.S. citizens have a relatively high standard of living and they are not suffering from hunger or misery ..."

Evolutionary Change

At another point, Fidel added, "It is a little absurd to speak at this moment of a revolution there. Perhaps there will never be a revolution in the United States, in the classic sense of the word, but rather evolutionary changes. I am sure for example that within 500 years North American society will bear no similarity to the present one."

Fidel is wrong on a number of counts here. While the theory that revolutions are caused only by a low economic standard of living is widely attributed to Marx, he never propounded it. He laid bare the social contradictions of capitalism which inevitably drives the proletariat in a revolutionary direction. Essentially, it is the instabil-

ity and social crises of capitalism that develops revolutionary consciousness and not simply a low standard of living.

While it is obviously true that the American working class today is not revolutionary, it is a basic political error to assume it is impervious to change. The very process of world revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism will inevitably have an effect on the U.S. workers as it is already affecting the antiwar and the black power movements. (This process was pointed to by Cuban leader Armando Hart in a speech we reported in our Dec. 19 issue.)

Although Fidel may be muddled about the revolutionary prospects within the U.S., he points unerringly to the profound problem confronting U.S. imperialism on a world scale. He told his interviewer:

Inevitable Isolation
"Before long the United States will find itself required to over-extend its forces in order to fight interventionist wars of a universally-hated nature against the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and in Latin America. It will find itself increasingly alone, isolated and repudiated by world opinion. The revolutionary movement will break out sooner or later in all oppressed and exploited countries ... the United States will inevitably lose the fight against the revolutionary movement anyway, simply because objective social and historical conditions extraordinarily favor the struggles of the underdeveloped people."

On the basis of this correct prognosis, it is only necessary to ask: Can the U.S. suffer so basic a defeat on a world scale without disturbing its internal social equilibrium?

And there is little question that for Fidel this prognosis is a serious one and that Cuba's course is pegged to it. For example, in response to questions, Fidel explained that in the early stages of the break with the U.S., the Cuban government was ready to seek a settlement that would simply involve the two countries. But now, he said, it is different. He stated:

"I can say to you that we would gladly discuss our problems with the United States within the framework of a world policy of peace, but we have no interest in discussing them independently of the international situation. We are not interested in negotiating our differences while the U.S. is intervening in Santo Domingo, in Vietnam and elsewhere, while it

established, all major decisions had been made by the agreement of that group. He added, that at the beginning the directorate "was not completely representative. But when the criticism of sectarianism was made it was enlarged and made more representative. We are conscious that our leadership is still not sufficiently representative, however." (The reference here is to the events surrounding his March 1961 speech, assailing Anibal Escalante, an old-line Communist Party leader, and others, for building a machine to control the directorate in a bureaucratic, sectarian manner.)

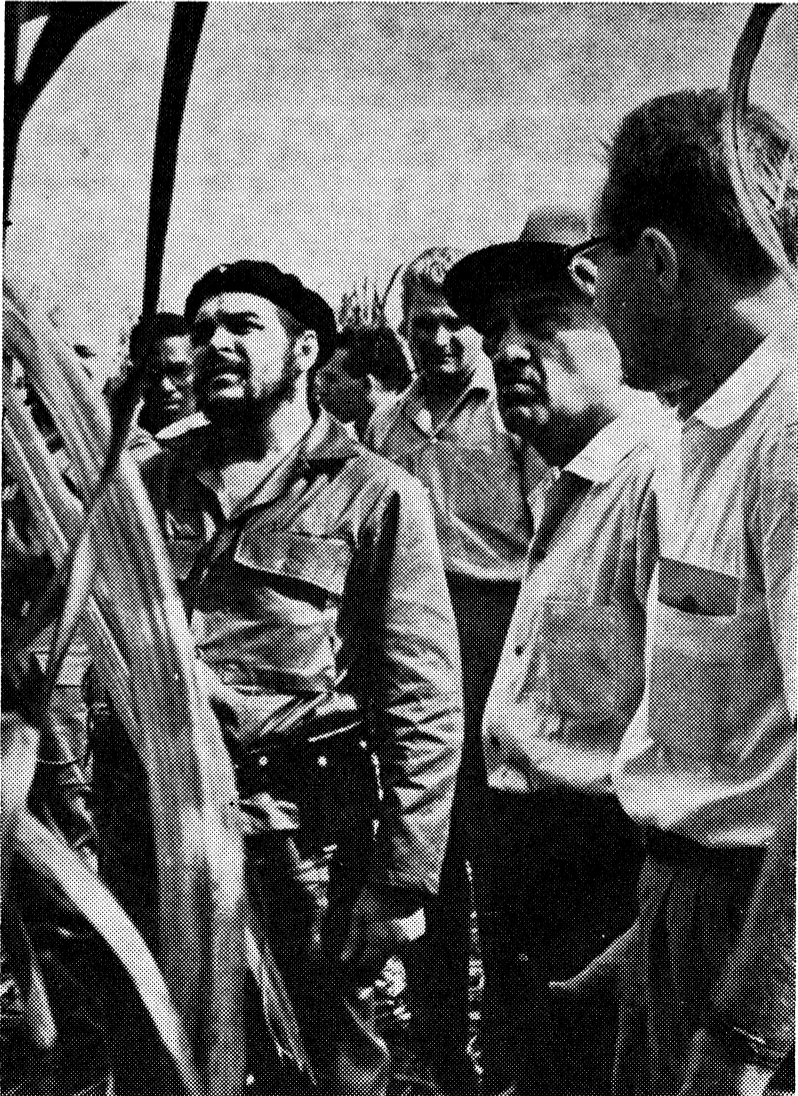
Concentrated Power

Fidel then added a point: "If we are going to speak about personal power, I might point out that in no other country in the world, not even in absolute monarchies, has there ever been such a high degree of power concentrated in one person as is concentrated in the President of the United States. If he chose to, that office holder whom you call President could even take the country into a thermonuclear war without consulting Congress."

Discussing his personal future, Fidel said he assumed that for a period to come he would continue to be the principal leader of the Cuban movement, but that he would seek to reduce that period of personal leadership to a minimum. He added that he looked forward to devoting himself to agricultural study and experimentation in which he is greatly interested.

He expressed the view that all revolutionary leaders should retire while they are relatively young. (In a September speech, he put it: Better a retired revolutionary than a tired one.)

He then added: "But perhaps I will fall into the habit that comes to all of us, of thinking that the younger generation is bungling everything. That is a mania characteristic of all old people — but I'm going to try to remain alert against it."



STAYED FIRM. Che Guevara, in beret, and Soviet representative Anastas Mikoyan, in fedora, inspect cane-cutting machine during Mikoyan's November 1962 visit to island. He spent three weeks there trying to get Cubans to accept inspection agreement. Like U Thant, he failed too.

Socialism on Trial

By James P. Cannon

Transcript of testimony in first Smith Act trial

\$1

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

From a Veteran Fighter

Newberg, Oregon
Enclosed please find money order to renew my subscription. Your uncompromising reporting of the news from the standpoint of socialism is deserving of thanks and respect.

I realize that *The Militant* is confronted with a capitalist-controlled propaganda machine of such colossal proportions that one sometimes wonders that you are doing as well as you are.

The brain-washing of the American people by the lackies of American imperialism from top on down in believing that murdering thousands of Vietnamese people is justifiable — all in the name of anti-communism — surpasses anything yet contrived by the paid stooges of capitalism.

Illustrating the subtle ways these people operate, I am reminded of an incident shown on a TV news program. It concerned an eight-year-old Vietnamese boy whose parents were killed in an air strike. Asked by a reporter about the condition of the lad, an Army officer replied that he was all right "after we washed the blood away."

The murder of the boy's parents had become a mere passing

phase. The gist of the showing of this dramatic episode was to convey to the American people the good samaritan aspects of our armed forces. We may kill their parents. But when it comes to blood-spattered children, we shall wash their wounds.

I wish *The Militant* a good 1967.
Dirk De Jonge

The Question of Fascism

New York, N. Y.
With the electoral gains made recently by right-wing neo-Nazi currents in Germany and the formation of a new ruling coalition in Germany headed by Kurt Kiesinger, a politician with a Nazi past, there has been a lot of talk and press comment expressing fear of a resurgence of fascism in that country. In talking to people active in the antiwar movement in this country, I've heard similar fears expressed of a fascist clamp-down, either by Johnson or someone else, to snuff out resistance to the war in Vietnam and to crush the black power movement.

In both cases, I think there is confusion about the nature and aims of fascism, the social and historical conditions leading to its growth and coming to power, and the forces which can be mobilized against it.

Some people apparently assume that the imposition of a fascist police state is a simple matter of preference by the rulers of this country. LBJ's patience is just going to wear thin one day, it seems, and he's going to crack down!

To begin with, fascism is not simply a system of police-state repressions. In essence it represents a situation of the deepest social crisis in which, if the working class fails to resolve the crisis, the fascists mobilize the middle class. They do so with demagogic slogans to "resolve" the crisis by smashing the unions and other workers' organizations and thus rendering them incapable of resistance. While such a prospect always exists in a decaying capitalist society, it is not an immediate one.

This does not mean there won't be mounting efforts at repressions prior to such a stage. As the antiwar movement develops into a mass force, with the workers and Negroes involved, the administration will certainly try to curb the movement. But, by the same token, there will be on the scene at such a time, the forces capable of beating back the attempted repressions.

The growing popular opposition to the war, evidenced by the polls and the 41 percent who voted for withdrawal in the Dearborn referendum should make clear that there is no reason for pessimism

within the antiwar movement. To the contrary, we have every reason to look forward to significant progress in the coming year.

P. A.

Mutual Assistance

North Fort Meyers, Fla.
Congratulations on your wonderful work for peace. You deserve real credit.

You'll be happy to know that I feature your article on Dave Dellinger's report from Hanoi in my next peace column in the *U.S. Farm News*. I recommend your paper and suggest that our readers subscribe, giving your address.

Gordon Caulfield

[It really isn't just *quid pro quo*, but those who are interested may subscribe to the progressive *U.S. Farm News*, which is published monthly by the U.S. Farmers Association, by sending \$2 to 1024 Grand Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa. Editor.]

The Latest "Peace" Gesture

Minneapolis, Minn.
The United States has again come out with a peace gesture. This one runs like this:

The U.S. reaffirmed its readiness to talk about a lasting cease-fire in Vietnam — as the vanguard of another division of U.S. troops landed south of Saigon.

Sound familiar? Each time the U.S. makes a peace gesture we

Thought for the Week

"In the private world of economists, a man whose outlook is unduly and habitually pessimistic is sometimes characterized as the sort of unrealistic fellow who would expect war, inflation and recession all at the same time. Yet, as of now there is a live possibility that this particular combination of tragedies — heretofore regarded as a strict impossibility — could occur next year." — Eileen Shanahan in the Dec. 25 *New York Times*.

either send more troops or escalate the war.

The only reason we asked for a lasting cease-fire is that the U.S. couldn't ignore the recent pleas of Pope Paul, Mr. Thant and others for a Vietnam peace, whatever the real prospects might be.

The *Wall Street Journal* said this: "For the sake of world opinion, it is hard to ignore the Pope and U Thant, or even seem to be ignoring them. So we have to make some gesture publicly."

F. Adrian Luoma

Catholicism and Vietnam

Filmore, Utah
From extensive reading and common-sense deduction I am convinced our present involvement in Vietnam was manipulated mainly by Catholic influence, particularly Francis Cardinal Spellman, Joseph Kennedy, plus others who instigated recognition of Catholic dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. Now Pope Paul seeks to reconcile our disgraceful blunder.

Please understand, I am not opposed to Christianity but priestcraft is quite a different matter. For instance, I was born a Mormon, but upon reading about Brigham Young's throat-cutting of all dissenters to "save their souls" I changed.

My philosophy embraces Christian morality and the application of our U.S. Constitution and the UN charter. I think these things are embraced in a socialized economy of democratic equality.

A. C. Gregerson

Fan Mail Dep't.

San Pedro, Calif.
Enclosed is \$3 to renew my subscription for another year.

May I congratulate you for such a fine reporting and editing job. Folks who think would be at a considerable loss for news without such fine editions as *The Militant*.

May the New Year show an increase in your subscriptions.

A. L.

It Was Reported in the Press

Labor Gain — After a jurisdictional dispute with our National Picket Line column, we won the right to report that Illinois prison guards belonging to the State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, picketed two state prisons and got an agreement that from now on they will get time-and-a-half when they are out chasing escaped convicts.

Shop Early for Xmas — Plan ahead. We're informed that Tiffany's has some left-over sapphire and diamond pins. They may also be worn as pendants. \$122,000 (plus sales tax where required).

Shirley's Kicks — Shirley Temple, the saccharine-coated Lolita of the 30's and now a wealthy San Francisco socialite, recently resigned from the board of the San Francisco International Film Festival because she objected to the widely acclaimed Swedish film, *Night Games*, which she characterized as "pornography for profit." A recent article about this also disclosed she has a unique hobby — watching operations. She confided: "Gall bladders are the best — the colors are gorgeous."

Sorry About That — The State Department said Dec. 22 that it was "almost certain" U.S. planes had not bombed civilian areas of Hanoi (those eyewitness reports and photos were really mirages). But, the State Department graciously added, if by some chance an "accident" had occurred, we regret it.

And His Name's Not Tom! — We don't know if it actually happened, but just before Christmas it was reported that Roger Tilford, a Negro junior high school teacher in Cincinnati, was organizing 150 pupils in his predominantly Negro school to march on the local police station with gifts for the cops. He said this was to "present the other side of Christmas . . . to put the kids on the giving end instead of the receiving end. We want to show the police we appreciate them."

It Figures — Whites spend twice as much on medicines each

year as Negroes, according to a U.S. Public Health Service report. This does not mean, of course, that Negroes suffer less illnesses than whites.

The Wheels of Justice — The U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago ordered a new hearing Dec. 19 for Harry Baldridge, who has been in jail for the last 25 years. Tried without benefit of counsel, he was given a term of one year to life for stealing \$26.

The Difference — The Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York reports findings that smokers are twice as prone to heart attacks as non-smokers. The information, no doubt, was duly noted by the federal government. Meanwhile, it is reported that in the Soviet Union a planned campaign is being carried on to educate school children to the hazards of smoking.

Talk Is Cheap? — NBC has sold 18 one-minute spots for commercials during its broadcast of the Jan. 15 Super Bowl game in Los

Angeles. The cost is \$75,000 a minute. CBS has sold most of its commercial time for the broadcast of the game at \$85,000 a minute. Can you imagine if everyone turned their set off during the commercials?

History Lesson — An Army officer in Vietnam was quoted in the *New York Times* recently as saying the war there was pretty much like the war against the Indians. A letter writer to the Dec. 4 *Times* commented: "If the Vietcong know American history they are apt to fight to the last man." The same issue offered these facts on the present plight of the American Indian: unemployment, 45 to 50 percent; median family income, \$1,500; housing, 90 percent below acceptable standards; average educational level, five years; average age of death, 43.

Our Mixed Economy — The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company is negotiating to buy out the Chun King Corp., makers of oriental and Italian food.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT
THE MEANING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE "REIGN OF TERROR." Speaker: Jan Garrett. Fri., Jan. 6, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES
BERKELEY STUDENT STRIKE. Speaker: Ira Ruskin, student leader of Univ. of Calif. strike. Fri., Jan. 6, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

MARXIST COMMENTARY. A bi-weekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon. Jan. 9, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., Jan. 12, 12:45 p.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK
WHAT PROGRAM FOR THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT? A debate. John Fuerst, chairman Columbia Univ. SDS and Fred Halstead, contributor to *The Militant*. Fri., Jan. 6, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Announcing The

Jan.-Feb. 1967

International Socialist Review

In the new pocket-sized format: Featuring "In Defense of Black Power" by George Breitman, an answer to recent critics of the militant wing of the civil rights movement. Other articles cover: current political and economic trends in Yugoslavia; the program of the Polish opposition; and the nature of the American inflation.

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4 U. S. Women Tour Bombed Hanoi Area

Four American women, now in Hanoi, have visited places recently bombed by U.S. planes. A Vietnam press agency report said they were "deeply shocked by tangible evidence of the crimes committed by the Johnson clique in Vietnam." Their findings apparently coincide with those of *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury. (See page 1).

The four women are in north Vietnam at the invitation of the Vietnamese Women's Union. The four are: Diane Nash Bevel, Barbara Deming, Patricia Griffith and Grace Mora Newman.

Grace Newman

Grace Mora Newman is the sister of Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood Three now serving terms in an army prison for refusing to participate in an "illegal, immoral and unjust" Vietnamese war.

Barbara Deming, journalist and pacifist, is associated with the Committee for Non-Violent Action. Recently she accompanied A. J. Muste and others to Saigon where they expressed their opposition to the war.

Diane Nash Bevel was an early leader of SNCC. She is the wife of Rev. James Bevel, an aide to Martin Luther King and currently active among Chicago ghetto residents.

Patricia Griffith is associated with the Inter University Com-



Diane Nash Bevel

mittee for Debate on Foreign Policy at Cornell and was administrative secretary of the Nov. 8 Mobilization which organized that national demonstration against the war.

The four women arrived in north Vietnam Dec. 23 for a two-week stay.

Meanwhile, A. J. Muste left for north Vietnam Dec. 26. He will visit there along with several other prominent figures.

Rights Fighter 'Guilty' In Cleveland Frame-Up

CLEVELAND — James Russell, militant civil rights fighter, was found guilty Dec. 16 on a framed-up charge of assault and battery. Sentencing, which was delayed, could result in a six-month jail term and a \$200 fine.

Russell's conviction stems out of the Debs Hall case. On Nov. 13, 1965, a buffet dinner was going on at Debs Hall for the benefit of *The Militant*. Around midnight a group of plain-clothed city police and state liquor agents, accompanied by a reporter, raided the hall without a warrant and without properly identifying themselves. They lined people against the wall at gunpoint and beat two young men so badly they required

stitches to close head wounds. One of the raiders created a near panic firing his gun several times. Files and literature displays were ransacked.

Thirty of the 75 present were taken away in police vans and charged with disorderly assembly. Seven were re-arrested on additional charges, three involving alleged illegal sale of liquor and four, including Russell, on charges of assaulting a police officer. The other three are Edward Durden, Robert Leonard and John McCann. Leonard and McCann are the two who were so badly beaten they required stitches.

Trials were scheduled to begin Jan. 12 for Leonard; McCann, Jan. 25; and Durden, Feb. 1.

Last July 12, the disorderly assembly charges were dismissed against the 30 when the defense demonstrated that the warrants on which the indictments were based were faulty.

New Arrests

Then on July 23, at the height of the Hough ghetto outbreak, re-arrest of the 30 was begun. They face trial Jan. 10.

Meanwhile, three of the four charged with liquor violations were fined \$100 after pleading no contest. The fourth was acquitted.

The Cleveland press has joined with the authorities in a campaign of falsification and slander against the defendants who are clearly being persecuted for being present at a socialist hall and for participating in the black freedom movement.

A Committee to Aid the Debs Hall Defendants has raised several thousand dollars to help defray the costly legal defense but is in debt to the extent of several thousand dollars additional.

Contributions to help defray defense costs may be sent to: Glen Simpson, 11113 Greenwich Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, 44105.

Gregory Files Suit On Viet Travel Ban

Dick Gregory filed suit in federal court in Washington Dec. 27 to prevent the government from taking away his passport after he makes a planned trip to north Vietnam.

The famed comedian and rights fighter intends to go to north Vietnam to entertain U.S. prisoners of war there. He will make the trip without State Department authorization. The trip had originally been scheduled for just prior to Christmas but was postponed by the north Vietnamese government because the U.S. bombing of Hanoi had just begun at that time.

Gregory asked the court to enjoin the State Department from cancelling or revoking his passport and to declare illegal the U.S. ban on travel to "restricted" countries.

Gregory had advised the State Department he intended to make the trip and would assume full responsibility for his own safety. The department replied that if he went he would lose his passport.

Detroit Council Hears Pleas In Debs Hall Shooting Case

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Dec. 20 — Detroit Common Council today heard arguments and postponed decision on an appeal for payment of burial costs for Leo Bernard and hospital expenses for Jan Garrett and Walter Graham, three young victims of a politically motivated shooting here last May 16.

The three were former students at Wayne State University, active in campus and Detroit-area anti-war committees, and well-known socialists. They were shot at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 3737 Woodward Ave. The assassinated Leo Bernard, 26, had been a candidate on the Socialist Workers ticket in 1964. Jan Garrett, 22, and Walter Graham, 19, were seriously wounded; Garrett was Wayne County Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party; Graham was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The assailant, Edward Waniolek, 40, was judged mentally incompetent and committed to the Ionia State Hospital last June.

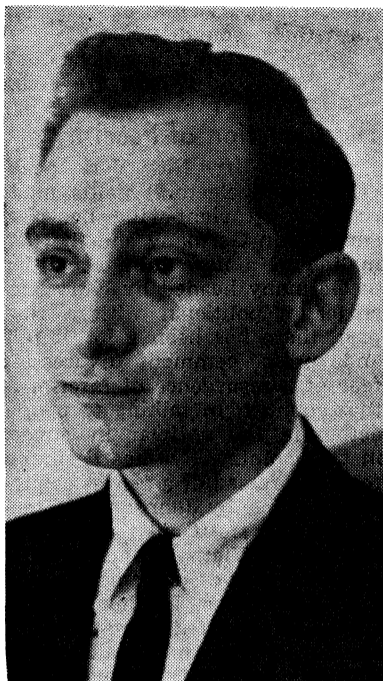
The merits of a petition submitted by prominent civil liberties lawyer Ernest Goodman asking that the city of Detroit assume responsibility and bear the financial burden incurred by the victims were the subject of the long-delayed hearing today.

In oral argument before the council Goodman explained that Waniolek was known to the police as a potentially dangerous, mentally deranged person with delusions about "Communists." The U.S. Secret Service and the Detroit police had both investigated Waniolek, and as early as last March, two months before the fatal shooting, had urged Waniolek's wife to start proceedings to have him institutionalized. When she refused nothing further was done until he was arraigned for murder.

Under Michigan law police have the authority to start commitment proceedings against a dangerous person of this type. Because the police failed to act under the clear provision of the law, it was argued that the city has a responsibility in this crime: It could and should have prevented it.

Corporation counsel, advisor to the city government, argued that the Common Council ought not to set a precedent in this case and advised against paying the bills of the victims.

Both Graham and Garrett, present at the hearing, were allowed to speak on their own behalf. Walter Graham reminded the Council



Leo Bernard

that "at some point the buck stops," and urged the councilmen not to try to escape responsibility by seeking to find a higher and broader authority in the state government which ought to handle this and similar crimes. He was questioned sharply on this by councilman Van Antwerp, one-time member of the Detroit police department, who presided at this hearing. The councilman sought to remind the young socialist student that "we all bear a responsibility to society." Graham replied that our responsibility is indeed very great and that we must therefore make a careful study of society and correct its faults whenever possible.

Jan Garrett said that he hoped that a lesson would be learned from the terrible experience that he, Walt, and Leo Bernard's family and other friends had been through. He urged the city to recognize its responsibility for failure to act and to make the small material commitment the petition asked. This would serve as "a sort of moral bond" on the city's part against the repetition of May 16; the branches of the city government and the citizens in general would be made aware that there is a conscience in the city striving to safeguard the personal welfare and democratic rights of all.

Of the many others who packed the council chambers, only Dr. Paul Lowinger was permitted to speak. An expert witness in the treatment of the criminally insane, he urged that the victims of this particular crime be compensated and that a special psychiatric branch within the police department be established.

The council received petitions signed by 4,267 Detroiters, many of them students, who urged compensation stating that "the least our community can do is help in this way to restore these two young men to health and help them take their rightful place in society." The petitions were presented by Evelyn Kirsch, Wayne State University student and member of the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Another Wayne student, Alice Wozniak, submitted a statement from well-known members of the academic community urging a decision in favor of the victims. This statement was signed by the chairmen of all active Wayne political clubs — Young Democrats, DuBois Club, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance; by the president of the Student-

Faculty Council at Wayne; by the chairman of the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam; and by prominent professors in the History, English and Political Science departments of the university.

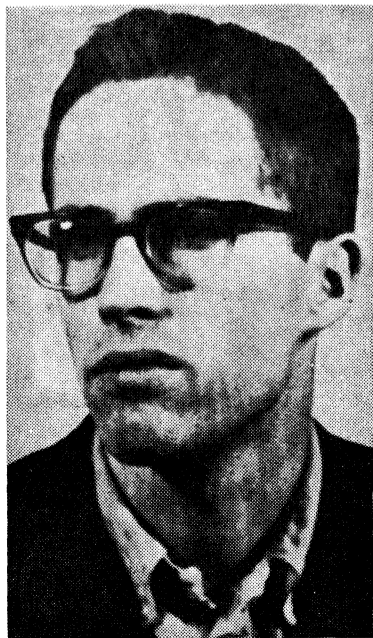
Others present were prepared to speak on the moral decline of a society which expresses indifference to a crime of this kind and on the political atmosphere today which fostered this particular crime. They were denied the opportunity. Donald Lobsinger, fuhrer of the local incipient fascist gang "Breakthrough," had made a written request to present testimony. The denial of his request was used as a pretext to limit speakers to Ernest Goodman, the two young applicants for aid and Dr. Lowinger.

The council ruled out any consideration of the political aspects of this crime, limiting their consideration to the broader and vaguer arena of criminal insanity. They sought to avoid the direct responsibility of the police in failing to thwart this crime before it occurred and they cut off any consideration of the methods used to dispose of the crime after the fact.

The city government or the police have yet to undertake an investigation of the crime. What brought the insane Waniolek to Debs Hall, the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party? He had declared his intention to "kill communists." How was the seed planted in his mind that Debs Hall was a center of "communist activity"? Were there others involved in his irrational act? These are some of the questions that ought to have occurred to the police and that could be easily investigated by them. These are questions which should concern members of the Common Council if they are anxious, as they now say they are, to prevent crimes of this kind in the future.

Set Welcome Home For Jan Garrett

DETROIT — Jan Garrett, one of the victims of the May 16 shooting here, is speaking at the Friday Night Socialist Forum, at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, on Jan. 6 at 8 p.m. on "The French Revolution and the 'Reign of Terror.'" He has been recuperating at his parent's home in Florida, and traveled to Detroit to testify before the Common Council.



Jan Garrett



Walter Graham