

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 16

Monday, April 19, 1965

Price 10c

CASTRO SPEECH ON VIETNAM

— See page 4 —

GET GI'S OUT OF VIETNAM!



DEMAND PEACE IN VIETNAM. Opening of New York march in which 4,000 demanded peace in Vietnam. Carrying raincoat at right is Dr. Benjamin Spock, co-chairman of SANE. See story page 3.

Johnson's Fake 'Peace' Bid Is Cover for Continued War

By George Saunders

Using all the sanctimony of a low-grade, Texas-style Sunday sermon in his policy speech on Vietnam, President Johnson tried to pose as an apostle of peace. But the olive branch he held up for the television cameras at Johns Hopkins University on April 7 was too scrawny — it failed to cover the mailed fist.

Although this country's obedient propaganda machine is playing the speech up as a sincere offer to negotiate an end to the bloodshed in Vietnam, this cannot be taken seriously.

The hypocrisy of Johnson's words was made evident by the headlines the day after he spoke: 3,000 more marines being sent to Vietnam; biggest bombing raid yet on North Vietnam; U.S. jets clash with Chinese planes. Within a week came the announcement that over a thousand more army GIs were being shipped to Vietnam. And the U.S. bombing raids on North Vietnam and guerrilla-held sections of South Vietnam continue without letup. The detonations of U.S. bombs and the cries of the dying victims drown out Johnson's pious talk about how much he loves peace.

Clash With China

Especially ominous was the clash of U.S. jets and Chinese MIGs, reported immediately by Peking as having taken place over Hainan, the huge Chinese island enclosing the Gulf of Tonkin on the east. U.S. officials, close-mouthed about the air battle, claimed merely that it had taken place off the Chinese coast.

In his speech, Johnson professed a readiness to negotiate "unconditionally." Unmentioned were two very important conditions he has set: 1) The U.S. insists on its "right" to bomb North Vietnam up to and during any negotiations. 2) The U.S. will not negotiate with the National Liberation Front (called Viet Cong by U.S. officials and press for propaganda purposes), which controls most of

South Vietnam and has the support of most of the population.

Thus, Johnson's negotiation "offer" was only to North Vietnam. On the basis of the belief or pretended belief that Hanoi started the peasant revolution in South Vietnam by pulling a string, Johnson offered to talk about ending the U.S. bombings if Hanoi would stop that peasant revolution by another pull on the string. Of course, Hanoi hasn't the power to stop the guerrilla war in South Vietnam even if it wanted to — and Johnson and the war-escalators in Washington know that.

Since Johnson's negotiation offer is such a transparent fraud, why did he make it? It was a propaganda move to take the heat off Washington both at home and abroad.

Never before have the peoples of the world seen the imperialist and militarist features of America.

(Continued on Page 3)

Interview With an SDS Leader

By Barry Sheppard

The following interview was given to *The Militant* on April 12 by Clark Kissinger, national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society. SDS is the organizer of the April 17 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam.

Q. What do you hope the March will accomplish?

A. Well, I think there are two main goals of the March. The first is to make some sort of dent in the conception that there is a consensus of all the people behind the President on the war in Vietnam. We want to make it known that there is another point of view in America and that there is a sizable portion of American public opinion which dissents from America's current role in Southeast Asia.

The second goal of the March is to make some effort towards the reconstitution of a viable peace movement in the U.S. or at least

to bring together some sort of coalition of all forces within the U.S. which oppose the war in Vietnam.

We want people coming to the March to understand that there is no simple message we can give them to take back home and implement — signing petitions or something like that. People must take home from this March a feeling that what they have to do is go home and build movements for basic social change in America.

Q. In the process of organizing the March, have you noticed any evidence of a new mood on campuses regarding the war in Vietnam?

A. That's difficult to say because in my operations piloting a desk in New York I wouldn't have the same experience as someone who is traveling on the campuses. However, I think there is a new mood on the campuses. I'm not sure I would ascribe it directly to the war in Vietnam alone. All of the activities which have been

going on this year — the Free Speech Movement, the protest against the war in Vietnam, and so forth — have contributed to a growing student movement that's been developing since 1960. The large outpouring of student support for this demonstration is symptomatic of the growth of the student movement in America.

Q. What is your personal reaction to Johnson's recent speech on Vietnam?

A. He simply reaffirmed his previous position that the U.S. would not tolerate a successful revolution in Vietnam. He probably went farther in that speech than ever before in ascribing the causes of the war to North Vietnam; that is, characterizing the war as a war of aggression as if an army had marched across the 17th parallel into South Vietnam.

His supposed unconditional negotiations were obviously quite conditional. His first condition was that the U.S. would not negotiate

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N.Y. Forum to Hear Spokesmen from SANE, SDS, YSA

NEW YORK — Clark Kissinger, national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society; Curtis Crawford, a spokesman for the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; and Barry Sheppard, editor of the Young Socialist, will participate in a panel discussion here of "What Should U.S. Policy Be in Vietnam?" on Friday, April 23, 8:30 p.m.

The discussion will center on the question of what to do after the March on Washington.

The meeting is being held by the Militant Labor Forum at 116 University Pl. (near Union Sq.).

Dr. Spock, Joan Baez, Back Indiana 'Sedition' Defendants

Dr. Benjamin M. Spock, the nation's foremost authority on child care, has become a sponsor of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, it was announced in New York last week. Joan Baez, the folksinger, has also become a sponsor. Over 800 distinguished men and women, mainly professors from colleges and universities all over the U.S., are sponsors of CABS.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students was organized to defend three Indiana University students indicted for their socialist beliefs. Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and Jim Bingham, officers of the Indiana University Young Socialist Alliance, were indicted in 1963 under Indiana's "Anti-Communism" Act.

The three students were first charged with attending a public meeting, sponsored by their branch of the YSA, at which Leroy McRae, a Negro and YSA national officer, spoke on civil rights. This meeting was an approved campus meeting. Later, local prosecutor Thomas Hoadley added another indictment based on the fact that the defendants had held a meeting to discuss their defense against the first indictment.

The charge in both cases was "assembling" for the purpose of "advocating or teaching" the doctrine that the governments of the State of Indiana or the United States should be overthrown by force or violence.

The law under which these indictments were handed down states that its purpose is "to exterminate communism, communists, and any or all teachings of the same." It also makes it a crime to be "un-American." The law is



Joan Baez

unconstitutional because it flagrantly violates freedom of speech and assembly, is so vague as to be a catch-all, and because state sedition laws as such are preempted by federal legislation.

At the heart of the case of the Bloomington students is the right of students to listen to, debate, and hold ideas—any ideas—and to build organizations advancing ideas. Prosecutor Hoadley claims that students do not have these rights if the ideas are socialist. At the beginning of the case, he stated that his purpose was "to rid the campus of the YSA."

Another issue, raised by the second indictment, is the right of the accused to plan their defense. Hoadley has indicted the students because they held a meeting to discuss raising funds and securing a lawyer to defend them from the original indictment!

The case came before Monroe County Judge Nat U. Hill in March 1964. (Indiana University is situated in Bloomington in Monroe County.) Judge Hill agreed with the defense and declared the law unconstitutional. Hoadley appealed this decision—although only on the basis of his second indictment, thereby dropping the first one.

The Indiana Supreme Court upheld this McCarthyite law (passed during McCarthy's heyday in 1951) on the basis of "state's rights." This is the same formula used to justify state sedition laws and state Jim Crow laws used against Negroes and the civil-rights movement.

The case is presently being appealed to the federal courts. The immediate appeal costs facing the defendants are about \$9,000. CABS is urging all who believe in academic freedom and the Bill of Rights to send a contribution to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 213, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Detroit's Ghetto Continues Fight On Store Owner

By Derrick Morrison

DETROIT — Continued picketing of two white-owned stores in the Negro ghetto here has unmasked several agencies — politicians, police and press — of the power structure as enemies of the black people's struggle for Freedom Now.

The boycott and picketing of the Azzam stores began after a member of that family shot and killed a Negro in the store who was trying to prevent maltreatment of a child accused of stealing a 12¢ cake. (See April 12 *Militant*.) Moreover, residents of the area had long resented the insults and humiliation suffered by Negro customers in the store. The Detroit newspapers reported that the dead man had drawn a knife although five black witnesses to the killing deny this.

After a month's highly successful picketing, the Azzams' loss was estimated at \$10,000. In an attempt to stop the boycott, police issued warrants for the arrest of 38 pickets, charging them with conspiracy to put the Azzams out of business. Comer McNeil, organizer of the boycott, and his wife were arrested. They are out on \$1,000 bail each.

The day the warrants were issued, a meeting of about 300 people, the majority of whom were grassroots people from the black ghetto, was held at King Solomon Baptist Church. McNeil moderated the meeting. Speakers included Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Attorney Milton Henry, and Ernest Maze of the Michigan Civil Liberties Union.

The audience indignantly questioned why County Prosecutor Olsen, who arrested the pickets, had not reopened the case of the store killing. They all expressed a willingness to go to jail as their brothers do in the South. Rev. Cleage urged black people to mobilize to support the picketing, and urged some Wayne State U. students present to organize student support for the picket line.

The lawyers at the meeting pledged legal support to the pickets. Afterwards, around midnight, a spirited one-hour demonstration was held outside the store. Later in the week, 15 people were arrested and released on \$1,000 bail each. The Azzams have appealed to the Michigan Civil Rights Commission. What irony! But they have closed their store, a proof of the boycott's strength.

FNP Candidate Runs For Mich. Legislature

DETROIT — The Michigan Freedom Now Party is running a candidate for state representative in Detroit's 24th district. The FNP nominee, Jackie Wilson, is running against James Del Rio, a Negro Democrat, and Robert Jordan, a Republican.

The Michigan Freedom Now Party is organized around the program of independent black political action. It began in the latter part of 1963, and first fielded candidates in the 1964 elections, when it ran a full slate of black candidates for state and local offices. Rev. Albert B. Cleage was the FNP candidate for governor. Jackie Wilson, the present candidate, ran for state senator in November.

The current election will be held May 10. It is a special election, called when the elected representative, Daniel West, was unseated by the Michigan State Legislature.

An end to police brutality is one of the main planks that the FNP candidate is campaigning on. The FNP program calls for an end to all forms of discrimination against Negroes, for jobs for Negroes, and urges no support to either of the major political parties.

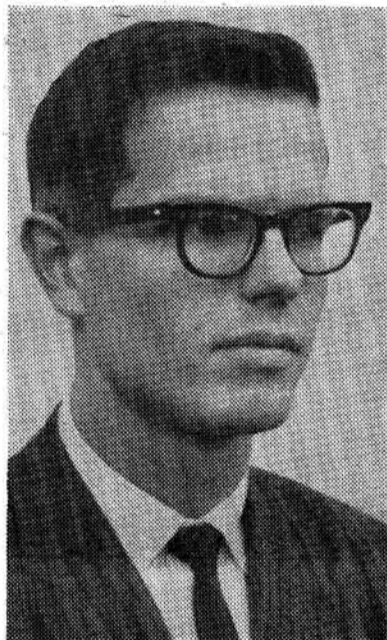
Two Denver Socialists In School Board Race

DENVER — Barbara Taplin and Howard Wallace have announced their candidacies in the Denver school-board election to be held May 18. They are endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The candidates said that "the major issues of our campaign will be the demand to end the war in Vietnam by the immediate withdrawal of American troops and the demand for equality of education by bringing civil rights into the classroom."

Speaking before the Denver Area Labor Federation on March 22, the candidates' campaign manager made the following statement:

"Mrs. Taplin and Mr. Wallace . . . are running because the labor movement here in Denver is failing in its responsibility to run its own candidates — in this election or in any other election . . .



Howard Wallace

"Since the labor movement isn't running its own candidates, let me present a few of the ideas Mrs. Taplin and Mr. Wallace stand for.

"First, they support the Denver Federation of Teachers, and the principle of union organization of teachers with all union rights, including the right to strike. They are in favor of a secret-ballot election to determine the bargaining agent for Denver's teachers.

"Second, they favor higher salaries for teachers. The salaries should be determined by collective bargaining, which only a real labor union can carry out.

"Third, they propose to improve the quality of education by involving teachers, through their unions, in deciding matters of educational policy. The school administration should be limited to matters of technical administration. Educational policy, teaching methods and subject matter should be decided by the teachers, with the participation of the students in the higher grades. Loyalty oaths and political inquisitions should be abolished.

"Fourth, they favor providing tuition-free junior-college and university education to every student who wants it. And they are in favor of paying for all this by taxing the rich rather than the poor. The tax rate on big corporations and the income taxes of the wealthy should be raised to pay for improvements in education.

"Finally, our candidates favor bringing civil rights into the classroom. Teachers and students should get involved in this progressive movement. Textbooks should be rewritten to tell the truth about Negro history and Spanish-American history, and about the contributions of these minority groups to our society. We believe a student civil-rights movement would do more to end the problem of school dropouts than a dozen 'War-on-Poverty' programs.

Chicago Memorial Meeting Aids Family of Malcolm X

By Jack Marsh

CHICAGO — Over 800 people, including many leading figures in the civil-rights struggle, attended a memorial service for Malcolm X here April 4. The afternoon service, at the Tabernacle Baptist Church, was sponsored by the Chicago Committee to form an "Educational Fund for the Children of Malcolm X Shabazz." Over \$1,600 was raised.

Sterling Stuckey, the historian, presided over the first part of the memorial program, which consisted of dramatic readings from the works of militant Afro-American leaders with Nahaz Rogers of ACT providing the connecting narrative.

Lawrence Landry, the leader of two school boycotts in Chicago, presided over the second part of the meeting. Landry, the chairman of ACT, praised Malcolm because he "told the truth and did not run, and he was assassinated for that reason. He is a living truth, a symbol of us here today."

Landry then introduced the leading committee members: Chairman T. R. M. Howard, M.D., Charles Sumner Stone, former editor of the *Chicago Defender*, and Lew House, radio commentator. Novelist John O. Killens, who delivered one of the eulogies, said:

"Malcolm X Shabazz belongs to the ageless, with Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass and John Brown . . . Let us not be deceived by what we hear. History will vindicate Malcolm X. The important thing is his life, and how he lived — this creative life he lived."

Dr. Thomas, who became nationally famous ten years ago because of his militant stand during the Emmett Till lynching case and consequently had to leave Mound Bayou, Miss., declared: "What made Malcolm X Shabazz a great man in this day is that he had the guts to say what nine-tenths of American Negroes would like to say but don't have the guts to say."

Ossie Davis, the noted actor-producer who had presided at the New York memorial meeting, delivered a speech of tribute to Malcolm and urged support for Malcolm's children and his widow.

New York Benefit Slated

NEW YORK — A benefit for the family of Malcolm X will be held at the Apollo Theater in Harlem Friday, April 23, at 12 midnight. A star-studded cast will include: Sammy Davis, Jr., Nina Simone, Dick Gregory, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, the Le Roc Bey Dancers and others.

Tickets at \$3, \$5 and \$10 may be purchased from the sponsoring organization, Concerned Mothers for the Widow and Four Children of Malcolm X, 109 W. 125th St., (phone) MO 6-7185 and at the Apollo Theater. Headed by Ruby Dee and Mrs. Sydney Poitier, the committee's sponsors include: Mrs. W.E.B. DuBois; Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; James Farmer of CORE; Cleveland Robinson, Sec'y-Treas., District 65, AFL-CIO; and Doris Turner, vice president, Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Workers Union, AFL-CIO.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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

BOSTON

PERSPECTIVES FOR FREEDOM, 1965. Speakers: James Shabazz, close associate of Malcolm X, and Mrs. Ella Collins, president of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Fri., April 23, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON: Results and Prospects. A panel discussion by three participants. Fri., April 23, 8 p.m. 302 South Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

A REPORT ON THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON. Speakers: three participants in the March. Fri., April 23, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

SELMA AND SAIGON. Hear Kipp Dawson, just back from Selma, report on the struggle in Alabama. Also, reports by participants in the April 17 demonstration against the war in Vietnam. Fri., April 23, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., April 27, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., April 28, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

THE INDIANA "SUBVERSION" CASE. Speaker, Ralph Levitt, one of three Indiana University students indicted for their socialist beliefs. Fri., April 23, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

WHAT SHOULD U.S. POLICY BE IN VIETNAM? A symposium. Panelists: Clark Kissinger, national secretary, Students for a Democratic Society; Curtis Crawford, spokesman, SANE; Barry Sheppard, editor, Young Socialist. Fri., April 23, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Marxism and Existentialism:

Are the Two Compatible?

By George Novack

In the Spring issue of

International Socialist Review

Send 50c for a copy to:

116 University Place
New York, N.Y. 10003

4,000 Marchers in N.Y. Protest Vietnam War

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, April 10 — Over 4,000 demonstrators turned out here today for a protest march and rally demanding an end to U.S. bombings and immediate negotiations on the Vietnam war. Organized by Women Strike for Peace, the march was led by Dr. Benjamin Spock, the famous baby-care specialist who is the co-chairman of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

The march began at Columbus Circle in midtown Manhattan, and went to the Hammarskjold Plaza at the United Nations. Coming only three days after Johnson's televised speech at Johns Hopkins University, the demonstration showed that the President's attempt to justify his Vietnam policy had had little effect in stemming the wave of opposition to his undeclared war.

During the march, I had a chance to ask a number of marchers their opinions of Johnson's so-called peace offer. Students, most of them wearing "March on Washington April 17" buttons, were 100 per cent opposed to the speech. One, who was distributing leaflets about the Washington March, termed Johnson's speech "particularly dishonest."

Another remarked that "if Johnson was serious he would stop fighting and negotiate with the Viet Cong, because they are the only force who represent the Vietnamese people."

Speakers at the rally at Hammarskjold Plaza, in which the march culminated, represented WSP, SANE and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. They welcomed Johnson's statement of willingness to negotiate, but questioned his sin-

cerity so long as the U.S. continues to bomb North Vietnam.

Dr. Rose Mukerji, former president of WILPF, demanded an immediate cease-fire, the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia, and that the U.S. live up to the 1954 Geneva accord by allowing free elections in South Vietnam. She ended her talk with a call upon all the demonstrators to take part in the March on Washington.

Dr. Spock continued the attack on Johnson's Vietnam policy which he launched in Baltimore March 24. There he had declared: "I am ashamed of my country's actions and apologize to any people who were influenced during the election campaign by my assurances that this Administration would work constantly for peace."

Today, Dr. Spock said: "Our government has supported the most cruel and tyrannical government of modern times for ten years . . . We have no right, just because we are the most powerful nation, to ignore the truth just because it doesn't suit us . . . We urge cessation of bombing in order to create a better climate for negotiations . . . We urge that the Viet Cong not be excluded from the negotiations — that the Vietnamese, not the United States, must decide their government."

"We felt we were offered a clear choice between war and peace [in the 1964 elections] . . . We voted for peace. Why are we not heading that way?"

Other speakers included Helen Frumin of WSP, chairman of the rally, George Clark, a representative of CNVA and the British Aldermaston March, and Ossie Davis, the militant Negro actor.

REPORTS ON VIETNAM TOUR

Japan Diplomat Refutes U.S. Line

A leading Japanese diplomat, who recently visited Saigon, has published a report which politely but devastatingly refutes the fable on which U.S. escalation of the war to North Vietnam and the very presence of U.S. troops in South Vietnam, is based.

The diplomat is Shunichi Matsumoto, former Japanese ambassador to Great Britain, who is at present an adviser to the Foreign Ministry of Premier Sato's slavishly pro-U.S. government.

Matsumoto was sent as a special envoy to survey the situation in South Vietnam as well as in neighboring Cambodia and Laos. In Saigon he had conferences with U.S. Ambassador Maxwell Taylor and Assistant Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, as well as with high officials of the puppet government and diplomats stationed there.

After reporting to the Japanese government, Matsumoto wrote an article for the April 5 *Asahi*, Japan's leading newspaper, about what he had learned on his tour of the war-racked Indochinese peninsula. He said:

"The U.S. is now concentrating its bombing in North Vietnam on communications and transportation facilities. I consider the attack on the military facilities as a first step and this bombing of communications and transportation as the second step. The U.S. will probably move from these targets to the industrial facilities and will finally attack the big cities.

"These attacks are sure to have great military effectiveness . . . I think, however, that what is important is the question of political and psychological effectiveness: whether or not North Vietnam will sue for peace because it can-

Something To Be Proud Of?

In the first of a series of articles on the U.S. role in Vietnam, Scripps-Howard correspondent Jim Lucas on April 6 reported this record of "achievement":

"Until recently we had stubbornly insisted they [the GIs] were there strictly as advisers. This has never been quite true. At one time Americans were directly responsible for better than half the Viet Cong killed in the delta.

"Our armed helicopters and fighter planes . . . still account for large numbers. It is not difficult, surveying the field after a battle, to spot the fatalities our side has caused. They have head and upper body wounds. Our rockets and machine guns literally decapitate them."

nists in the Viet Cong are no more than 30 per cent. I also frequently heard it said there that since the Viet Cong is a nationalist movement, it will not stop fighting until it has achieved its aims . . .

"When I met Ambassador Taylor, he said the U.S. would continue its present course and that he was confident of its success.

"But I think the U.S. will have to reconsider its course if North Vietnam doesn't sue for peace and if the Viet Cong doesn't halt its guerrilla action despite the U.S. attack on North Vietnam. In this case, to force North Vietnam to cry 'peace,' the U.S. would have to bomb all of Vietnam from one end to the other. But would the world look on without criticism? This is the question. In Saigon, however, I did not hear anyone on the U.S. side say a word about moves for 'peace.'

Downfall of Diem

"The U.S. hopes to make the Viet Cong halt its fight and thus render the South Vietnam government politically secure as a democratic government. Since the political situation in South Vietnam has been one of insecurity since the downfall of Diem, U.S. officials regard the present regime as their last resort and hope to make it secure. But the U.S. is relying on military measures. It seems to be making no effort to help the South Vietnamese government become secure by making the people's lives secure, even though it knows this is necessary . . .

"I heard much talk of solving Vietnam's problem by neutralization . . . but the U.S. is completely opposed because it sees in this the danger of the Viet Cong coming to power . . .

"I found that attitudes in the State Department and Pentagon toward the war were hardening. . . Therefore the U.S. will not give up its military attacks on North Vietnam and the war will be prolonged. So, Japan must talk to the U.S. in order to resolve the Vietnam problem and it also has the duty of appealing to world opinion."

Matsumoto's generation of Japanese imperialists know from bitter experience whereof they speak. They once pursued a course in Asia similar to that of U.S. imperialism today. Their puppet regime was in Manchuria; they too, bombed ruthlessly; they, too, were confident they could defeat China. The end was world war and disaster. Lyndon Johnson and Co. take notice!

not withstand the U.S. attack and whether or not the U.S. attack on the North will halt the Viet Cong's activity.

"The U.S. government and the U.S. military think that the Viet Cong is controlled by North Vietnam and that if Ho Chi Minh throws down his sword, the Viet Cong will halt guerrilla activity. I think that the U.S. government basically believes that Red China and the USSR are in the same chain of command, that is, that they stand in a father-son-grandson relationship.

"Though I cannot precisely define the true character of the Viet Cong, there are undoubtedly former Vietminh [members of the movement which fought the French] and nationalists in it. Also in the Viet Cong there are undoubtedly people who simply are dissatisfied with the South Vietnamese government's policy. The Viet Cong movement can be likened to the Resistance in France during World War II. It can also be said that the Viet Cong is not directly linked to Red China or the USSR. I do not think that the Viet Cong will necessarily give up its resistance because of the attack on North Vietnam.

"It is said that most Viet Cong are Communists. But in Saigon people told me that the Commu-

... Johnson's Fake 'Negotiation' Offer

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ica's ruling class so openly revealed as in Vietnam. In the past few months millions of people abroad have come to regard the U.S. as the most brazen exponent of might-makes-right since Nazi Germany. They view the U.S. as a power-drunk colossus spreading war in Asia and risking a nuclear world war.

Johnson's speech was also designed to softsoap the American people. Never has the U.S. embarked on a war (even undeclared, as in Korea) with such little popular conviction about its justifiability and so much outright denunciation of it. It was more than symbolic that some 150 students picketed the President while he made his speech.

Nor were Johnson and his advisers unaware, when they decided on the timing of the speech, that ten days later Students for a Democratic Society, the same organization which sponsored the picketing at Johns Hopkins that night, was organizing a March on Washington.

Breathtaking in its hypocrisy was the section of the speech where Johnson told of his homespun love for all humanity — even the Vietnamese who, on his orders, are being bombed, strafed, gassed and cooked alive with napalm. If they would only submit to the will of U.S. imperialism, Johnson would convert his war on them into a war on their poverty.

With this pious assurance went an offer to put \$1 billion into an aid fund for Southeast Asia.

The aid offer is as phony as the negotiation offer. If the whole of the promised billion was for Vietnam alone — not for all of Southeast Asia — it would still fall far short of the cost of replacing what U.S. planes and troops have already destroyed there. Besides the bridges, dams, railroads, ports, buildings and vehicles destroyed by U.S. planes in North Vietnam, South Vietnam has been devastated by U.S. forces. Thousands of villages have been destroyed. Huge areas of cropland and forest have been sprayed with vegetation-killing chemicals. U.S. forces are employing scorched-earth tactics but the earth being scorched is not their own.

Money for War

More than twice the proffered \$1 billion in aid is being poured yearly into the unsuccessful war to put down the peasant guerrillas — not to mention the billions spent since 1954 to prop up the corrupt puppet regimes in Saigon.

The conclusive proof of the hollowness of such aid-offers is the dismal record of the Alliance For Progress which was supposed to make Castro-type revolutions unnecessary in Latin America. The U.S. pledged \$10 billion for the much-touted Alliance. Yet it has completely failed in raising Latin American living standards. But it has produced a good crop of military dictators. They are all pro-U.S., hence members of the "free world." U.S. capitalists consider the money spent on them a wise investment.

The American people's real interests in this war crisis are served neither by cut-rate aid-bribe offers nor by insincere and unacceptable offers of negotiations. Nor even by counterposing an offer of meaningful negotiations to

Johnson's phony propaganda gimmick. The U.S. has no right to negotiate anything in Vietnam. U.S. troops are there by no right other than brute strength. Because the U.S. intervened in the South and bombed the North, it is not thereby entitled to a place in some international conference to determine Vietnam's future. The right to decide that belongs to the people of Vietnam alone.

The American people never voted to send their sons to be killed or to kill Asian peasants fighting for independence or trying to build an economic system other than capitalism. Even Congress, which the Constitution gives the sole power to declare war, never voted on going to war in Vietnam. The decision was made by the top capitalist and military circles which really rule this country.

Since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, these circles have concluded that if they are bold enough, threatening the ultimate and ready to go the whole way, they can win whatever they want. This is a line of folly in the nuclear age, approaching madness. Should it prevail in the present Vietnam crisis, it would embolden Washington's strategists into, quickly precipitating another crisis. This most probably would involve the bombing of China's atomic facilities openly by U.S. planes or by Chiang Kai-shek's pilots accompanied by U.S. "advisers." The danger to Cuba would become especially acute. Any uprising in Latin America could serve as the pretext not only for sending U.S. "counter-insurgency" forces, but also for bombing Cuba.

This is a policy then which must be defeated to insure the safety of the American people and all other people. The formula for halting it now is: "Get Out of Vietnam. Bring the GIs Home Immediately!"

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

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Pioneer Publishers

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

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN
 Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY
 Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN
 Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly.
 The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 118 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone
 CH 3-2436. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year;
 Canadian, \$4.50; Foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily
 represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 29 - No. 16 Monday, April 19, 1965

Stopping the Vietnam War

In this issue we publish a speech by Fidel Castro in Vietnam and the manifesto of the Fourth International on the same subject. Both make the same essential point: That unreserved support of the South Vietnamese liberation struggle is not only in keeping with the cause of justice and social progress but it is, equally, the most effective way to stop the moves toward a widened war.

Despite the massive brain-washing by the U.S. propaganda machine, a growing number of people are coming to recognize the fact that the cause of the South Vietnamese guerrillas is a just one and that the guerrillas have the backing of the great majority of the peasants because they express their aspirations for an end to the oppressive landlordism and foreign domination — with that domination coming not from their fellow countrymen of North Vietnam but from first the French and now the Americans.

But to many it is not equally clear that support to the peasant movement aids the fight for peace.

Central to the problem of an effective struggle against war in today's world is an understanding of the fact that the U.S. government and the business and financial circles it represents, are committed to a world-wide course of imperialist aggression. In a world whose dominant features are colonial and anti-capitalist revolutions, Washington has appointed itself the "savior" of world capitalism.

That is why it organized an invasion of socialist Cuba. That is why it tries to strangle Cuba economically. That is why it pours funds and arms into Latin America to prop up reactionary dictators and why it trains GIs in "counter-insurgency" warfare. That is why its atomic missiles ring the Soviet Union and China. That is why U.S. dollars and planes are put at the disposal of racist mercenaries in the Congo. That is why U.S. troops are incinerating South Vietnamese villages with napalm. And that is why the U.S. bombs North Vietnam today and drops ominous hints about bombing China tomorrow.

This brief outline of the counter-revolutionary role of the U.S. in the world today should make this central point clear: To crush colonial and anti-capitalist uprisings that are irrefragable danger is at each stage to give full and unqualified support to those who are in rebellion against the imperialist system. In the present instance that means unconditional support to the heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese people.

Failure to develop a united, militant opposition on an international scale to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam can only serve to invite further escalation by Johnson and the Pentagon — up to the point of an attack on China and World War III. A resolute anti-war, anti-capitalist movement is needed to stay the hand of the warmakers — and such a movement is needed above all right here in the United States.

Your First Issue?

If so, may we introduce ourselves. *The Militant* is a socialist weekly that features news and analysis on the major domestic and international events of the day. In it you will find a number of unique features, for example:

- CUBA. The speech in this issue by Fidel Castro is one of a number that have appeared in *The Militant*. More documentary material on the Cuban Revolution has been made available through *The Militant* than any other English-language source.
- VIETNAM. *The Militant* carries regular weekly news reports and analysis on the Vietnam war and features significant material from abroad such as the translation from Japan that appears in this issue.
- CIVIL RIGHTS. *The Militant* gives extensive coverage to first-hand reports of activities by SNCC, CORE, SCLC and the other organizations on the Southern rights front.
- BLACK NATIONALISM. *The Militant* has been unique in its extensive coverage of the development of black nationalism in the nation's ghettos. The late Malcolm X called *The Militant* "one of the best papers" published anywhere and said: "Any paper that tells the truth about us [the black nationalists] must be militant."

If you would like to try us out, take advantage of our special offer to new readers of a four-month introductory subscription for only 50 cents. A subscription blank appears on page 7.

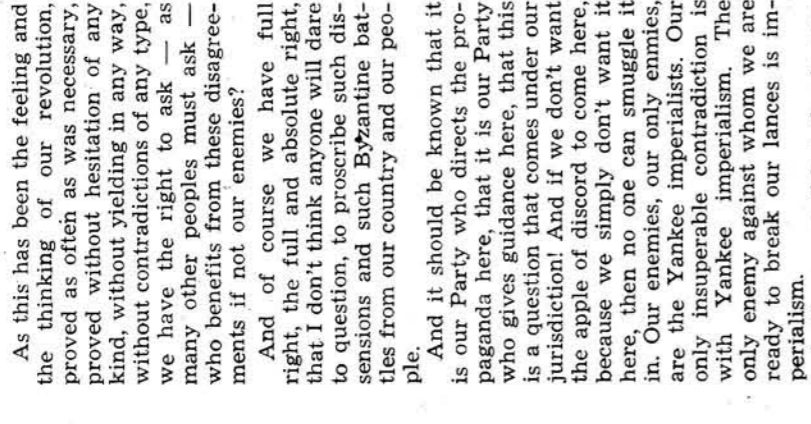
SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO ON THE VIETNAM WAR

It is being written by the teachers in the mountains, by the physicians saving lives in the most isolated areas of the country, by farmers working on rough ground where there are scarcely the most elemental comforts of civilization; it is being written by soldiers at danger points of facing the enemy, who stand guard to defend their Revolution; by the workers in sugar mills producing millions of tons of sugar, by the hundreds of thousands of men from the cities and countryside, sweating, marching stroke after machete stroke to cut the cane that produces the tons of sugar that we Cubans all proclaim with pride as victories of our economy.

History is being written today in study, in classrooms, in the long hours that we devote to analyzing, investigating, understanding, learning, untangling. The history of our country is being written today in persevering, hard work and in the readiness that is always present, unchanging, to defend this work, defend the fruits of our work.

In this way the history of our country is being written today and continues to be written and will continue to be written for a long time. And no young person will have to feel regret at not having been older when this struggle began. No young person will have to feel regret or harbor the idea that he will arrive late for this struggle.

I remember the first days of the victory of the Revolution; I remember how many men and women, grieved with extraordinary persistence among those who acclaimed the victorious columns of the rebel army, there were many workers who, a few months later, while unbounding a ship carrying weapons would die in that terrible explosion, the result of enemy sabotage. And in the ranks of the people there were many who later would fall fighting the mercenaries at Playa Girón; and there were like Manuel Ascunce, like Delfín San, like Conrado Benítez, who later like so many other workers, were teaching, were burning, were losing their lives, were assassinated by counter-revolutionary gangs.



FOUGHT AND WON. Fidel Castro and fellow guerrilla fighters in the Sierra Maestra prior to overthrow of Batista dictatorship. At left is Camillo Cienfuegos, a hero of the revolution who died tragically in a plane accident in 1959.

I am not going to speak at length about the problems related to the differences and divisions in the socialist camp. We don't even know when we may have to speak of this at length, because the problem is not to speak for the sake of speaking; the problem is to speak in order to say something, to speak now is to speak when, by speaking or talking or saying something, there is a positive and useful result and not a result that is positive and useful only to imperialism and the enemies of the people.

We'd rather not have to face such bitter circumstances. As far as talk is concerned, enough and more than enough has been said already. As far as division is concerned, unfortunately, enough and more than is necessary has been said, more than suits the interests of the peoples and what, unfortunately, is useful to the peoples of the enemies of the peoples.

But for us, small countries, that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Vietnam and Cuba, we have enough instinct to see with serenity and without differences, that weaken the strength of the socialist camp, that no one should speak in the name of a people who are in a situation that is irreparably and unacceptably resisted the embassies and the threats of imperialism.

We speak in the name of a people who for the sake of the strength of the revolutionary movement, for the sake of the strength of the socialist camp, for the sake of the firmness and the determination to defend the revolution against the imperialists, did not hesitate to risk the danger of thermonuclear war, of a nuclear attack, when in our country and on our territory — with the full and absolute right that we have never abjured, an absolutely legitimate act that we will never regret — we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic missiles on our territory. And, not only did we agree that they should be brought here but we disagreed that they should be taken away. And I think that this is no secret for anyone.

We are a country and a nation in whose name I speak that receives no Yankee credits, or Food for Peace, and we haven't the slightest relation with the imperialists. That is, that in the matter of revolutionary conviction and sincerity no one taught us anything, no one taught us anything, just as no one taught our liberators of 1895 and 1898, the path of independence and of dignity. We are the people of the First and Second Declarations of Havana which we didn't copy from any document but which were the pure expression of the spirit of our people, deeply revolutionary and highly internationalist.

understood the need for unity from the first moment and unity became an essential question for the revolution, unity became the cry of the masses, unity became a slogan of the whole people.

And we ask ourselves whether imperialism has disappeared; we ask ourselves if the imperialists are not attacking North Vietnam; we ask ourselves whether in North Vietnam men and women of the Vietnam are not dying.

And who can be made to think to believe that division is proper or useful? Perhaps it's not seen that the imperialists are advancing in North Vietnam? Perhaps it's not seen that the tactic of the imperialists are following there is to smash the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, attacking North Vietnam first under the pretext of the attacks being in reprisal, later arrogating themselves the right to attack whenever they want to, and continuing to use mass terror against the fighters of South Vietnam.

What is the situation at this moment? The imperialists are talking about a naval blockade, landing their marines in South Vietnam, mobilizing aircraft carriers, smashing the socialist camp, for the sake of the firmness and the determination to defend the revolution against the imperialists, did not hesitate to risk the danger of thermonuclear war, of a nuclear attack, when in our country and on our territory — with the full and absolute right that we have never abjured, an absolutely legitimate act that we will never regret — we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic missiles on our territory. And, not only did we agree that they should be brought here but we disagreed that they should be taken away. And I think that this is no secret for anyone.

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That is why this deep link of affection between the first revolutionary wave and the second and all succeeding revolutionary waves is not lost. Every day like March 13th means a peak, a bright day in the history of our country. We recall these dates to remember our impetus, our struggle.

But the history of a country, its victories and advances are written every day, in daily effort and daily work; they are written not in the heroism of one day but in the heroism of every day, not in the duty fulfilled as an exception, the duty fulfilled as a rule, every day, but in duty fulfilled every day.

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THE MILITANT

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

Vol. 29 - No. 16

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Monday, April 19, 1965

Stopping the Vietnam War

In this issue we publish a speech by Fidel Castro on the war in Vietnam and the manifesto of the Fourth International on the same subject. Both make the same essential point: That unreserved support of the South Vietnamese liberation struggle is not only in keeping with the cause of justice and social progress but it is, equally, the most effective way to stop the moves toward a widened war.

Despite the massive brain-washing by the U.S. propaganda machine, a growing number of people are coming to recognize the fact that the cause of the South Vietnamese guerrillas is a just one and that the guerrillas have the backing of the great majority of the peasants because they express their aspirations for an end to oppressive landlordism and foreign domination — with that domination coming not from their fellow countrymen of North Vietnam but from first the French and now the Americans.

But to many it is not equally clear that support to the peasant movement aids the fight for peace.

Central to the problem of an effective struggle against war in today's world is an understanding of the fact that the U.S. government and the business and financial circles it represents, are committed to a world-wide course of imperialist aggression. In a world whose dominant features are colonial and anti-capitalist revolutions, Washington has appointed itself the "savior" of world capitalism.

That is why it organized an invasion of socialist Cuba. That is why it tries to strangle Cuba economically. That is why it pours funds and arms into Latin America to prop up reactionary dictators and why it trains GIs in "counter-insurgency" warfare. That is why its atomic missiles ring the Soviet Union and China. That is why U.S. dollars and planes are put at the disposal of racist mercenaries in the Congo. That is why U.S. troops are incinerating South Vietnamese villages with napalm. And that is why the U.S. bombs North Vietnam today and drops ominous hints about bombing China tomorrow.

This brief outline of the counter-revolutionary role of the U.S. in the world today should make this central point clear: The drive toward war is a direct product of imperialist efforts to crush colonial and anti-capitalist uprisings that are irrepressible. Therefore, it follows that the only way to reduce the war danger is at each stage to give full and unqualified support to those who are in rebellion against the imperialist system. In the present instance that means unconditional support to the heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese people.

Failure to develop a united, militant opposition on an international scale to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam can only serve to invite further escalation by Johnson and the Pentagon — up to the point of an attack on China and World War III. A resolute anti-war, anti-capitalist movement is needed to stay the hand of the warmakers — and such a movement is needed above all right here in the United States.

Your First Issue?

If so, may we introduce ourselves. *The Militant* is a socialist weekly that features news and analysis on the major domestic and international events of the day. In it you will find a number of unique features, for example:

- **CUBA.** The speech in this issue by Fidel Castro is one of a number that have appeared in *The Militant*. More documentary material on the Cuban Revolution has been made available through *The Militant* than any other English-language source.

- **VIETNAM.** *The Militant* carries regular weekly news reports and analysis on the Vietnam war and features significant material from abroad such as the translation from Japan that appears in this issue.

- **CIVIL RIGHTS.** *The Militant* gives extensive coverage to first-hand reports of activities by SNCC, CORE, SCLC and the other organizations on the Southern rights front.

- **BLACK NATIONALISM.** *The Militant* has been unique in its extensive coverage of the development of black nationalism in the nation's ghettos. The late Malcolm X called *The Militant* "one of the best papers" published anywhere and said: "Any paper that tells the truth about us [the black nationalists] must be militant."

If you would like to try us out, take advantage of our special offer to new readers of a four-month introductory subscription for only 50 cents. A subscription blank appears on page 7.

SPEECH BY FIDEL C

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Comrade Armando [Hart, Minister of Education] took advantage of my question to say somewhat ironically that we don't take into account that it is no longer our contemporaries who are here in the university. And I said unfortunately, that's right.

The really important thing is that we do not lose our youthful spirit and that the young people do not lose the revolutionary spirit. I think this is the point where we must always meet, without regard to age. The memory of the struggles of our people must not become academic, must never become cold history. Because the continuity of the struggle has not ended and we are far from being able to say that the revolutionary struggle of our people has ended, far from being able to say that our youth does not face great tasks and must make great efforts.

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Today the history of our country is being written in the canefields, in factories, in study centers, in the stubborn and unselfish work, often anonymous, of thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of our men and women.

It is being written by the teachers in the mountains, by the physicians saving lives in the most isolated areas of the country, by farmers working on rough ground where there are scarcely the most elemental comforts of civilization; it is being written by soldiers at danger points of facing the enemy, who stand guard to defend their Revolution; by the workers in sugar mills producing millions of tons of sugar, by the hundreds of thousands of men from the cities and countryside, sweating, machete stroke after machete stroke to cut the cane that produces the tons of sugar that we Cubans all proclaim with pride as victories of our economy.

History is being written today in study, in classrooms, in the long hours that we devote to analyzing, investigating, understanding, learning, untangling. The history of our country is being written today in persevering, hard work and in the readiness that is always present, unchanging, to defend this work, defend the fruits of our work.

In this way the history of our country is being written today and continues to be written and will continue to be written for a long time. And no young person will have to feel regret at not having been older when this struggle began. No young person will have to feel regret or harbor the idea that he will arrive late for this struggle.

I remember the first days of the victory of the Revolution; I remember how many men and women greeted with extraordinary enthusiasm the rebel fighters. Perhaps among those who acclaimed the victorious columns of the rebel army there were many workers who, a few months later, while unloading a ship carrying weapons would die in that terrible explosion, the result of enemy sabotage. And in the ranks of the people were many who later would fall fighting the mercenaries at Playa Giron; and there were, without doubt, young people like Manuel Ascunce, like Delfin Sen, like Conrado Benítez, who later, in the noble, humane task of teaching our country people would lose their lives, vilely assassinated by counter-revolutionary gangs.

Defended Revolution

In the ranks of the people were the men who in countless acts of heroism and sacrifice have defended the Revolution on different fronts and have sacrificed their lives. There were many heroes and martyrs in the ranks of the people who have made possible the triumphs and successes of the Revolution, made possible the survival of the Revolution against its enemies.

And the Revolution still has much to do. It still has a great deal to do. The Revolution has powerful enemies, and in first place, one powerful enemy, Yankee imperialism. This enemy threatens us and will threaten us for some time to come. This enemy will not easily resign itself — although it has no alternative — to the revolutionary successes of our people. This enemy, not here, but thousands of miles from here, is attacking other countries as it is criminally attacking the people of North Vietnam and the revolutionary people of South Vietnam.

This enemy is intervening in the Congo. It sends its ships, its marines and its planes to any corner of the world. It takes advantage of divisions among the revolutionaries, of the lamentable divisions that exist in the socialist camp. Unfortunately they calculate, analyze, and take advantage of everything that can weaken the revolutionary front.

That is to say that circumstances exist that involve dangers for us all, for us and for other nations in other parts of the world that fight for their independence and freedom. Dangers are not lacking.



FOUGHT AND WON. Fidel Castro throw of Batista dictatorship. At ically in a plane accident in 1951

I am not going to speak at length about the problems related to the differences and divisions in the socialist camp. We don't even know when we may have to speak of this at length, because the problem is not to speak for the sake of speaking; the problem is to speak in order to say something, the problem now is to speak when, by speaking or talking or saying something, there is a positive and useful result and not a result that is positive and useful only to imperialism and the enemies of the peoples.

We'd rather not have to face such bitter circumstances. As far as talk is concerned, enough and more than enough has been said already. As far as division is concerned, unfortunately, enough and more than is necessary has been said, more than suits the interests of the peoples and what, unfortunately, is useful to the interests of the enemies of the peoples.

But for us, small countries, that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Vietnam and Cuba, we have enough instinct to see with serenity and to understand that these divisions and differences, that weaken the strength of the socialist camp, hurt no one more than us who are in special situations: here, 90 miles from the Yankee empire; there, attacked by Yankee planes.

Here it's not a question of analyzing the problems under dispute theoretically or philosophically, but of recognizing the great truth: that in the face of an enemy that attacks, in the face of an enemy that becomes more and more aggressive, there is no justification for division; division doesn't make sense, there is no reason for division.

And at any time in history, at any period of mankind, since the first revolutionary appeared in the world, since revolutions became social phenomena in which the masses acted instinctively, until the time revolutions were made consciously, became tasks and phenomena fully understood by the people — which took place when Marxism arose — division in the face of the enemy was never a correct strategy, it was never revolutionary strategy, was never intelligent strategy.

And in this revolutionary process we have all from the beginning been educated in the idea that everything that divides, weakens; that everything that separates us, is bad; is bad for our people and good for imperialism.

And the mass of our people

ASTRO ON THE VIETNAM WAR



ro and fellow guerrilla fighters in the Sierra Maestra prior to over- left is Camillo Cienfuegos, a hero of the revolution who died trag-

understood the need for unity from the first moment and unity became an essential question for the revolution, unity became the cry of the masses, unity became a slogan of the whole people.

And we ask ourselves whether imperialism has disappeared; we ask ourselves if the imperialists are not attacking North Vietnam; we ask ourselves whether in North Vietnam men and women of the people are not dying.

And who can be made to think to believe that division is proper or useful? Perhaps it's not seen that the imperialists are advancing in North Vietnam? Perhaps it's not seen that the tactic the imperialists are following there is to smash the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, attacking North Vietnam first under the pretext of the attacks being in reprisal, later arrogating to themselves the right to attack whenever they want to, and continuing to use masses of planes against the fighters of South Vietnam?

What is the situation at this moment? The imperialists are talking about a naval blockade, landing their marines in South Vietnam, sending aircraft carriers, mobilizing masses of planes to smash the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam; to attack, with every available means of war, the guerrillas in South Vietnam, reserving the right to attack North Vietnam whenever it seems best to them, carrying on this kind of aerial war, without any sacrifice on their part, bombing with hundreds of planes and even sending their helicopters to rescue the pilots of the downed planes.

Doubtless the imperialists want a comfortable kind of struggle! Doubtless the imperialists want a kind of war with only industrial losses! That is — "so many planes lost." Doubtless the people of South Vietnam and of North Vietnam suffer all this! And suffer it in their own flesh because there are men and women there who die, in South Vietnam and in North Vietnam, victims of the U.S. strafing and victims of the U.S. bombing.

And they don't hesitate in the least to declare that they propose to continue all that because even the attacks on North Vietnam have not had the effect of overcoming the divisions within the socialist family. And who doubts that this division encourages the imperialists? Who doubts that to face the enemy with a united front would make them hesitate, make them pause and think before launching their adventurous at-

tacks and their barefaced intervention in that part of the world? Who is to be convinced of this? With what reason, with what logic? And who benefits from this? The imperialists! And who are the victims? The Vietnamese! And what suffers? The prestige of socialism, the prestige of the international communist movement, of the international revolutionary movement! And this truly hurts us! Because for us the liberation movement is not a demagogic word but a slogan that we have always felt deeply!

Because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the navel of the world; because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the revolutionary center of the world. And when we speak of these problems, we speak with absolute sincerity and we speak disinterestedly. We did not win revolutionary power in bourgeois elections but fighting weapons in hand; we speak in the name of a people who for six years irrevocably and unhesitatingly resisted the ambushes and the threats of imperialism.

We speak in the name of a people who for the sake of the strength of the revolutionary movement, for the sake of the strength of the socialist camp, for the sake of the firmness and the determination to defend the revolution against the imperialists, did not hesitate. A people who did not hesitate to risk the danger of thermonuclear war, of a nuclear attack, when in our country and on our territory — with the full and absolute right that we have never abjured, an absolutely legitimate act that we will never regret — we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic missiles on our territory. And, not only did we agree that they should be brought here but we disagreed that they should be taken away. And I think that this is no secret for anyone.

We are a country and a nation in whose name I speak that receives no Yankee credits, or Food for Peace, and we haven't the slightest relation with the imperialists. That is, that in the matter of revolutionary conviction and sincerity no one taught us anything, no one taught us anything, just as no one taught our liberators of 1895 and 1868, the path of independence and of dignity. We are the people of the First and Second Declarations of Havana which we didn't copy from any document but which were the pure expression of the spirit of our people, deeply revolutionary and highly internationalist.

As this has been the feeling and the thinking of our revolution, proved as often as was necessary, proved without hesitation of any kind, without yielding in any way, without contradictions of any type, we have the right to ask — as many other peoples must ask — who benefits from these disagreements if not our enemies?

And of course we have full right, the full and absolute right, that I don't think anyone will dare to question, to proscribe such dissensions and such Byzantine battles from our country and our people.

And it should be known that it is our Party who directs the propaganda here, that it is our Party who gives guidance here, that this is a question that comes under our jurisdiction! And if we don't want the apple of discord to come here, because we simply don't want it here, then no one can smuggle it in. Our enemies, our only enemies, are the Yankee imperialists. Our only insuperable contradiction is with Yankee imperialism. The only enemy against whom we are ready to break our lances is imperialism.

As far as anything else is concerned, we don't understand any other language, we don't understand the language of division. Before the concrete case of a country attacked by imperialism, like Vietnam, we have one position. We don't act, as perhaps some think, as perhaps above all the imperialists think, on the basis of "when you see your neighbor's house on fire, you throw water on your own roof" — in reality, the way we act is, when we see our neighbor's house on fire, we want to share this difficulty.

One Position

We are not people to be frightened by these events; rather we are kindled to action by them. And we have one position. We are in favor of giving Vietnam all the aid that may be necessary, we are in favor of this aid being arms and men, we are in favor of the socialist camp running the risks that may be necessary for Vietnam.

We are quite aware of the fact that in case of any serious international complication we will be one of the first targets of imperialism, but this does not worry us and has never worried us. And we don't keep quiet or act like simpletons in order that our lives be spared.

This is, in all frankness and all sincerity, our reasoned, dispassionate stand, emanating from our legitimate and inviolable right to take measures and to act in the way we believe most correct and most revolutionary and let no one harbor the illusion that they can give us lessons on revolution.

I hope that errors of underestimation be not made, ignoring the psychology of our people, because Yankee imperialism has committed lots of errors of this kind. One of its characteristics was disdain for others, disdain for and underestimation of small nations. And imperialism has committed great colossal errors of underestimation in respect to our revolutionary people. It would be regrettable if others committed similar errors. Our sincere policy has been, and is that of uniting, because we are not and will never be satellites of anyone. And in this whole problem we have taken a very dispassionate, very honest and very sincere position.

This is not the time to go through papers and files. I believe that as long as we have imperialism in front of us, attacking, it would be ridiculous for us here to do as in the fable, argue whether they are greyhounds or hound dogs, whether they are made of paper or of iron.

Let us leave the papers and files and documents to history, let history be the one to say who acted well or badly, to say who was right and who was wrong, let history show what each thought,

what each did, what each said — but let it be history. Because it would be humiliating to wash dirty linen in front of our enemies, enemies who are attacking, and who are attacking not the most powerful but the smallest and weakest.

We have many things to do. We have ahead of us many very difficult, very hard tasks. Millions of tons of sugar to be cut to defeat the imperialist blockade, and they are not cut with papers, but with toil, with sweat, with the machete.

The dangers that lie in wait for us are great, but they are not fought with Byzantine disagreements and academic charlatany. No, they are fought with revolutionary firmness, revolutionary integrity, the readiness to fight. The imperialist enemy is not fought effectively anywhere in the world when revolutionaries are divided, insulting each other, and attacking each other, but only with unity and cohesion in the revolutionary ranks. And to those who may not believe that this is the correct tactic for the international communist movement, we say, that for us here on our small island, on our territory, in a front-line trench 90 miles from the imperialists, it is the correct tactic. And we will adjust our line and our conduct to this way of thinking.

I believe that we honor our dead comrades, that we honor those who have fallen, from the first to the last one, in a worthy way, because this Revolution was born out of the rebellious spirit of a whole people, out of the progressive and revolutionary spirit of a whole nation, out of the dignity of a whole people, because this struggle which today is interlaced and entwined with the struggle of other peoples of the world against imperialism, began almost a century ago. It began with the first men who took up arms against colonialism and against the exploitation of our country, and it has followed this course, followed this line, and our people have never abandoned this line, never betrayed it. They have followed this firm and clear line. That is their spirit, that is their tradition.

On this path all the worthy men of this land have come together and in the long struggle many good men of this land have died. The first were not Marxist-Leninists. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes was not, Martí was not, because in the time in which he lived, and under the historic conditions in which he developed his magnificent struggle, he could not be one. In those days we would have been like them, today they would have been like us, because what was decisive in each period was the revolutionary spirit of our people, the tasks of our people at each moment. And what can be said is this, that from that time until now the road has been long and the evolution of our revolutionary thinking has been long. At the beginning of the second half of the

past century it was not the tasks of the proletarian revolution that were raised in our country, it was the fight for independence against the Spanish colonial power.

And this independence came to life at a time when a much greater and more to be feared power arose — Yankee imperialism. The struggle against this power became the great historic task of our nation. To win independence from this power, to resist its attacks, and to keep high the banner of the revolution, became the great task of our nation in this century. This became the great task of our people, coinciding with similar tasks of other peoples on this same continent and in Africa and Asia and Oceania, wherever people are struggling with increasing determination against colonialism and against imperialism.

One Banner

There has always been one sole path and one revolutionary line. Many heroes, many patriots, many martyrs have followed this path and this line. And those who have carried this banner forward, those who have followed this line, represent the will of all and are under obligation not only to present and future generations, but also to the past generations that took part in the struggle.

And so on a day like today when we remember those who have died, we think that there is only one sense, that there is essentially only one idea, which consoles and compensates absolutely, and that is that the men who have fallen, the men who have died, did not die in vain.

Other times, in other periods, from this same stairway, the memory of the dead was recalled, but with sadness, with pain, with despair under the insupportable idea that those sacrifices had not yet borne fruit. When at a time like this, in circumstances like these, on a day like today, we recall those comrades, all symbolized in the name "José Antonio Echeverría" we have the consoling idea, the tranquility and the satisfaction of knowing that their sacrifice was not in vain.

In the progress of our revolution, in the ascendant march of our people on the road of history, on the road of revolutionary thinking, on the road of the extraordinary evolution of our ideas, the men who fought for this, the men who sacrificed for this, take on flesh and blood.

And you, the young people of today, must feel yourselves the followers of those men, the standard bearers of those men, those who have taken up their banner, who continue the advance, who are marching forward on the ascendant road of our people, in the glorious history of our country.

You are the new revolutionary wave and we are sure that you will know how to act and that you will be worthy standard bearers of José Antonio Echeverría and his comrades.

HOMELAND OR DEATH! WE WILL WIN!

Local Directory

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

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

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

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

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

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 9-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

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

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

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 651, Main Post Office, Oakland 12, Calif. Phone 562-4667.

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

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

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books. Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

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

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

Manifesto of 4th International on Vietnam

Each day the aims of the criminal aggression of American imperialism against the Vietnamese revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam become clearer.

For a time it was claimed that "reprisals" were being carried out for raids by the South Vietnamese freedom fighters on American military bases implanted in their country. This pretext has now been abandoned. American planes are continuing to bomb towns, villages and ports in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. American marines have now been committed for the first time as ground troops against the South Vietnam freedom fighters. The U.S. Seventh Fleet is being readied for deployment against the shores of North Vietnam in order to blockade its ports and cut off its coastal shipping.

Thus the Pentagon's blueprint for extending the conflict is being methodically carried out, as is openly proclaimed in the American press. The aim is to progressively throw the full weight of American imperialism into the balance in hope of halting the development of the Vietnamese revolution.

It is of little moment whether the State Department is simultaneously pursuing a "secret" design to compel the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to "negotiate"; for Washington refuses to recognize the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as the legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese people. Washington is brandishing over both the freedom fighters of South Vietnam and the government of North Vietnam its crushing military superiority and the threat of plunging the world into a nuclear conflict; and it has repeatedly made clear that the only basis it considers "acceptable" for negotiation is the "withdrawal" of the freedom fighters from the territory of their own country.

It is barefaced imperialist propaganda worthy of a Goebbels to maintain that the partisans of the National Liberation Front are "foreign troops" and not genuine revolutionists nurtured by the South Vietnamese people themselves, the best representatives of the peasants and workers who rose in revolt against the landlords and comprador bourgeoisie and their policy of supporting — with the aid of the money and guns of a foreign power — the

bloody dictatorship of the Diems and the not less bloody dictatorship of the generals who succeeded them!

As if a revolution mounted by the broad mass of the people, which has torn nine-tenths of its arms from the hands of the foe, could be told to "play dead" or "give up" at a signal from Hanoi, Peking, Moscow or anywhere else! Most serious of all in this increasingly dangerous situation is the apathy which the leaderships of the principal workers' states display in face of the step-by-step "escalation" of U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia.

Up to now the Kremlin officials and the Communist Party leaderships largely under their influence or control have deplored the American aggressions as a "serious threat to the consolidation of peace." What "consolidation"? What "peace"? The only peace to be found through consolidation of the military aggression and counter-revolutionary actions of imperialism is the peace of the grave and slavery. The peoples of the world of today will never acquiesce, no matter what the refusal costs them.

This is a great new fact in world reality which everyone who wants peace must take as basic in working out an international policy aimed at averting World War III and a nuclear holocaust.

The government of the People's Republic of China appears at the moment to be most concerned about pinning on Moscow the blame for a possible defeat of the revolution in Vietnam. But unless Peking itself acts, its course can be interpreted as "keeping hands off" while the Pentagon moves ahead. The shouting at Moscow would then look like nothing but phrasemongering designed to cover up a betrayal. No matter how correct Peking's criticisms of Moscow may be, it has its own responsibilities in the situation, including the defense of the new China.

The government of the People's Republic of China would do better to offer to Khrushchev's heirs a joint public commitment to protect the common interests of the two workers' states, and those of the socialist revolution, in Southeast Asia. Then let the workers of the world judge the response!

There are some who have been taken in by the propaganda of American imperialism which aims

About This Manifesto

We reprint on this page the text of a manifesto issued in Paris by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and originally published in our issue of March 22.

Founded under the leadership of Leon Trotsky in 1938, the Fourth International is an organization embracing revolutionary socialist parties and groups throughout the world.

In the United States the Socialist Workers Party stands in political solidarity with the Fourth International but is barred from actual affiliation by reactionary federal legislation.

at convincing its current and prospective victims that unless the Pentagon militarists are meekly granted what they want, then you can expect them to start a nuclear war, even if it means the utter destruction of the United States.

How little these easily impressed "experts" understand the real nature of the Washington "hawks"; or, more properly, "vultures." One of the reasons their "escalation" is proceeding step by step is to carefully test the resistance so as to be able to stop or even retreat in case it proves tougher than expected. Instead of being "provoked" into a nuclear answer if they receive an effective reply to their provocation, the American militarists will at once reassess the situation.

Grave Danger

But if the resistance proves softer than expected, then these same militarists will proceed more brazenly than before. Precisely in this lies one of the gravest dangers. The emboldened White House and Pentagon can become caught up in a course in which their deepening commitment makes retreat increasingly difficult. This could be the "oversight," the "accident," that takes them over the brink into World War III.

The only language that imperialism understands and respects is action sufficient for it to sense the real forces it is up against. Wrathful or tearful verbal protests only arouse contempt among these rulers of the capitalist world. They take mere shouts and polite or nasty letters as signs that it is safe to proceed according to plan. They become more and more aggressive since their aggression has cost them nothing; in fact, "paying off" from their limited point of view.

The only way to block the "escalation" and to cut it short before it is too late, is to show the imperialists on the scene itself that their course is much more dangerous than they had believed, that their calculations are wrong, and that their military aggression did not pay off and promises still worse if continued.

Yankee imperialism is not in a desperate impasse at the moment. It is not caught up in a situation in which it feels there is no way out, even temporarily, except to risk suicide. Its military and economic strength stand at the greatest height in history. Prosperity reigns in the United States. Even if the capitalists are willing to risk from 70,000,000 to 140,000,000 Americans in a nuclear conflict, why should they risk their present profits, their present comforts and the pleasure of their latest gadgets?

Their course in Vietnam is not the product of hopeless despair, but the consequence of cold and deliberate calculation in which

they evaluate the risks as being low and in any case ascertainable as they proceed. They are banking on the weakness of the leadership of the workers' states, particularly the leadership of the Soviet Union. They are counting on the divisions, especially the division on the governmental level between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

They expect all this to hinder and block the response that should have normally been expected to their monstrous decision to widen their intervention in the civil war in South Vietnam into a war against North Vietnam, and — if this proves workable — into a crippling military thrust against the People's Republic of China. If they should run into a vigorous reaction at the very beginning then the results of their test probe would be read in Washington as a signal to reconsider. The elementary needs of self-defense would call for retreat from a palpably suicidal adventure.

This is what Fidel Castro obviously referred to in his speech of March 3, when he said: "We must show the imperialists that we are not afraid of them. When you don't resist them, they continue further; but when you resist them, they stop."

This is what the Afro-Asian students and the handful of Moscow students who joined them meant in their demonstration before the American embassy in Moscow, protesting against the aggression in North Vietnam, when they shouted at the Kremlin authorities who used violence on them: "Traitors! You've sold out to the imperialists!"

This is what the vanguard of the masses in many countries indicated they wanted as they joined in demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

It is not only the fate of this revolution that is involved but the fate of the whole colonial revolution. One of the things which Yankee imperialism is seeking to establish in Vietnam is a precedent for something new — its "right" to intervene with bombs, napalm and ground troops whenever it pleases anywhere in the world.

It is seeking to establish American imperialism as the final law, the ultimate disposer of the destinies of all countries and all mankind. It proposes to nail down its "supreme right" to suppress revolutions by all means wherever they flare up or wherever they are incipient on the globe, from Brazil to the Congo to Vietnam!

Ultimate Target

If suppression of the colonial revolution is the immediate aim of this Johnson "doctrine," the workers' states are the ultimate target — and this includes the Soviet Union. Should American imperialism get away with wiping out villages and towns of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with bombs and jellied gasoline, its appetite will increase ravenously for a similar test of the People's Republic of China.

This can be seen from certain propaganda themes already appearing in the big daily newspapers of the U.S., such as the advisability of striking "before China gets a nuclear arsenal," and the "common interests" of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in "containing" revolutionary China. The final target is the Soviet Union. Let it be recalled that Hitler had "common interests" with Stalin in the period when he was preparing his invasion of the Soviet Union.

To block the dangerous "escalation" initiated by Johnson in Southeast Asia, all possible steps must be taken at once to strengthen the revolution in South Vietnam and to build up the defenses of North Vietnam. This requires immediate material aid on a large scale and the opening of a campaign of effective revolutionary

socialist propaganda directed at the American forces. Let the example of the early days of the first workers' state be recalled, when Lenin and Trotsky appealed directly to the troops sent against them. The Bolshevik leaflets calling for fraternization with the revolution did as much to weaken the invading imperialist forces as the brilliant military defense put up by the newly formed Red Army.

Let the American imperialists today learn the true danger they are running in advancing on the mainland of Asia. On the other hand, to take the course of capitulating to blackmail only encourages the warmongers, invites further extension of the military adventure and increases the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

It is particularly urgent that the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China close ranks before the common danger. This does not mean giving up the ideological and political differences; these can be continued and threshed out on a party level. But let the governments close ranks!

Warn Imperialism

A joint statement should be issued clearly and solemnly warning imperialism of the fundamental solidarity of the two countries and their common interest in defending their planned economies and other revolutionary gains against the threat that has now been raised against them in the clearest form through the bombing of North Vietnam and the deepening military involvement of American imperialism on the mainland of Asia.

It is equally urgent for both governments to join in a clear declaration of intention to protect both North Vietnam and the revolution in South Vietnam and to show by action in the most concrete way that this defense has begun, will be improved as rapidly as possible and will be carried through to the end with genuine Leninist determination.

And in every country it is urgent that the workers, the youth, the students, the women should show by the thousands and the millions their concern about the criminal aggression of American imperialism. Let them call *Halt!* to Johnson through demonstrations of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and their revolution.

Down with imperialism and its policy of blood and lies!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class with the beleaguered Vietnamese revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long live the world socialist revolution, the only means of definitively freeing humanity from the nightmare of a nuclear holocaust!

Convict Three HUAC Victims

Dagmar Wilson and Donna Allen, two leaders of Women Strike for Peace, and Russell Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*, were found guilty of contempt of Congress on April 8.

The three defendants were charged with contempt because they refused to testify before closed sessions of the House Un-American Activities Committee concerning the part they played in securing a visa for a Japanese peace leader to speak in the U.S. in 1963.

Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Allen were convicted on two counts of contempt, and Russell Nixon on one count. Each count carries a maximum penalty of a year in jail and \$1,000 fine. The convictions are being appealed.

... Interview With SDS Leader

(Continued from Page 1)

with those we are fighting, namely, the National Liberation Front [the peasant-based guerrilla movement called "Viet Cong" by the American press]. His second condition was that he would not enter into an agreement that would mean a victory for the National Liberation Front. These implicit conditions he set down made his offer highly conditional.

Q. Do you think the speech will slow down the protest movement against the war?

A. I don't think so. We did have one or two calls the next morning wanting to know if the March had been called off or not, but when we told them it wasn't, they seemed quite satisfied. Most people that I've talked to, and of course I deal primarily with militants and people who are in the movement, saw through the speech. If anything, their interest in the March was heightened.

I think a lot of students were really turned off by the speech and didn't realize before it that Johnson was that bad. I don't think it will have any effect upon the March or on the growing movement in the country against the war.

Q. What are SDS's plans concerning the Vietnam war after the March?

A. We will follow the March

with a three-day meeting of our national council and one of the topics of that meeting will be the follow-up on the March. But from the beginning we considered the March not a culmination of a campaign to end the war in Vietnam but the beginning of such a campaign.

Q. This march was built with the co-operation of many groups and individuals. SDS took the stand of welcoming all support, including that of groups like the YSA which in some quarters are not considered "respectable." Do you feel that this approach helped build the March?

A. I don't know I could say it helped build the March, but I think this was the correct approach. SDS's position has been that there is no one organization or group of organizations which are beyond the pale and cannot be worked with. We definitely feel that there are some organizations which are better than others, some people are right and some people are wrong, but there are no untouchables in our society. We encouraged the participation of everyone who wanted to participate in the demonstration for the purposes outlined in the call for the March. I personally cannot conceive of any other way of building a new left in America.

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.]

Wrong Target?

Tomahawk, Wis.
Our "War Hawks" will continue the air raids on North Vietnam until that country stops its "aggression" in South Vietnam. You ask, "What aggression?" Why they claim they found a few weapons that came from the North! Since the great majority of Vietcong weapons were made in USA, according to this line of insanity, we are missing our target by 12,000 miles. When will President Johnson order our "heroic" pilots to bomb the Pentagon, State Department, etc., until they stop furnishing weapons to the Vietcong? Our brave pilots who fly out of reach of the crossbow to slaughter and burn defenseless women and children would carry out such orders, since, as the Nazi war criminals stated, they must obey orders no matter how heinous the crime is. With this sort of mentality, is it any wonder that our leaders think that only blood can "serve to cement our security?"

Our politicians mouth the word "God" in all their speeches, and then proceed to systematically destroy everything He is supposed to have created! How hypocritical can this "Great Society" of Christians get?

J.H.

Bayard Rustin at Antioch

Yellow Springs, Ohio
Conservative civil-rights leader Bayard Rustin spoke to about 800 people here at Antioch College April 6. He declared his vehement opposition to the militant wing of the freedom now movement.

He started out by saying that it was a mistake to think of the civil-rights movement as revolutionary.

"The civil-rights movement," he said, "is directed towards bringing the Negro into the present structure. Contrary to what James Baldwin, Malcolm X, Leroi Jones, and some people in SNCC have been saying, the civil-rights movement is not a revolution. What the Negro wants is his cut, his share of the pie. This is what integration means."

Rustin also stated, "Freedom Now does not mean to disrupt the present institutions and to bring in new ones." Later on, "I'm not for tearing up institutions before we get new ones."

Rustin said he opposed Urban League leader Whitney Young's proposal for preferential treatment for Negroes to overcome

generations of oppression. Rustin said it was a bad proposal because whites wouldn't stand for it.

He argued that so far as making future progress is concerned, the Negro has gone as far as he can go with demonstrations.

"The future of the Negro is tied up with the Democratic Party. Don't anybody tell SNCC I said that," he stated.

Rustin was interrupted by applause twice. Interestingly enough, it was when he sounded the most militant (as opposed to merely vehement). Once when he declared his opposition to capitalism and the other when he said that we should demand that the government "plan" for the needs of the nation's poor and forget about this being labeled as "Communism."

Arthur Maglin

Megalomania?

Brooklyn, N. Y.
The U.S. imperialist power elite has the petulance and arrogance of a megalomaniac. Just consider: Our evil Goliath refuses to tolerate a socialist Cuba in the Western Hemisphere but it expects Red China to acquiesce to militantly anti-Communist Thailand and South Vietnam's puppet Saigon regime right on its doorstep.

Any day now I expect President Johnson to follow in the path of King George III of Britain (who went mad in 1788) by shaking hands with a tree and welcoming it into the "free world."

Jerry Alberti

Liars' Lexicon

New York, N. Y.
Regarding a reader's suggestion that the *Militant* compile a dictionary of the doublethink phrases currently favored by President Johnson: Making such a list is not a wholly frivolous activity. I note that each day more and more "liberals" are cozened into doing prattle against straight thinking; anyone with the audacity to ridicule Johnson's orotund, sanctimonious, empty phraseology is therefore to be congratulated. Twitting the twaddle may strengthen us to fight the rotten war in deeds as well as words. Here, then, are a few more entries for the new *Militant* Unappeased Dictionary:

Sneak attack: It seems the Viet Cong are neglecting the amenities of modern warfare in omitting to send us engraved invitations to do battle. **Strategic hamlet:** Quaint and peaceful little towns, not unlike your own home town — if your home town was Dachau.

Measured response: Johnson's fondness for Biblical quotation is hereby demonstrated; doesn't the Good Book say "two eyes for an eye and the whole jaw for a tooth"? It doesn't? Oops, Well, it must say something about 160 bombers for a single mortar shell

... no? Well, it must say something . . . "We want no wider war": Longer, deeper, faster, meaner, yes — but not wider; wouldn't want someone to call us grabby, now, would we?

E. R. Power

Far Out Message?

Brooklyn, N. Y.
If those radio signals from outer space are really from rational beings, they're probably saying: "Hands Off Vietnam!"

Sylvia McG. Weinstein

Monkey Business

New York, N. Y.
Listen here gang, when it comes to funny planets, this is it!

Can you imagine a bunch of nutty-looking, weak, bald monkeys that multiplied so fast that the whole doggone place is crawling with them? No kidding, I bet if you weren't such nutty-looking bald monkeys you could really get a kick out of having such a close-up look.

In the old days monkeys and dinosaurs and bugs and stuff just went around minding their own business and eating leaves and playing around with the girls and stuff, and that can get dull if you're God or somebody who's got nothing to do for five or six hundred million years except watch all the stupid horseplay. But now things are much more funny!

You see, a few of the monkeys turned out to be much higher-class than most of the monkeys and so these monkeys got together and started running things. Most

of the low-class monkeys would starve to death if the high-class monkeys weren't such good guys and let them work in their factories and mines and things. Being good guys, the high-class monkeys are forever worrying about the low-class monkeys — who really aren't too bright.

You have no idea what intricate pains the high-class monkeys take to keep the low-class monkeys from spoiling the whole game. The low-class monkeys are just about as smart as some of the old-time animals, like buffaloes for instance. Well, when all the buffaloes got together in the old days before the monkeys took over, they would start running around and stampeding and carrying on and wrecking everything and stepping on each other and getting hurt.

So the high-class monkeys don't want the low-class monkeys to hurt themselves, so they've invented this ingenious plan to help them from stampeding. See, the bald, weak, low-class monkeys come in different funny colors, so the high-class monkeys told the low-class monkeys that if they run around with some monkeys that have a different color, next thing you know the different-color monkeys will want to marry their daughters and soon all the monkeys will turn into a stupid in-between color and things won't be so pretty anymore. So all the different-colored, low-class monkeys stay away from each other and then they can't all get together and stampede and spoil the

game. So everything works out fine!

It's really hysterical! But it was just too good to last. And now all the low-class, funny-colored, nutty-looking, weak, bald monkeys are starting to gang up and before you know it they'll be running around and stampeding and spoiling all the good fun. But there's still a chance! If the high-class monkeys can work fast enough and get enough good ideas together real quick, there's one last big giant surprise in store for God or whoever's watching — the BIGGEST, GIANTTEST, MOST GLORIOUS FIREWORKS DISPLAY IN THE LAST THREE BILLION YEARS!

Lawrence Lief

No Tax for Vietnam

Cincinnati, Ohio
A group of 88 people have subscribed to a statement that they are not going to pay taxes on 1964 income because of what the U.S. is doing in Vietnam. We are seeking additional signers.

The statement reads: "Because so much of the tax paid to the federal government goes for killing and torture, as in Vietnam, and for the development of even more horrible war methods to be used in the future, I am not going to pay taxes on 1964 income."

If you wish to join in signing this statement, write to "The No Tax for War in Vietnam Committee," care of Rev. Maurice McCrackin, 932 Dayton St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

E.B.

It Was Reported in the Press

Toxic Tax? — Commenting on the air-pollution menace, the *New York Times* said: "No wonder that an eminent allergist has testified that the average urban resident, even if he does not smoke, takes into his lungs every day the equivalent in toxic substances of two packs of cigarettes." This could provide a double-opportunity opening. Some hustling free-enterpriser could package the stuff and the government could start slapping taxes on it.

Including Klansmen? — The Alabama legislature voted to increase the pay of all teachers except those who participate in "racial" demonstrations.

Progress Report — After a public complaint by Rep. Jonathan Bingham of New York, the Oxford University Press in London said it would modify the definition of "American" in future editions of its dictionaries. Both the *Oxford Dictionary* and the *Oxford Concise Dictionary* define an American as "a native of America of European descent." A company spokesman said future editions would "make it clear that the various people native of, or resident in, America, are not confined

to those of American Indian or European descent." He didn't say how this would affect their definition of "un-American."

The Great Society — There are 7.4 million adults in this country, the richest in the world, with less than seven years of grade school.

Getting Rough in Suburbia — Nearly a thousand residents of Rockville Center, N.Y., have petitioned the Justice Department to probe the arrests of two men who tried to question the mayor and Village Board members at a town meeting. Titled, "It Can't Happen Here — But It Did," the petition says that F. Newton Miller was given the floor at the meeting but was silenced when he attempted to question the mayor. He remained standing in protest. He was joined in the silent protest by Richard J. Stimpfl. Both were hauled off to jail and later released in \$5,000 bail. They face trial May 17 on charges of "disturbing a public meeting." Mayor Harry Lister said: "We firmly believe in free speech and practice it."

Ultimate in Voter Apathy — City officials in Auburn, Kansas, a community of 250, say they will

have to serve another two-year term — not because they were re-elected but because everybody forgot it was election day. Said City Clerk Charles Wymore, "We goofed."

Apple Tax — The near-hysterical reaction of the medical profession to the administration's very modest Medicare bill moved one Congressman to suggest a two per cent tax on apples to "make it more expensive to keep the doctor away."

No Four-Letter Word — A brochure published by the state of Ohio entitled, "The Wonderful World of Ohio," says the state's slogan is: "Profit Is Not a Dirty Word in Ohio."

Solution for Smokers — The British free-enterprise system has come up with an answer to the cigarette-cancer problem. An insurance company has offered a special policy for smokers which pays \$1,400 if the smoker gets cancer. The annual premium is only \$4.20 and the policy doesn't put any limit on the number of cigarettes that may be smoked.

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SYMPOSIUM ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Warn Against Increasing Curbs

By Constance Weissman

NEW YORK — An audience largely composed of youth listened with great attention to a symposium on freedom of speech on the campus at the April 9 Militant Labor Forum. The speakers were Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale, who directed the Freedom Schools in last summer's Mississippi Project; Dr. Robert Sitton, himself the storm center of an academic freedom fight at Brooklyn College; and James Bingham, who is under indictment in Indiana on sedition charges for socialist activity on the University of Indiana campus.

Professor Lynd told the audience that the discussion must begin with a realization of the "climate of falsehood we are living in today in the U.S."

"Americans have been lied to often by their government," said the history professor. "The State Department lied about the U-2 incident and Adlai Stevenson lied about the invasion of Cuba.

"But what we are confronted with in Vietnam is a far more deliberate kind of lying. To begin with, we were told that American soldiers were there as advisers. We were told that gas is a benevolent weapon . . .

"What shall we say of President Johnson when after two months of silence, when he had brought the country to the brink of nuclear war, he could come before us last Wednesday, notably not to do the two things necessary for peace, namely, stop the bombing and negotiate with the Viet Cong? . . . Yet he tells America he thinks of little children dying before he turns off the light each night."

Expressing the belief that the U.S. is in danger of fascism, Lynd continued: "Critics will say, 'Isn't the situation essentially like that

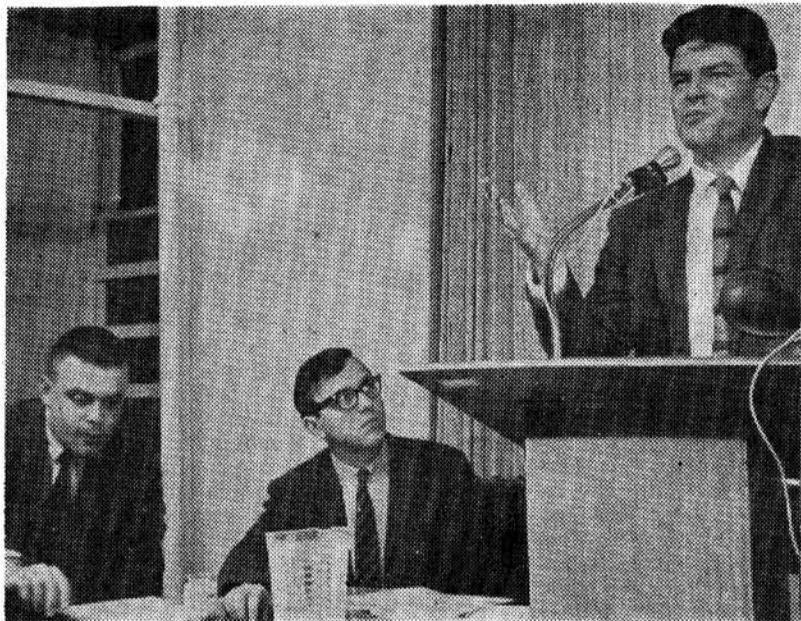


Photo by Finer

PARTICIPANTS IN SYMPOSIUM. At rostrum is Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale. He was 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools director. Seated are James Bingham (left) a defendant in Indiana "sedition" case, and Dr. Robert Sitton who was dismissed from Brooklyn College faculty after rescinding his "loyalty" oath.

of the Red Scare in the 1920s? Haven't there been infringements of academic freedom throughout American history?"

"I would answer in this fashion: Never before, I think, have infringements of academic freedom been so great. In addition, the Bloomington indictments, Progressive Labor arrests, and Russ Nixon before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), have only too many precedents in American history. Never before have such attacks against freedom of speech taken place in a country where 50 per cent of the

budget is spent for fascism overseas. We are getting ready for 'Seven Days in May' in Saigon."

Lynd also predicted that HUAC would stage a witch-hunting investigation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Dr. Robert Sitton, the 27-year-old professor who has just been fired from Brooklyn College for rescinding his loyalty oath, said the protest movement of the students at Brooklyn was over very real grievances. Because of the undemocratic system of electing the student government there, over 40 per cent of the students are not represented, he said. Students are not allowed to speak directly to the press without clearance from the college authorities. This rule could not even be put into effect at the University of Mississippi where the chancellor had proposed it during the Meredith crisis. Distribution of literature on the Brooklyn campus is not allowed unless the organization got approval from the authorities. No off-campus political activity is allowed.

Loyalty Oaths

Dr. Sitton discussed the Feinberg Law, under which all teachers in New York State public schools and colleges have to sign loyalty oaths. Under this law it is illegal to advocate civil disobedience to redress grievances.

"It became apparent that if a ruling was going to be obtained [on the Feinberg Law] from the U.S. Supreme Court, someone was going to have to lose his job over the issue . . . As a person who in many ways has become very disenchanted with academia, I feel very happy to be the lamb led to the slaughter."

James Bingham, one of three Young Socialist Alliance students indicted in Bloomington, Indiana, pointed out the similarity between New York's Feinberg Law and the Indiana Sedition Law under which he had been indicted for socialist activity. He said that the witch hunt has extended into every aspect of the civil-rights movement, the unions and academic life.

"Students are beginning to look for useful ideas that can be translated into action in the world. University authorities are afraid of this, county prosecutors are afraid of this, the FBI is afraid of this, and it is not unusual to find them all working together to suppress all academic freedom on the campus."

Racist Violence Persists In Alabama, Louisiana

By Ed Smith

APRIL 14 — Savage acts of Southern police brutality combined with Ku Klux Klan terrorism have increased rapidly since the conclusion of the Selma-Montgomery march and the hurried withdrawal of federal troops March 25. Major incidents have since been reported in four Southern cities.

In Camden, Alabama, police continued to use smoke bombs and tear gas against civil-rights demonstrators through April 7. On at least one occasion cops beat up demonstrators — as could be seen on the nation-wide CBS-TV news the following day. Then the cops were temporarily called off and civil-rights workers were permitted to march peacefully in Camden April 9.

During an all-night Klan rally in Bogalusa, Louisiana, April 8, raiders fired at a house occupied by two CORE workers and a Negro family of six. The raiders were chased off when people in the house fired back. No one was injured.

The next day, white-supremacists in Bogalusa attacked a civil-rights march attempting to present a list of demands to the city administration. The demands concerned equal job opportunities, equal education, desegregation of public accommodations, appointment of Negro policemen, and inclusion of Negro leaders on the decision-making level of the city administration.

Bogalusa, a town of 25,000 with a 35 per cent Negro population, is reported to have a Klan number-

ing 1,000. The identity of interests — if not of members — between the Klan and the city officials was indicated in the April 10 *New York Times*.

According to *Times* correspondent Roy Reed, the district KKK leader praised the Bogalusa mayor, Jesse Cutrer, for "doing a tremendous job" and urged his followers to let the "law-enforcement" officials handle civil-rights workers.

Both in Bogalusa and in Jonesboro, Louisiana, 160 miles to the northwest, Negroes have formed armed self-defense organizations called the Deacons of Defense and Justice. Charles R. Sims, president of the Bogalusa Deacons, told an AP correspondent: "We are the defensive team. If they come here to hit us, they will get hit back."

Shoot at Car

Shooting was also reported in Jonesboro. On April 10, white youths in a car fired on a station wagon which was carrying civil-rights workers visiting Jonesboro from the University of Kansas. When the Negro station-wagon driver, Elmo Jacobs, returned fire from a .38 caliber pistol, the attackers fled. No one was hurt.

In Columbia, S.C., Klansmen took an 18-year-old Negro, Robert Jackson, from a jail cell April 7, and tried to intimidate him. The leader of the Klan gang, Phillip Plampkin, was arrested when South Carolina Governor Russell ordered an investigation of the incident. He turned out to be the cop who had arrested Jackson a week earlier.

Police Victim Bares Methods Of Extracting "Confessions"

NEW YORK — David Coleman, a 27-year-old Negro who has spent the last four years on death row, told a judge that he had falsely confessed to murder because the police, after beating and torturing him, had threatened to jail his common-law wife.

His eighth stay of execution, two days before he was scheduled to die in the electric chair, came because the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that New York's procedure with confessions was unconstitutional. The court ruled in June 1964 that the judge must first decide whether a confession was voluntary before letting the jury hear it.

On the basis of that decision, Coleman's court-appointed lawyer obtained a hearing on the voluntariness of his "confession." Coleman testified that after his arrest for the theft of two typewriters in January 1960, he was handcuffed to a chair in a Brooklyn police squad room and hit on the head by two policemen, who were standing on each side of him, "until I thought the top of my head would come off."

Threaten Wife

Coleman was "questioned" for 15 hours, interrupted by five visits to burglary scenes in Brooklyn. He was then taken to the apartment of the murdered woman. On his return his common-law wife, who was pregnant, was brought in. Then Detective James F. Casey told him if he didn't say the right things they would lock her up on charges of prostitution and dope. "I was scared they would, and I'd been beat all day so I did what they wanted," Coleman testified.

On the second day of the hearing, Coleman, prodded beyond endurance by the assistant prosecu-

tor, shouted: "I'm a thief! What more do you want? It's nothing that I'm proud of. But I'm no murderer and I'm no rapist."

Coleman's lawyer brought out that in a 1963 case Detective Casey's false testimony resulted in the ordering of a new trial. In that case, the defendant testified that his confession resulted from large quantities of wine given him during the questioning. Casey testified that he was with the defendant the whole time, and no wine was served. The Court of Appeals found that Casey lied about being there the whole time and characterized his testimony as a "crucial fraud."

When asked about this episode by Coleman's lawyer, Casey "paused, looked troubled," and then, in what must be some kind of a record understatement, said that he had made an "honest error."

The cop who obtained Coleman's "confession" is Detective Edward J. Bulger who obtained the now notorious "confessions" from George Whitmore to the Wylie-Hoffert murders and two other major crimes.

Whitmore, a 22-year-old Negro, was beaten into "confessing" three murders and an attempted rape in 24 hours of "questioning." After a year in jail awaiting trial, his "confession" to two murders exploded and another man was indicted. Having been convicted on his "confession" in a second case, a new trial has been ordered. But in a scandalous decision, a Brooklyn judge upheld the validity of the third "confession" and Whitmore went on trial again April 12.

On the same day Judge Helfand upheld Coleman's "confession" and sent him back to death row.

DeBerry Welcomes N. Y. CORE Stand Against Re-election of Mayor Wagner

NEW YORK, April 9 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, said here today that he "welcomed the announcement by New York CORE that they planned to oppose Mayor Wagner's re-election."

CORE made the announcement at a press conference held here recently. Mrs. Joyce Ware, CORE director for the Northeast, said at the conference: "We do not seek negotiations with Mayor Wagner. We do not seek to take our grievances to him or try to convince him he might be a better mayor. We are saying: We have had 12 years of your status quo. You talk from both sides of your mouth. You don't care about Negro or Puerto Rican people."

"CORE is right," DeBerry said, "in putting the blame for conditions which Negroes and Puerto Ricans face in this city on that 'liberal' so-called 'friend' of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, Mayor Wagner. It's Wagner's corrupt cops who attacked Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant last summer — his cops who shoot down Negroes and Puerto Ricans with impunity, and who brutalize our neighborhoods."

Part of System

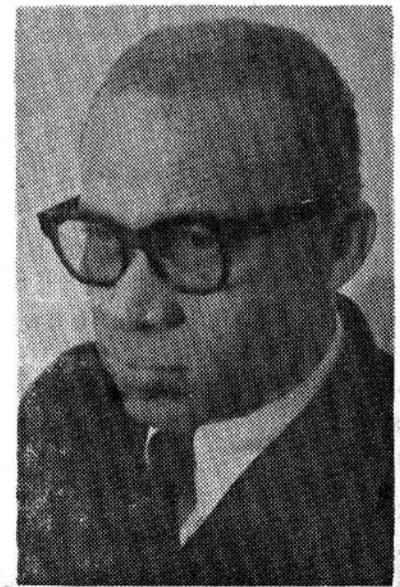
The SWP candidate went on, "It's Wagner's Board of Education which allows segregated education to exist and grow in our city. Wagner allows and protects job discrimination, housing discrimination, and the whole system that inflicts high unemployment, high rents and low wages on Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

"But it would be a mistake for CORE to think that Wagner acts this way because he is an inadequate or corrupt individual. Wagner is part of the capitalist power structure which profits from rac-

ism and perpetuates it. Any candidate beholden to the power structure would do the same as Wagner," DeBerry declared.

"The Democratic and Republican Parties are part of the power structure which perpetuates racism. CORE's breaking with Wagner is an important step forward, and I urge them and others who feel the same way about Wagner to break entirely with both big parties and all candidates of the capitalist power structure, and to run their own independent candidates against both the Republicans and Democrats.

"If such an independent campaign based in the Negro community does not develop," DeBerry said, "I urge CORE and other militants to support the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party as the best possible protest against the two-party racist power structure in this city."



Clifton DeBerry