

# Washington Parley and Mass March To Press Fight Against Vietnam War

## THE MILITANT

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### Reveal U. S. Viet Forces Using Cyanide, Arsenic

PHILADELPHIA — The U.S. government has admitted it is spraying deadly poisons over South Vietnam. This fact came to light in a student newspaper as a result of a campaign being waged by the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam (PACEWV) against the University of Pennsylvania's Institute for Cooperative Research (ICR). The ICR does work in chemical and biological warfare. The *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Penn's undergraduate newspaper, said on Nov. 1, "a high Washington official questioned today at the National Foreign Policy Conference about the use of aerosol-sprayed arsenic and cyanide compounds over the rice fields of South Vietnam replied, 'We are making limited use of them in the southern part of Vietnam, but not yet in the North.'"

The PACEWV has charged that the ICR is doing research in the aerosol spraying of cyanide and arsenic compounds as well as the spreading of anthrax and influenza, and the spreading of epidemic diseases of rice. Dr. Knut of the ICR admitted heading such research projects in a telephone interview, according to PACEWV. A PACEWV statement said, "The disclosure of use of arsenic and cyanide compounds over Vietnam contradicts the assertion by ICR director Dr. Carl Chambers

that his work is purely for "defensive purposes." The results of the research are being used against the civilian populations of Southeast Asia.

"Rice is the staple crop of Southeast Asia and China. The ICR's work on rice blast disease put to use in Asia would result in massive famine, killing millions of people. Such research constitutes complicity in genocide, in violation of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the UN Charter."

The black-bordered lead editorial in the Nov. 1 *Daily Pennsylvanian* said, "Cyanide and arsenic are not herbicides [plant killers]; their use is in killing people. No one can make a case for the military necessity of such aerial spraying." The editor harshly criticized the university for its silence on the genocide research institute.

On Nov. 8, the PACEWV staged a protest at the ICR building, which was given television coverage. On Oct. 16, during the International Days of Protest, 500 marched on the ICR. The PACEWV has issued a 13-page pamphlet documenting its case against the ICR, and has sent an open letter to President Gaylord Harnwell of the University of Pennsylvania, charging that the university is "responsible for the murderous uses to which this research will be put."

### Problems of Program, Organization

## The New Anti-War Movement

By Fred Halstead

What is the new antiwar movement and where is it going? It can be described as the movement which has directly challenged the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, which has involved masses of people in a more or less steadily widening protest and which has been characterized by a new unity in action by virtually all organized groups opposed to the war. It can be said to have begun last January when the Students for a Democratic Society issued their call for the April 17 March on Washington.

### Big-Deal Dep't

A news dispatch from Rutgers University in New Jersey proudly announced that more than 3,000 students had signed a petition supporting the U.S. war in Vietnam. The dispatch neglected to mention that the student body numbers nearly 22,000.

The call told the truth about the war. It described it as a civil war in which the U.S. had intervened "in behalf of a succession of unpopular South Vietnamese dictatorships, not in behalf of freedom."

Shortly after the release of this call, the sustained U.S. bombings of North Vietnam were begun on Feb. 7. A series of demonstrations over this new escalation occurred. These were organized here and there by SDS, Women Strike for Peace, and others, but generally by ad hoc committees formed for the occasion. These ad hoc committees then became committees to help build the March on Washington.

All who agreed with the call were invited by SDS to support the march. Under this policy of non-exclusion the support and participation of left-wing groups including revolutionary socialists was welcomed. The SDS leaders stuck to this policy despite pressure from a variety of liberals, State Department socialists, and those in the right wing of the older peace movement. But the

Two important events in the movement to stop the war in Vietnam are scheduled to take place in Washington, D.C. on Thanksgiving weekend.

A four-day national antiwar convention called by the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam will be held from Thursday, Nov. 25 through Sunday, Nov. 28.

On Saturday, Nov. 27, a mass March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam will begin at 11 a.m. in front of the White House. The March will finish at the Washington Monument where an outdoor meeting will be held at 2 p.m. Many thousands from across the country and especially from cities on the Eastern Seaboard are expected to join the Nov. 27 demonstration. The convention, which is under different sponsorship than the March, will not hold sessions during the day on Saturday so the delegates will be able to join the March.

The March was initiated by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and is sponsored by a number of prominent individuals, most of them from the more conservative wing of the peace movement. The call issued by the sponsors of the March says: "We see no gain coming from the war in Vietnam. We see only the growing victimization of the Vietnamese people, the erosion of a better society at home, and the clear possibility of a world conflict."

### Limited Demands

The call also contains the theme "toward a negotiated settlement in Vietnam." It makes certain limited demands upon the administration including "Stop the bombing of North Vietnam," and "Halt the introduction of additional men and materiel, and ask the other side to do the same."

The Students for a Democratic Society, which will have a representative speaking at the March, has issued a separate call for the action which more directly confronts the administration policy in Vietnam and calls for the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

In spite of the timid character given the affair by its initiators, the national press has treated it as a direct challenge to the government's policy and as another

march was also supported by some of the older groups such as Women Strike for Peace.

The March itself, in which 20,000 persons demonstrated, proved the fallacy of the argument of professional liberals that serious opposition to the Johnson administration can only isolate the peace movement and render its protests ineffective.

Meanwhile the teach-ins had been born March 24 at the University of Michigan and were spreading spontaneously from campus to campus. On April 28 came the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and the pronouncement of the "Johnson Doctrine" which asserted the "right" of the U.S. government to intervene in any civil war anywhere it considered "communism" a possibility. The ad hoc committees continued to exist and organize further actions including some around this event.

On May 15 the national teach-in in Washington, D.C. was held, attended by some 4,000 persons in the capital itself and, through

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SHOT DOWN. Wreckage of U.S. plane shot down over North Vietnam. U.S. says 131 planes have been lost in bombing of North Vietnam. Hanoi puts the figure far higher.

in the series of mounting protests against the war, and a broad spectrum of groups active in the antiwar movement is urging attendance.

Information on transportation to the Nov. 27 March can be obtained from: March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam, 245 Second St., N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. In New York, bus reservations for the March at \$7 per round-trip ticket can be obtained from the committee's office at 17 E. 45th St., Manhattan, telephone TN 7-6140.

The convention sessions on Thursday, Friday and Sunday will be held in the Lincoln Memorial Church. The Saturday night session will be held at the Mayflower Hotel. The convention will begin at 9 a.m. Thursday, Nov. 25. Housing accommodations for the convention may be arranged through the Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam, P.O. Box 19249, Washington, D.C. 20036.

The national antiwar convention is expected to involve representatives from the hundreds of

anti-Vietnam-war committees which have sprung up across the country around recent demonstrations and from the various radical, pacifist and other groups which have participated in the new antiwar movement. The convention will consider, among other things, the formation of a national coordinating structure for the antiwar movement as a whole, and the founding of a national organization of the independent committees to end the war in Vietnam.

The convention will be a delegated affair as far as voting is concerned, but everyone who is against the war in Vietnam is invited to attend and participate.

Each campus or community anti-Vietnam-war committee is entitled to two voting delegates for its first 100 members and one delegate for every additional 100 members or fraction thereof. Each national organization which has participated in the antiwar movement, such as political, youth, civil rights organizations, etc. is entitled to two delegates.

## Confessed 'Killer' Declared Innocent After Year in Jail

NEW YORK — A shocking new case of police victimization and brutalizing of an innocent man has come to light. Santo Sanchez, a Bronx factory worker and father of six, who was held in prison for almost a year after confessing to a murder, was released Nov. 8 and charges against him were dropped.

Sanchez's lawyer, Oscar Gonzales-Suares, charged the "confession" had been beaten out of him. He said that Sanchez was so badly beaten by the cops that he spent six weeks in a prison hospital. He said Sanchez was in good physical condition when he was picked up by the police but was "all bruised up" when he appeared in court the next day. "It was a clear case of police brutality," the attorney charged.

Authorities said Sanchez was re-

leased because he had submitted to lie detector tests and that the test contradicted his confession. Clearly, there is more involved than the police are not revealing. There is little likelihood that they simply had a change of heart, gave him the lie detector test and then freed him. As in previous similar cases, an "investigation" has been promised and one police official conceded there may be more involved than the results of the lie detector test.

It will be interesting to see if "reform" Mayor-elect John Lindsay has anything to say about this latest criminal act by the cops. During the election campaign, he opposed proposals for an independent civilian police review board. He said he favored adding some civilians to the present Police Department board.



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

**Michigan AFL-CIO President August Scholle**, recently proposed more debates and discussion on issues in the Vietnam war at a "Boys' Day Meeting" sponsored by the Detroit Junior Chamber of Commerce.

"I don't think we will solve anything," said Scholle, "by mass arrests of demonstrators or by cancellation of draft deferments for student protesters." But then Scholle red-baited the antiwar movement by charging it had direct ties with the Communist Party and urged that this Communist influence be defeated in the peace movement as it was defeated in the labor movement years ago.

Like most labor leaders supporting the Vietnam war, Scholle is both too old for the draft and too old to lead labor, which probably explains why the Chamber of Commerce invited him as a guest speaker.

A Wayne County, Michigan Circuit Judge accused the Wyandotte Chemical Corporation of offering him a campaign contribution. Judge Thomas E. Brennan reported that Dawson Lewis, the company's industrial relations director, made the offer in the parking lot of a Southgate, Mich. motel

where a meeting had been going on between company and union negotiators.

The 1,570 member Local 7-627 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union has been on strike against the Chemical Corporation for more than six months.

Brennan has recently initiated a move to bring what the *Detroit News* called "public pressure" to bear to end the Wyandotte strike. In his role of "unofficial mediator" of the strike, Brennan has appealed for support to religious leaders, heads of business and merchants' associations, the publisher of the local newspaper, school and business officials, state legislators representing the Wyandotte area and Mayor James DeSana.

Early in the strike, Judge Brennan issued a pro-company injunction limiting mass picketing, thereby allowing scabs to enter the plant. As a result, the company has been able to maintain up to 70 per cent of production, according to Wyandotte officials.

Following union protests, Brennan recently issued another court order which allowed strike officials to check-off workers entering the plant, apparently to insure that scabs were not posing as company supervisors.

This led to new incidents on the picketline and Judge Brennan, frustrated by his shady maneuvers, set a new hearing on the strike for Nov. 10. "I don't intend to be used as a pawn," he said. "As of today, the tail is going to start wagging the dog."

**The rich are getting richer**, according to a report appearing recently in the labor press. The *Michigan AFL-CIO News*, for example, reported in its Oct. 27 issue that there are now 90,000 millionaires in America. This compares with 13,000 in 1948. The report said that these millionaires "like corporation stock — not for dividends but for the capital gains tax limit of 25 percent."

"They like state and local government bonds too," the report concluded, because "the interest is tax free."

**Striking members of the Machinists' Union** on picket duty at the Aerojet General Factory in California maintain contact with strike headquarters with walkie-talkie radios. This is reportedly the first time a radio link-up has been used by a union in a strike.

**Two striking members of Ironworkers' Local 387** recently showed up for their picketline assignment at a construction site in Atlanta, Ga. in an unusual way. J. W. New and B. D. Knight, members of a local sky-diving club, arrived at the picketline by parachute.

**More than 300 members** of 19 unions affiliated with the State Building Trades Council picketed a construction site in Petersburg, Mich. on Oct. 11.

They were protesting the use of scab construction workers on a plant being built by Research Designing Services, Inc., maker of airplane parts.

A Monroe County judge subsequently signed a permanent injunction limiting the number of pickets to 12 and cleared the way for 30 scabs to return to work.

The target of the injunction was Local 465, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers of America, who have been picketing the site for over two months.

—Tom Leonard

# ... The New Anti-War Movement

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pipied-in hook-ups, by an additional 100,000 across the country. There followed the Berkeley Vietnam Day teach-in on May 22, which saw some 30,000 persons participate in the several days of activity around this event. It was here that Staughton Lynd raised the idea of a new Continental Congress.

The new movement affected the more conservative peace groups. Early in June, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy — which in the early years of U.S. involvement in Vietnam had vetoed mention of this issue in peace demonstrations in which it participated — sponsored a meeting on Vietnam in Madison Square Garden. Most of the other groups urged attendance and the Garden was packed with 18,000 people protesting the war.

Through the summer, the ad hoc committees against the war in Vietnam continued to exist, carrying out local demonstrations, literature distribution, and so on. Additional committees were formed, some of them organized by SDS summer community projects.

### A-Bomb Anniversary

On Aug. 6-9 a series of peace demonstrations around the anniversaries of Hiroshima and Nagasaki occurred in Washington, D.C. These included the Assembly of Unrepresented People which was attended by some 2,000 activists in antiwar, civil rights and community work. A workshop was held on Vietnam and out of this was born the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, made up of figures in the antiwar movement, representatives of radical youth groups and representatives of some of the major independent committees to end the war in Vietnam.

The Steering Committee of this group met in Ann Arbor on Sept. 18. An Ann Arbor teach-in on Vietnam at the same time drew several thousand. The Steering Committee scheduled a national convention of the committees against the war in Vietnam for Nov. 25-28 in Washington, D. C. This would allow participants to attend a March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam called for Nov. 27 by supporters of SANE.

### Int'l Day Protest

Then came the International Days of Protest on Oct. 15-17, initiated by the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee. The response was widespread throughout the world. Significantly, the response was greatest right here in the U.S. where some 100,000 persons engaged in protest demonstrations, including 14,000 in Berkeley and 30,000 in New York. The Oct. 15-17 protests were organized by local committees against the war in Vietnam except in New York City where the Fifth Ave. parade was organized by an ad-hoc united front committee of representatives of virtually all groups opposed to the war.

In the seven months since the April 17 March on Washington, then, the new antiwar movement has had demonstrations totaling some 300,000 participants. Even allowing that many individuals attended more than one of the major activities, there are still well over 100,000 persons who have actively been involved in protesting the war.

What is the relation of these people to the various organizations which have been active in the movement? Aside from the ad-hoc committees against the war which have come into existence in these last few months, the organizations which have actively participated in the new movement may be broken down into two main categories: one, the traditional pacifist and older peace groups, and two, the radical youth groups such as SDS, DuBois Clubs, Young Socialist Alliance, May 2nd Movement, Youth Against War and



Staughton Lynd

Fascism, etc., and the radical parties.

Altogether the membership of the organizations in both the above categories does not account for more than a small fraction of the people who have become actively involved in the demonstrations in the past eight months. All the radical and pacifist groups have grown to some extent recently but the vast majority of the new antiwar activists have not joined any of these organizations. This is as true of the student youth as of others. And it is true of the largest and most publicized of the radical youth groups, SDS.

It is this fact which makes the hundreds of independent committees against the war in Vietnam so important and so necessary to the growth of the movement. Actually the radical groups have been outstripped by a radicalization of a special type. It is a radicalization which has other roots besides antiwar activity to be sure — such as civil rights, free speech, etc. — but the great majority of the youth are not committed to any particular multi-issue radical approach. No radical tendency is dominant in the movement.

### Against Intervention

Many of these youth are not even radicals in their general political approach. Some of them are simply Democrats or even Republicans. But they are ready, willing and able to be flatly opposed to U.S. intervention in Vietnam and to work with all tendencies opposed to the war. At this point, this is the great unifying issue.

This situation imposes a certain responsibility on the radical groups which they should be careful not to abuse. In the natural course of events — with the professional liberals and the Democratic and Republican politicians almost universally supporting the war or at least refusing to organize against it — the radicals find themselves initiating, playing key roles in and leading a growing mass movement. But it is a movement in which the great majority of the participants are not committed to any particular radical program on general social questions, but only on the issue of getting the U.S. out of Vietnam.

And the great majority of these people are not organized, except in so far as they respond to the calls for action issued by the united fronts, or as they join the independent committees against the war in Vietnam. Clearly most of them are not yet ready to be organized into any of the radical groups. None of the radical groups can speak for them on general social questions. This is one reason they are so attracted to non-exclusion. They don't want to be dominated by any particular tendency, but want to weigh all the ideas.

Are they to be left unorganized? Are they to be left without a voice in the ad-hoc united front formations composed of rep-

resentatives of all the organized tendencies?

Not to urge them to organize themselves both nationally and locally is to sit on the largest section of the movement. And not to have them directly represented in the united front formations is to deprive those formations of a weighty voice for the militant position — that is, withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam — and to eventually condemn the movement to sectarian narrowness.

The independent committees against the war in Vietnam should be encouraged, built and united in a national organization. All of the radical and pacifist tendencies can work within such an organization. But no tendency should attempt to dominate it or impose upon it its own particular social or political program.

The worst abuse of this situation would be for any tendency to attempt to turn these independent committees into a front for its particular multi-issue program, a front which draws people in on the Vietnam war issue and then uses them to support other issues which they did not bargain for when they joined. Such things have occurred in the past and the results have always been disastrous.

All the radical and pacifist groups look upon the new antiwar movement as an opportunity for meeting new people, discussing particular ideas, and for deepening the general social consciousness of masses of people — and that's perfectly proper. But that doesn't mean the antiwar committees should be committed to the particular political program of any tendency.

### Many Approaches

There is, of course, a broad spectrum of educational points which the committees can use to explain the war issue. People living in slums are interested in the fact that the money spent on the war could replace the slums with adequate low-rent housing. Students and intellectuals concerned with scientific integrity and intellectual honesty are interested in how the war is undermining these values. Honest unionists interested in union democracy are concerned with the lack of discussion on the war in the unions and with the ultra-right company some of the union leaders are keeping in their jingoistic support of the war. Many such approaches should be used, but it is the war issue which unites all these people at this time.

There is no disagreement that a multi-issue program is necessary for basic social change in this country. All the radical groups have multi-issue programs. The disagreements are over what the program should be, and these disagreements are not going to be resolved easily or quickly. The one thing all the tendencies and the independents have in common is opposition to the war in Vietnam. That's why the independent antiwar committees should be centered around that issue. To attempt to work out a broad multi-issue program for these committees would mean reproducing within them the disputes among the tendencies and would tend to split and narrow them.

## The Elections In New York

**NEW YORK — Complete returns on the Socialist Workers Party vote in the mayoralty election will not be available until after we go to press. Unofficial, partial returns indicate the socialist vote will be a small one.**

**In our next issue we will report the socialist vote and carry an analysis of the general election results.**

## 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

**REBELLION IN THE CONGO.** Speaker Prof. Edouard Bustin, department of government, Boston U., recently returned from the Congo. Fri., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. Rm. 307, 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### DETROIT

**A HISTORY OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT OF THE 30s.** Speaker: Robert Himmel. Fri., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

**THEODORE EDWARDS** presents a Marxist view of the news in his biweekly radio commentary. Tues., Nov. 23, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., Nov. 24, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

### MINNEAPOLIS

**THE ANTI-WAR CONVENTION.** A panel discussion on the new stage in the anti-war movement. Fri., Nov. 19, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. All proceeds to the Minn. Committee to Oppose the War in Vietnam. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

**PAUL SWEETZ**, editor of Monthly Review, speaks on *The Lessons of the Guatemalan Revolution*. Fri., Nov. 19, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## Your Help Is Needed

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



INTERVIEW WITH I.B. TABATA

# U. S. Role in South Africa

By Dick Roberts

This is the second part of an interview with I.B. Tabata, the president of the Unity Movement of South Africa. Tabata is presently touring this country to help raise funds for the Alexander Defense Committee, an organization founded last year to assist the legal defense of South African political prisoners.

In the first part of the interview, printed in last week's issue of *The Militant*, Tabata discussed the background of the Alexander trial and the nature of political work within South Africa for the liberation of the oppressed black majority. Then I asked him what role the United States played in South African politics.

"For us," Tabata answered, "the role of the United States is so obvious that I don't know whether it requires explaining. Perhaps I could best put it this way: Many people — there has even been a clamor for this at the United Nations — feel that all states should institute an economic boycott of South Africa.

"This sounds plausible theoretically, but when you examine the concrete facts you will find that Verwoerd himself owns *nothing* in South Africa. What is there is the property of the British financiers, it is the property of the American financiers.

"So when you call upon the United Nations, which means in fact that you are calling upon the United States and Great Britain who control the United Nations, to boycott and blockade South Africa, you are in effect asking them to boycott and blockade their own property.

"It doesn't make sense to me. Verwoerd on his own could not manage to defy the world, were it not for the fact that both Britain and the United States have underwritten the Verwoerd re-



I. B. Tabata

gime. Without them, it's impossible for Verwoerd to exist. To me, that seems so clear that it requires no further information, but may I just add one thing.

"I think one of your big financiers put the point simply. He said, 'I hate the Verwoerdian regime.' — I don't know if he added, 'with all my heart,' — 'but I must confess, without it, I wouldn't invest a dollar in South Africa.' That makes it clear, especially in view of the fact that American financiers can get such high rates. In fact, they make as much as 25 percent annual return on their investment in South Africa.

"That is far higher than the average of about 12 percent that they make in the rest of the world. With this, what else would you expect?"

The situation in Southern Rhodesia is at first glance similar in several ways to South Africa. The minority of 220,000 whites, led

by prime minister Ian Smith, dominates a much larger population of over four million blacks. I asked Tabata why Smith's threat of declaring independence from Great Britain had become such a big issue.

"For me," he remarked, "this moaning and groaning by Britain about Rhodesia is a farce. It's like a man who builds a card house and then finds it difficult to blow it down.

"There is no problem in Southern Rhodesia itself. You have only to ask yourself one question. You used to have the federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Malawi under Britain. When the people there demanded independence, and opposed the federation, Britain went straight ahead to dismantle the federation.

"(And here, you must remember that in dismantling the federation the army and air force was handed over to Southern Rhodesia.) Then, despite the great threats by [Sir Roy] Wilenski of what would happen if Northern Rhodesia was granted independence, Britain just went ahead and granted it — and you must understand that in that whole area the most important part was and remains Northern Rhodesia because it has the copper mines. That's where there are heavy investments.

### Underdeveloped Land

"Southern Rhodesia has nothing. It is *veldt* (grasslands), underdeveloped. But Britain thought it wise to give Northern Rhodesia independence despite Wilenski's fire-and-brimstone threats of all sorts of things that would happen. And in fact afterwards some of the great investors shifted their headquarters from Southern Rhodesia to Northern Rhodesia, what is today known as Zambia, under a black government, and nothing is going wrong.

"So there is no problem about Southern Rhodesia.

"What is 220,000 whites? Britain put into concentration camps more than that number of freedom fighters in Kenya, when the people were struggling for their liberation. Of course nothing like that would be necessary in Southern Rhodesia. But if Smith declares independence, and uses his army, and there is bloodshed, we can state that the onus and responsibility would be Britain's.

"It is in Britain's competence to declare their constitution invalid, or to create a new constitution and to give Southern Rhodesia independence within its own rights. If Britain didn't do that for other reasons, whatever they may be, and as a result Smith

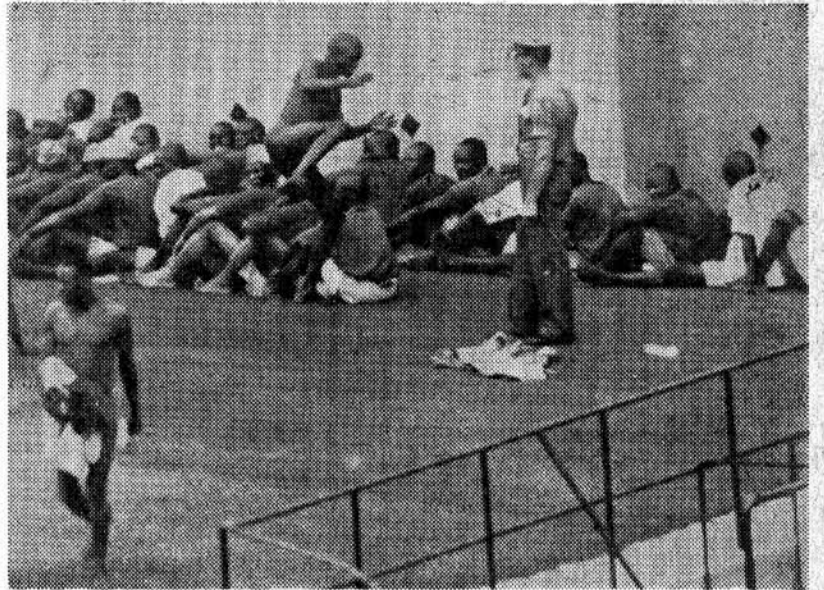
## N.Y. Forum Will Hear Paul Sweezy Speak on Guatemala Guerrillas

NEW YORK — Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor of the independent socialist magazine, *Monthly Review*, will speak on the Guatemala guerrilla movement and its lessons for socialists at a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum on Friday evening, Nov. 19.

*Monthly Review* recently featured a first-hand report by Adolfo Gilly on the successful activities of the guerrilla movement led by Marcos Antonio Yon Sosa. An accompanying editorial by Sweezy and *Monthly Review* co-editor Leo Huberman drew the lesson from Gilly's report that radicals in North and South America must take an openly revolutionary socialist stand.

Sweezy has travelled extensively in Latin America. He visited Cuba a number of times and co-authored with Leo Huberman the widely read *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*.

—Herman Chauka



THE "TAUSA DANCE." Black political prisoners are forced to "dance" naked before the white racist guards in South Africa's Island concentration camp, in order to "make sure they are unarmed." This daily ritual is typical of the sadistic and degrading treatment of the black population by South Africa's U.S.-supported white ruling class.

declares independence, it is because Britain gave them an understanding that no harm would be done.

"The present situation is due entirely to the fact that it is not Rhodesia which is at issue. What is at issue is the whole part of Southern Africa, beginning from West Africa and Central Africa, right down to South Africa. You only have to follow the investments of Britain, America, France and West Germany to see the ramifications of these investments, and to realize that in their eyes Southern Rhodesia cannot be dealt with by herself, as a separate entity. Southern Rhodesia is important only insofar as it is linked up with the rest.

"To put it another way, Southern Rhodesia is both a buffer state between South Africa and the independent African states in the north, and at the same time a front line of defense for South Africa, which means that it is a front line of defense for all those vested interests of American, British, German and French finance. When you talk about Southern Rhodesia, you can't talk about it in isolation. You have to remember that it is part and parcel of a whole plan which embraces the Congo, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

### Western Investments

"Take, for instance, the struggle of the freedom fighters in the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. You know, Portugal is one of the poorest countries in Europe. So poor is it, as a matter of fact, that a few African states, backward as they are, could invade Portugal. Portugal is not capable of maintaining the present civil war that has been going on by itself. But it is maintaining it. Now why?"

"First because America pumps money into Portugal to make it possible for the Portuguese to maintain the civil war. Secondly because the NATO powers themselves provide arms and ammunition to the Portuguese to enable them to fight against the freedom fighters. And thirdly, South Africa itself supplies the soldiery to make up the Portuguese forces.

"The interesting thing is what ties all these groups together. It's nothing but finance. It's financial interests alone that have brought them together. It is the American and British investments in South Africa that demand that the Portuguese territories must not be free.

"This is a question of labor supply. South Africa has not got the required labor for both the mines and agriculture, the two most important South African industries. They are the primary South African industries, although not the largest in terms of the amount of national income they provide, because they do supply the necessary foreign exchange.

"Sales of mining and agricultural products to the outside world make it possible for South Africa

to import, and without these sales the South African economy would collapse. But the mines and agriculture rest squarely on the shoulders of the black landless peasantry, and 60 percent of the labor in the mines comes from outside South Africa.

"People are wondering why Verwoerd behaves like a demented man. The truth of the matter is that the labor shortage is his Achilles heel. Verwoerd is frightened that the independence of African countries will lead to a labor boycott. Withhold that labor and the whole of South African economy topples because you cripple the mines, and you not only cripple the mines, but you cripple the whole of the industrial system which needs the mines, and you also cripple the base on which the army is created, the arms and the manufacture.

"Verwoerd's army depends in the final analysis on, and is made possible only because of, the landless peasantry and that mine labor. Now if the black countries would withhold this labor, Verwoerd would be finished, and the whole structure of apartheid along with him.

### Black Labor

"But then to destroy that is to destroy the investments of America and Britain. Therefore Portugal has an agreement, in fact it is not an agreement but a contract, for a hundred thousand black laborers to South African mines per year. Quite often this is increased to 150,000.

"Therefore, also, it becomes important for the Portuguese territories not to be free, because once they are free that labor is cut off immediately. Therefore it becomes important for America to see that the struggle for Portuguese territories does not succeed and therefore they supply the money to Portugal, and they get NATO to supply the military wherewithal to keep the oppressive armies going.

"It is the same thing in the Congo, exactly the same thing. Investors in the Congo are precisely these same people and therefore they cannot permit a liberation movement there. It is in this sense that the whole area, of the Congo, the Portuguese colonies and South Africa is tied together, and is maintained by America, Britain, France and West Germany.

"Today, Verwoerd's army is completely trained by Hitler's officers, and the French terrorists of the Secret Army Organization which tried to prevent the Algerian revolution. It is they who are training Verwoerd's police in the methods of guerrilla warfare.

"You have the best trainers from Europe, and Europe knows it, aiding and abetting the Verwoerd regime. Why? Because of the investments. These investments are responsible for our position in Angola, Mozambique, the Congo, and in South Africa."

## The American Way of Life

### Old Glory Busted Again

A while back we warned about the danger of overzealous patriots dealing blows to their own cause. That was when the Daughters of the American Revolution blackjacked the manufacturer of Pop Pants into withdrawing a star-spangled "Stars 'n Stripes" girdle from the market. They charged that this patriotic, profitable effort to spread the flag constituted a desecration of Old Glory. Now we have an equally upsetting case — this time in the field of art.

The Fresno, Calif., Fair art exhibit has thrown out a red, white and blue-striped nude female bust with a George Washington medallion over one breast.

According to the Associated Press, the glazed plaster bust was barred by the chairman of the art exhibit, Mrs. Pat Chaffe, after being accepted by four judges as a meritorious example of pop art.

We aren't qualified in the field of pop art, but from every point of view this immediately struck us as a major advance over such things as replicas of Campbell's soup cartons.

Encouragingly, the high-handed removal of the bust caused "consternation" in Fresno art circles, and Mrs. Chaffe says she drew "loads of criticism by people who say we're not allowing freedom."

The AP reports Mrs. Chaffe was "near tears." She also has, we suspect, mixed feelings on the question herself. For example, she told newsmen: "It was completely

un-American. And the woman's body too. The work was beautifully done, but in poor taste."

We don't intend to get into an obscure debate about the esthetics of a beautiful, un-American body, but will categorically state that the whole idea sounds to us like the most patriotic thing to come along since the dollar bill.

We take this stand despite the apparently differing view of Fresno sculptor Arnold Jensen, the man who fathered the bust. As is often the case with true artistic inspiration, he doesn't really seem to understand what he wrought.

Jensen protests that the work was intended not as a patriotic manifestation but as a satire on the "sex sells" theory of advertising. It was, he said, a denunciation of the use of sex to sell such things as toothpaste.

Maybe he has a point about toothpaste. But when you're peddling an intangible like patriotism what's wrong with a tie-in deal that includes a product with a time-tested market appeal? Or isn't Mrs. Chaffe interested in rallying red-blooded young Americans around the flag?

The possibilities are boundless. For example, picture Mr. Jensen getting together with the Pop Pants company. I can see it now. A star-spangled topless bathing suit and a red, white and blue-striped bust bearing a medallion which declares: All the Way With LBJ.



# THE MILITANT

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Monday, November 15, 1965

## Three Martyrs

The war in Vietnam has now driven three Americans to an ultimate form of protest, self-immolation: Mrs. Alice Herz of Detroit; Norman Morrison of Baltimore and Roger LaPorte of New York.

The foulest public comment on this was made in the *New York Post* by columnist Max Lerner. Discussing the act of Quaker Norman Morrison, he likened it through some perverted logic to the suicide of Joseph Burros, the American Nazi who blew his brains out when it was revealed he was of Jewish origin.

The most hypocritical comment was made by UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg. In a statement on the act of Roger LaPorte, he piously declared: "Perhaps we have not been sufficiently communicating to the people of the world our dedication, our attachment and complete commitment to the idea that peace is the only way for mankind in the nuclear age."

If there were any truth to Goldberg's assertion, these three extraordinarily dedicated human beings would not have been driven to their act. But, like a growing number of Americans, they recognized the harsh truth that the U.S. government is committed not to peace but to the most violent aggression.

It is a terrible thing when a human being is driven to douse himself with gasoline and set himself afire. But it is even more horrifying that masses of human beings in Vietnam are being burned alive by U.S. jellied gasoline napalm bombs.

And it is no less horrible that, unless it is stayed, U.S. aggression can lead to a nuclear holocaust that would mean human immolation on an inconceivable scale.

Alice Herz, Norman Morrison and Roger LaPorte loved humanity deeply. The most meaningful way to honor them is to build a mass movement that will eliminate the horror that they sought to help end with their very lives.

## Congressman Sees Threat To National Sovereignty

The old adage about patriotism being the last refuge of scoundrels is becoming more apparent today when every opponent of civil liberties, every racist and every warmonger wraps himself in Old Glory.

An interesting expression of this is contained in some of the reactions to a court test being made by the American Civil Liberties Union of a New York ordinance requiring exhibition of the American flag at public meetings. The ACLU is basing its constitutional test on the case of Nat Weinstein, New York organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, who was arrested last summer because there was no flag on display at an SWP outdoor election rally.

Note of the case was made on the floor of the House of Representatives Oct. 20 by Rep. John Saylor (R-Pa.) in a speech in which he offered a few well-chosen comments on the dem-

onstrations against the Vietnam war.

Mr. Saylor's speech included the following:

"Mr. Speaker, the disgraceful protests against our involvement in Vietnam are an insult to the flag and seditiously inspired. They are a source of solace to the bestial Communist compact that even now destroys American lives and menaces our entire civilization."

Congressman Saylor added that because of the acute emergency he was ready to stay in Washington another week and even, if need be, another month to help the President "clear our streets, our parks and our campuses of the dupes, the dopes and the addicted Communists who parade under the colors of the Kremlin and without reverence to our flag, our national reverence, or our national security."

### An Editorial

Saylor then read into the record an editorial on the Weinstein case from the Altoona, Pa., *Catholic Register*.

It declared in part: "If the case goes to the higher reaches of the American judicial system, where theorists dwell in Olympian detachment, it [the ordinance] is likely to be struck down. The majority of the Supreme Court dominated by libertarians . . . have almost unanimously upheld the freedom of the individual to do everything, rather than the right of society to compel the individual to do anything . . ."

"It is a new idea," the editorial reveals, "that an ingredient of liberty is the right to challenge anything — any truth, any historical fact, any authority."

We had always been under the illusion that the right of such challenge was as old as liberty itself. But then, for Rep. Saylor and the *Catholic Register*, the very idea of liberty may be a strange, new-fangled notion.

# Malcolm X Speaks

This is the last installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963:

Installment 4

### THE NEGRO LEADERS

I would like to mention just one other thing quickly, and that is the method that the white man uses, how the white man uses the "big guns," or Negro leaders, against the Negro revolution. They are not a part of the Negro revolution. They are used against the Negro revolution.

When Martin Luther King failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia, the civil-rights struggle in America reached its low point. King became bankrupt almost, as a leader. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was in financial trouble; and it was in trouble, period, with the people when they failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia. Other Negro civil-rights leaders of so-called national stature became fallen idols.

As they became fallen idols, began to lose their prestige and influence, local Negro leaders began to stir up the masses. In Cambridge, Maryland, Gloria Richardson; in Danville, Virginia, and other parts of the country, local leaders began to stir up our people at the grass-roots level. This was never done by these Negroes of national stature. They control you, but they have never incited you or excited you. They control you, they contain you, they have kept you on the plantation.

### Raised Money

As soon as King failed in Birmingham, Negroes took to the streets. King went out to California to a big rally and raised I don't know how many thousands of dollars. He came to Detroit and had a march and raised some more thousands of dollars. And recall, right after that Roy Wilkins attacked King. He accused King and CORE of starting trouble everywhere and then making the NAACP get them out of jail and spend a lot of money; they accused King and CORE of raising all the money and not paying it back. This happened; I've got it in documented evidence in the newspaper. Roy started attacking King, and King started attacking Roy, and Farmer started attacking both of them. And as these Negroes of national stature began to attack each other, they began to lose their control of the Negro masses.

The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham — remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head — yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After, Kennedy got on the television and said "this is a moral issue." That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill.

And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking — about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.



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

It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D.C., to death; I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off." Kennedy said, "Look, you all are letting this thing go too far."

And Old Tom said, "Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it." They said, "These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us."

And that old shrewd fox, he said, "If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it."

### Meeting Held

A matter of hours went by. They had a meeting at the Carlyle Hotel in New York City. The Carlyle Hotel is owned by the Kennedy family; that's the hotel Kennedy spent the night at, two nights ago; it belongs to his family. A philanthropic society headed by a white man named Stephen Currier called all the top civil-rights leaders together at the Carlyle Hotel.

And he told them, "By you all fighting each other, you are destroying the civil-rights movement. And since you're fighting over money from white liberals, let us set up what is known as the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership. Let's form this council, and all the civil-rights organizations will belong to it, and we'll use it for fund-raising purposes." Let me show you how tricky the white man is. As soon as they got it formed, they elected Whitney Young as its chairman, and who do you think became the co-chairman? Stephen Currier, the white man, a millionaire.

Once they formed it, with the white man over it, he promised them and gave them \$800,000 to split up among the Big Six; and told them that after the march was over they'd give them \$700,000 more. A million and a half dollars — split up between leaders that you have been following, going to jail for.

As soon as they got the setup organized, the white man made available to them top public-relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal, which then began to project these Big Six as the leaders of the march. Originally they

weren't even in the march. You were talking this march talk on Hastings Street, you were talking march talk on Lenox Avenue, and on Fillmore Street, and on Central Avenue, and 32nd Street and 63rd Street. That's where the march talk was being talked. But the white man put the Big Six at the head of it; made them the march. They became the march. They took it over.

And the first move they made after they took it over, they invited Walter Reuther, a white man; they invited a priest, a rabbi, and an old white preacher, yes, an old white preacher. The same white element that put Kennedy into power — labor, the Catholics, the Jews, and liberal Protestants — that same clique that put Kennedy in power, joined the march on Washington.

It's just like when you've got some coffee that's too black, which means it's too strong. What do you do? You integrate it with cream, you make it weak. But if you pour too much cream in it, you won't even know you ever had coffee. It used to be hot, it becomes cool. It used to be strong, it becomes weak. It used to wake you up, now it puts you to sleep. This is what they did with the march on Washington.

They joined it. They didn't integrate it, they infiltrated it. They joined it, became a part of it, took it over. And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. Nothing but a circus, with clowns and all.

It was a sellout. It was a take-over. When James Baldwin came in from Paris, they wouldn't let him talk, because they couldn't make him go by the script. Burt Lancaster read the speech that Baldwin was supposed to make; they wouldn't let Baldwin get up there, because they know Baldwin is liable to say anything. They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what song to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make; and then told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one of those Toms was out of town by sundown.

Now I know you don't like my saying this. But I can back it up. It was a circus, a performance that beat anything Hollywood could ever do, the performance of the year. Reuther and those other three devils should get an Academy Award for the best actors because they acted like they really loved Negroes and fooled a whole lot of Negroes. And the six Negro leaders should get an award too, for the best supporting cast.

## An Ideal Gift Suggestion

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

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

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

# WATTS

AND

# HARLEM

The Rising Revolt  
In the Black Ghettos

by Robert Vernon  
and George Novack

25c

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New York, N.Y. 10003



## DRIVE AGAINST THE LEFT

# Indonesian Witch-Hunt Deepens

(World Outlook) — The officer caste of the Indonesian army, headed by General Nasution, is driving toward consolidation of its seizure of power, attempting to smash the Communist Party and completely eliminate it as a potential political rival. President Sukarno, seeking to re-establish the former balance on which he maintained his personal rule, has sought to stem the red-baiting but up to now has been unable to achieve anything effective; and, in fact, he appears to be a captive of the generals who are really running things.

Among the blows, delivered either directly by the generals or by "spontaneous mobs" inspired by them and by reactionary religious organizations, have been the padlocking of Communist Party headquarters in Jakarta, the banning of the Communist youth movement, the banning of the Communist-led All-Indonesian Central Organization of Trade Unions (SOBSI), the firing of all members of SOBSI who carried out any kind of protest actions in factories, plantations or offices; the suspension of members of parliament belonging to the Communist Party; and, then, the banning of the Communist Party, first in Jakarta, then in the other military districts in Java, finally throughout the country.

## Communists Silent

Up to now not a single leading body of the Indonesian Communist Party has issued a word of protest against the mounting witch hunt. Even more striking was the long silence of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies over the persecution visited on the Indonesian Communist Party. This criminal attitude began to resemble complaisance in the face of the attempted destruction of what up to now has been the biggest Communist Party in the world outside of the workers states themselves.

Peking finally found its voice and on Oct. 20 denounced the "atmosphere of terror" fostered by "right-wing army generals."

On the same day, the Kremlin decided to go on record. An editorial in *Pravda* denounced the witch hunt; and five days later *Pravda* again registered a complaint.

Peking's embarrassed wriggling is to be explained not only by the desire to keep up friendly relations with the Sukarno regime but also by the difficulty it faces in explaining how such a catastrophe could hit a party that has faithfully followed the "teachings of Mao Tse-tung."



Sukarno

The Kremlin, of course, is adhering to its line of "peaceful co-existence" which obviously includes buttoning your mouth while the Indonesian generals, backed by the CIA, go to work on the Communist Party with knife and cleaver.

And "the army is not losing a minute," according to J. Jacquet-Francillon, Far East special correspondent of the Paris daily *Le Figaro*. Writing from Jakarta Oct. 20, he reports:

"The hunt for Communists is being pursued night and day from one end of the Indonesian archipelago to the other. Everywhere the buildings belonging to the PKI are burning like haystacks. Here and there, popular demonstrations inspired by the military command

are taking on an outright anti-Chinese character. In the suburbs of Jakarta, near the port of Priok, the businesses of Chinese merchants have been sacked.

"The number of summary arrests in the capital are said to have now reached more than 4,000. No dependable figure can be obtained for the country as a whole."

## Fighting Reported

The generals now running Indonesia have declared the center of Java to be in a "state of war," according to an Oct. 28 Reuters dispatch. According to a report in the *New York Times* datelined Singapore, the Indonesian radio said Nov. 1 that, "President Sukarno, endorsing the crackdown by the army leaders a week ago, had formally placed central Java under martial law because of the 'grave danger.'"

The excuse given by the army is that "the Communists" have been "massacring civilians." According to army propaganda, "the Communists" have been "terrorizing the population, committing arson, robbery, pillage and proceeding to uprisings."

If there is any substance whatever to these assertions, it could mean that serious resistance has appeared to the counterrevolutionary repressive drive launched by the generals.

The Oct. 29 Paris daily *Le Monde* said, "... according to certain indications, the army is not in control of the whole country. General Suharto launched an appeal to rebel units in central Java. It thus appears that elements of the army have gone over to the insurrection. This information was reported not long after the Sept. 30 putsch, but it was indicated that most of the mutinous soldiers had given up to the forces of order."

## World Events

### Admits 'Trotsky No Dummy'

The new Soviet film that has Trotsky in it (which we reported on last week) is stirring some dispute in the Soviet Union. The Soviet defense ministry newspaper *Red Star* complained Nov. 3 that the new film, "The Salvo of the Aurora," does not portray Trotsky objectively enough. (We drew a similar conclusion last week, but hardly for the same reasons.)

V. Bushin, the military paper's film critic, does not object to the film's depiction of Trotsky as an opponent of Lenin in the Bolshevik uprising — although such an account is total violation of historical objectivity, possible only in a country that has suffered from decades of Stalinist rewriting of history.

What Bushin objects to is that the film does too crude a job on Trotsky. It presents him, says Bushin, as a cardboard figure, a "dummy," and sketches his character in such an "elementary and cheap fashion that it is incomprehensible how such a man could have confused anyone for even a moment." "In real life," Bushin pontificates, Trotsky was "an experienced, strong demagogue."

Having given the devil his due, Bushin also protests the film's treatment of Stalin's role in the October Revolution — an account which, incidentally, is much closer to historical truth. "Stalin does not say a single word," fumes Bushin, "and just keeps puffing on his pipe."

### Socialist Kidnapped

Mehdi Ben Barka, Moroccan socialist and exiled leader of the National Union of Popular Forces,

was apparently kidnapped in Paris Oct. 29. Ben Barka attracted international attention in 1963 when he publicly denounced the Moroccan monarchy, in principled revolutionary fashion, during the Moroccan-Algerian border conflict. For his stand, he was condemned to death in absentia by the courts of King Hassan.

However, Hassan's own fortunes haven't fared well lately. His attempts since 1963 to witch hunt the National Union out of existence have failed; also a failure was his attempt to preserve monarchical rule through a puppet parliament of officially-sponsored pro-monarchist parties. Strikes and demonstrations earlier this year led Hassan to dissolve this phony parliament and openly return to his own personal rule by decree. Thus stymied, he has reportedly been seeking a reconciliation with the popularly based opposition, whose most prominent leader — until his disappearance — was Ben Barka.

### Birth Control Issue

A French law that prohibits the sale of contraceptives, including birth control pills, to women — while men are free to buy them — has become an issue in the French presidential race. Francois Mitterand, the liberal anti-deGaulle candidate, is telling women voters they should have full legal access to the means of birth control. The 45-year-old law reflects the influence of the Catholic hierarchy in French politics; but also the apparently rigid attitude of the French Communist Party (PCF) on this subject has come under attack. Birth control advocates charge that the PCF frowns on birth control because

# Brazilian Dictator Puts New Curbs on Freedom

(World Outlook) — Brazil's reactionary officer caste has now made it crystal clear what the alternative is for all of Latin America. Either a socialist revolution like the one in Cuba or an absolute fascist-like dictatorship. This is the basic meaning of the decree announced by General Humberto Castelo Branco Oct. 27, converting himself into absolute dictator of Brazil.

Entitled the "Second Institutional Act," the decree declares all political parties in the country "extinct."

It empowers Castelo to dismiss from office any member of parliament or any other elective body any time he chooses.

The courts are to be packed immediately. The Supreme Court, for instance, is expanded from 11 judges to 16, with Castelo empowered to designate the appointees.

The powers of the governors of states are reduced, enabling Castelo to dictate to local administrations.

No elections can be held until the dictator decides. This in effect cancels the presidential elections scheduled for October 1966.

Castelo has the power to cancel the political rights of anyone he wishes for ten years. Political opponents can be placed under house arrest or ordered to stay in remote parts of the country in a kind of internal exile.

As for Castelo's successor, this will not be determined by universal suffrage but by a parliament handpicked by Castelo himself.

The decree is to run until March 15, 1967. There is, of course, nothing to stop the dictator from issuing a new decree extending this one if he wishes.

As for the constitution of Brazil, this was already violated by the coup d'etat that put Castelo

in power in April last year. This scrap of paper has now been torn to shreds. If there is any doubt about it, Castelo can call a "state of siege" at any time, suspending any constitutional right that anyone may imagine still exist.

The immediate reason for Castelo's decree was transparent. The dictator had hoped to gain a democratic facade through elections Oct. 3 in which the "opposition" was limited to barely token candidates approved by Castelo. The voters utilized this chink to roll up such a strong vote for the "opposition" that the regime stood discredited, obviously repudiated by the electorate.

The oligarchy, which displays almost pathological fear of the mildest kind of reforms, panicked at what the election revealed concerning public sentiment. Screams went up from the most reactionary figures such as Carlos Lacerda that Castelo had "betrayed." A "crackdown" was demanded to "stop" the "subversion." Castelo responded to this pressure, as was to be expected.

## Regime Recognized

When Castelo seized power in April 1964 by toppling the legally elected Goulart government, his coup d'etat was immediately recognized with the most indecent acclamations by the Johnson administration. The evidence showed, in fact, that the counterrevolutionary move was fomented by American business interests and actively pushed by the State Department. Since then the coup d'etat has been presented as a great victory for the Johnson administration. The process put into motion by Wall Street and their indigenous allies, servants and bootlickers has now reached its logical culmination. Latin America has been presented with Washington's alternative to the Cuban Revolution.

The absolute dictatorship instituted by Castelo is an example of what American imperialism would like to see throughout the world. This is the kind of regime Johnson is seeking to establish in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic, in the Congo and wherever it can possibly be rammed down the throats of the people.

## Gov't Continues Hounding of CP

The federal government has once more brought the Communist Party to trial under the notorious McCarran Act. The new trial involves a retrial on a 1961 12-count indictment for failing to register as a "foreign agent," and a new 11-count indictment for failing to register in during 11 consecutive days in February 1965.

In the past 15 years the Supreme Court has considered the act's provision requiring "communist acting groups" to register as "foreign agents" three times and the Court of Appeals four times. Some of the provisions have been overturned, and not a single person has registered. But the government continues to bring cases to court. An article in the Nov. 7 *New York Times* explains why they do it:

"On the face of it, a registration law that failed to get anybody registered might be considered a flop. But many persons feel it has served its purpose.

"The Communist Party over-acted," a high Justice Department official said earlier this week. "They worried so much about the cases against them they couldn't do anything else..."

"Its funds and energies have been depleted by the constant litigation. As an instrument of harassment, the law has been a success."

—George Saunders

## Marine Recruiters Met By Anti-War Students

NEW YORK — An attempted U.S. Marine recruiting drive on the New York University campus fizzled Nov. 8 when students opposed to the Vietnam war handed out leaflets at the recruiting booth. Their demonstration drew TV cameramen, reporters and a large crowd of students — some of them opposed to the war, some in favor, and some just curious.

The Marines decided it wasn't a good business location and moved to a less prominent one where they were largely ignored. Meanwhile their vacated table was used by students for distribution to the assembled crowd of literature opposing the Vietnam war.

NEW YORK — A rally to get the U.S. out of Vietnam will be held Saturday, Nov. 13, off Columbia University campus at 110th St. and Broadway. Sponsored by the May 2 Movement, Students for a Democratic Society and others, the rally will hear speakers from parties, committees and groups opposed to U.S. intervention in Vietnam.



## HE DEFIED SLAVEMASTERS

## Nat Turner: Leader of 1831 Revolt

By Derrick Morrison

Throughout the educational process in this country, the history of black people is suppressed and distorted.

An example is the myth about the docility of black people under the system of chattel slavery that existed before the Civil War. Slavery is painted up in our history texts as being not such a bad institution: the white Southerner and Negro got along just fine; nobody complained about slavery except those Northern agitators known as abolitionists. Anytime a few slaves got upset with the good life, it was caused by "outside agitators."

But a study of the facts reveals that a certain fear plagued life under the sweet Magnolias. This was the fear of slave rebellion, the fear of black slaves rising up, burning and pillaging plantations and killing whites. It was a fear that plagued Northern and Southern slaveowners in the 18th century, and it was prevalent throughout the South in the 19th century.

## Slave Rebellions

This fear was caused not only by the black slaves' cry of liberty or death in the American Revolution of 1776 and by the 1791 slave revolt in Haiti, but mainly by the slave rebellions and threats of such rebellions in this country. The most significant uprising, the one that generated the most widespread fear of slave insurrection in the ante-bellum South, was the 48-hour revolt of only 70 slaves led by Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831.

Nat Turner was born in 1800 — the year that Gabriel Prosser planned an uprising involving over a thousand slaves in Henrico County, Virginia, which was crushed before it materialized because a house slave (as usual) related the plot to "massa."

Turner served as a Baptist preacher on the plantation where he lived. As was the case with many rebels, he got his justification for rising up against slavery by studying the Bible. He sensed that he was divinely chosen as Christ was, to lead the liberation struggle of his people. He took the solar eclipse of Feb. 12, 1831, as his sign to prepare for the emancipation of the slaves. The insurrection was scheduled for July 4, a significant date, but was delayed because of an illness until Aug. 21.

He started out the evening of the 21st by killing the family to which he belonged. He had only six recruits then.

After 48 hours, 60 whites were dead — a poor, non-slave-holding white family which looked as bad off as the rebels was spared — and the band of rebels had increased to 70, most of them armed.

## Defeated

However, when one slave went ahead to tell the next plantation of the rebels' existence, the whites mobilized a militia and state troops. The slaves were defeated by overwhelming numbers. Nat Turner and others escaped.

In the ensuing days, over a hundred slaves, some having no knowledge of the rebellion, were massacred by volunteers from the area along with U.S. cavalry and artillery units. Thirteen rebels and three sympathizers were tried and hung. Turner was not captured until Oct. 30. He was hung on Nov. 5.

Although the uprising led by Turner only consisted of 70 slaves with not much planning beforehand, it created a panic among Southern whites. This hysteria caused slaveowners to increase the repression. Any rumor or sign of a rebellion would result in the torturing or execution of a few



Nat Turner

slaves to scare the others. After all, if Nat Turner, a slave who was treated well and appointed as a preacher by his master, could not be trusted, what slave could!

Before the Nat Turner rebellion, there were many sporadic outbursts made by individuals and small groups of slaves in the South. There were various conspiracies, which would have caused more tremors than the one in 1831, had they ever succeeded. In 1822, a slave insurrection was meticulously planned by Denmark Vesey, a free Negro, to take over Charleston, S.C. This came close to being carried out, but a house slave spilled the beans to "massa" some days before the insurrection took place. It was estimated by some observers that over 6,000 slaves were involved in the plot.

## Smashed Ties

Slave revolts were not as widespread and successful in the U.S. as the ones that took place in the West Indies and Brazil because the American system made sure that the cultural ties that existed between black slaves and the African continent were thoroughly smashed.

This mental genocide was done by dividing up slaves from the same tribe and families in the West Indies before they came to this country. This was done also with the help of Christianity, which was not so widespread among slaves outside of the United States. Thus, it was difficult to unite enough slaves for a sustained struggle or general uprising. The fact that slaves were not concentrated in one region but spread out, also added to the problem.

## Cautious

Generally, after the Nat Turner rebellion, Negroes were less likely to think in terms of organizing any opposition to the system. The revolt in Southampton showed the negative aspect of that type of action, the fact that the slaves were in the minority and could not hope to defeat the Southern slavemasters without outside or inside help from free men, the fact that death, not liberty, was the reward for an insurrection.

But the spirit of resistance did not die. It flared up again during the Civil War, when the slaves' desire for freedom was manifested, in the large numbers who volunteered for the Union Army. It was black men fighting for abolition which tipped the scales

against the South and won the war.

Today's radicals in the fight against war, poverty, and racism would profit from a study of the real history of the struggles of black people in America. This is one important way of gaining a perspective on the future course of events. One will discover, too, that he doesn't know American history until he has studied black history.

## MEANING OF THE CONFLICT

## Johnson Confronts Aluminum Companies

By Herman Porter

NOV. 8 — Intervention by the President in wage negotiations to pressure unions into settling for less has become such a regular procedure that it is hardly treated as news. But Presidential interference with prices is another matter — as the recent dispute over the price of aluminum demonstrates.

The dispute between the administration and the aluminum industry began with the Oct. 29 announcement by Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., a relatively minor producer of aluminum, that it was going to raise the price of crude aluminum by half a cent to 25 cents a pound, and raise the price of fabricated aluminum by an average of half a cent as well. A rash of statements by Johnson and his economic advisors, and the heads of the major aluminum producers followed, along with negotiations between the two groups. What has happened so far in the conflict which is not yet over is as follows:

Johnson and a group of prominent government officials denounced the price increase as inflationary. They announced that 200,000 tons of aluminum, a big part of the government's stockpile, would be sold next year.

Spokesmen for the aluminum industry complained about the government's action, and said they still intended to raise prices. In fact, Alcoa, the biggest producer, announced it would raise the price of fabricated aluminum by one cent a pound instead of half a cent, and the other major producers followed suit.

Many commentators compared the present confrontation to the show-down between Kennedy and U.S. Steel in 1962, when U.S.

## Questions and Answers About Socialism

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

**Socialists say they want to nationalize private property. Does this mean they want to take away my home, car, etc.?**

Socialists do not think that all property should be nationalized. They do not, for example, want to see personal property abolished or socialized.

One of the aims of socialism is to increase the number and quality of consumer goods and services of all kinds, and make them available to all people on a scale never before dreamed of. Personal property like clothes, houses, cars, etc. is the kind of private property socialists want everyone to have a lot more of. They also think that social services and certain kinds of "public property" like parks and cultural centers should be expanded, and other services, such as medicine, which are today run for private profit, should be socialized and run for the benefit of everybody.

Under capitalism, the economy as a whole is run on the basis of profit — profit for the few who own the means of production. The capitalist owners of the means of production (the means of production includes the factories, mines, railroads, giant farms, etc.) make the decisions about what is to be produced on the basis of their estimation of the market and their expected profits — what's in it for them. What is most profitable for the capitalists is not necessarily what is best for the masses of the people. For example, good low-cost housing is not profitable, and slums are — so we

have bad housing.

Socialists believe that the decisions about what is produced, how much, etc., should be made democratically by the people, and should be based on what is needed by the many instead of what is profitable for the few.

In place of reliance on the market, and competition between capitalists and groups of capitalists, a socialist economy would be based upon a comprehensive, scientific plan. Socialist planning of a modern industrial economy would eliminate recessions, inflation and unemployment. Almost all the waste connected with sales, advertising, etc. would be avoided. Such an economy would not need the waste of war, either.

The capitalists use planning, but the purpose of their planning is to increase their profits, regardless of the needs of the economy and people as a whole. Socialist planning would consciously apply science and economics to the economy as a whole, greatly accelerating economic development and production of all kinds of goods and services.

To plan the economy scientifically, and run it for the benefit of the masses of people, the dominant means of production will have to belong, not to a few individuals, but to society as a whole. So, to increase the "private property" of goods and services available to everyone, socialists think that the private ownership of the economy should be abolished, and the means of production nationalized. — Alex Harte

Steel announced a general price increase, and Kennedy ordered them to cancel it.

These efforts to hold prices down reflect a growing problem for the U.S. economy and resulting conflicts between sections of the capitalist class. During 15 of the past 16 years the flow of money out of the country has been greater than the flow into it, or in technical language the balance of payments has been negative. This situation has become serious since 1958 — the negative balance has been more than \$3 billion every year since then.

This drain could persist so long because of the enormous stockpile of gold the U.S. had accumulated since the First World War, and because of the special position of the dollar as the main currency used in world trade. Foreign countries have been willing to hold far more dollars than the U.S. could redeem with gold, because dollars are accepted like gold in world trade.

As the supply of foreign-held dollars has mounted there has been increasing pressure on the U.S. government to end the outflow. So far it has not succeeded in doing so. But it must at least reduce the size of the outflow in the near future.

The need to reduce the deficit in the balance of payments makes it necessary to prevent inflation of wholesale prices. If U.S. prices go up, American products will become less competitive with products from other countries — exports will decline and imports increase, aggravating the balance of payments problem. That's why the government applies pressure to keep prices down, in the interests of capitalism and the capitalist class as a whole.

Of course, steel and aluminum

producers, and some other manufacturers are not directly affected by the payments deficit. They are concerned about their profits and want to raise prices. The sections of the capitalist class most concerned with the "soundness of the dollar" are the banks and those most dependent on foreign trade. They suffer directly from inflation.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler said that the unloading of the 200,000 tons of aluminum from the government stockpile was an "essential step" in the campaign to end the balance of payments deficit, according to the Nov. 8 *Wall Street Journal*. Imports of aluminum have more than doubled in the past four years, reaching 500,000 tons annually. Fowler estimated that the "cost of this deterioration to our balance of payments already exceeds \$100 million."

For some months now, U.S. aluminum producers have been operating at full capacity. Output is expected to approach 3 million tons this year. That is the most important reason why they can buck the government. Growing military production alone is expected to require 150,000 to 200,000 tons more aluminum next year than will be used in the current year.

Out of the total government stockpile of 1.9 million tons, 1.4 million are classified as surplus. Johnson can dispose of more than 500,000 tons of the surplus without any further action by Congress.

The outcome of the conflict over the announced price increases is not yet clear. At a minimum, the government's actions represent a warning against future price increases in other industries as well as aluminum.



# 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.]

## Psychiatric Study

Minneapolis, Minn.  
Last week the U.S. Department of Labor announced the awarding of a \$36,272 contract to the North Star Research and Development Institute for a study of the causes of unemployment in Minnesota. Guy H. Miles, a psychologist, will be in charge of the study.

Of course, the \$36,272 will undoubtedly ease the war-on-poverty position of the North Star Research and Development Institute; but it is difficult to imagine how a psychologist could do anything but blame the unemployed for the fact that they are deprived of the right to have a job. It would seem to be a good bet that these old hack arguments are going to get a retread job and the U.S. people are going to get a snow job of the type that attempts to show the unemployed as "having wrong attitudes" and all that stuff.

It would be interesting for this "study" to publish the "attitudes" of the ghettoized Indians and other non-whites, but then that is not their purpose. To an ever greater extent, the only place where we can obtain those facts is *The Militant*.

Jim Krahn

[If he's a good psychologist, he may conclude the system is crazy. Editor.]

## Gambling Man

Vashon, Wash.  
I see my subscription is about up so I am going to gamble a little. I'm sending you \$3 for a year. I'm 95 years old, if I send \$3 I'll have to live another year to read it.

I got introduced to socialism by reading Victor Berger's *Social Democratic Herald* in 1897. But got curious, when in England and found that I could buy an American made mowing machine \$25 cheaper there than I could buy it in Missouri, and in 1893 I could buy Armour's products cheaper in England than in Chicago.

When I told that truth in Chicago I was called an anarchist. Socialism will be a fact in USA when the socialist countries become competitors in the world markets, and not much sooner.

Nuff sed. Yours for socialism.

B.S.

## Report from Indianola

Indianola, Miss.  
We are writing you to inform you on our progress in the county and our progress towards rebuilding the Freedom School.

Everyone can register now, so we will not be able to get a federal registrar. We are bringing people from the northern part of the county, Rome and Drew, to the court house to register.

Drew agreed to integrate its schools, and one woman sent her five children to the white school. Two women in Indianola tried unsuccessfully to enroll their children in the white schools.

We purchased the land on which we will build the new Freedom

School. A volunteer and I contributed the last of our savings to help pay for it. The city engineer, who had promised to give us the building permit on Sept. 16, quit before that date. The mayor, who now has the authority to issue permits, doesn't want to give a permit for a building that will be used for political meetings. Our lawyer is still trying to get us a permit. We will write you again and keep you informed on what is happening in Sunflower County.

Otis Brown, Jr.

## 3 Victimized GIs

Ann Arbor, Mich.  
I have just heard that three men in the Armed Services in Vietnam have been given prison sentences at hard labor for an act of conscience. One of them has been sentenced to ten years of life as an animal for a supremely human act. The other two have been given two years.

I find myself wondering at America's noble assertions at the Nuremberg Trials. Does a country have the right to force a man to act in a way contrary to his conscience?

I urge all those who believe in freedom to protest the injustice of the military court in Saigon and demand freedom for these three brave and honest men.

Yours for peace and freedom.

J.B.K.

## Delayed Delivery

W. Hartford, Conn.  
Despite the difficulties of postal delays in obtaining your paper, I look forward to each issue. I think that *The Militant* is the best weekly socialist journal in the na-

tion. Someday, the liberating ideas of socialism will win a victory in the United States, and the rulers of our society can just hope that the aroused working people will show more mercy to them than they have shown to the working people.

Could you please send me some of the literature the Socialist Workers Party is using in the New York City campaign this year. Also, please send me the latest list of publications from Pioneer Publishers.

P.B.

## Conscience-Struck

Minneapolis, Minn.  
My name is capitalism. I am familiar to all as segregation, poverty, hunger, want and injustice. The reason why not everyone knows these truths about me is that I control the major means of communication: television, radio, and the press.

I keep running by giving the people the old bit about being free and by always promising better days ahead, as well as red-baiting what I don't like and deporting people who don't like me. I'll try anything to stay alive — even imperialism. I must crush any progressive movements in the world in order to maintain a high profit level for those few people who make my existence possible.

Please print this letter because my conscience is bothering me — I've been telling too many lies lately.

F.E.

## Another Postal Complaint

Seaford, N.Y.  
I have read two letters to *The Militant* about the outrageous conduct of the Post Office in delivering the newspaper. I sympathize with both readers. I live a few miles from New York City and I get my paper TWO WEEKS LATE.

For example, I got the Oct. 11 issue (mailed from New York on Oct. 7 or 8) on Oct. 23! There is no reason for the two week delay.

I would like you to print in your newspaper on how either individual readers or your office can pressure the Post Office to speed up delivery. Would it do any good to complain? I do believe that the best way to correct the evil would be to publicize it. Articles in *The Militant* telling

## Thought for the Week

"The main difficulty with an animal skin gift . . . is in having to decide whether to have it with teeth and tongue showing or with a flat head mounting. As the pre-holiday time grows more frantic, many a woman is likely to find that she is not up to such decisions."  
— Virginia Lee Warren in the *New York Times*.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**A Great State** — Brent Davis, an instructor at Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, was fired because he circulated a petition condemning the practice of whipping prisoners at the state penal farm. Inmates are lashed with a long leather strap.

**Penal Sociologist** — Multnomah County, Oregon, officials vetoed a request by Sheriff Donald Clark for 30 cases of baby food. He had bought 70 cases last March to feed prisoners in solitary confinement. His theory is that forcing solitary confinement prisoners to eat baby food humiliates them in the eyes of other prisoners and should thereby reduce the number of "problem" prisoners. County officials denied the new request on the grounds that the baby food costs more than what is usually fed the prisoners and that the sheriff had not offered any statistics to substantiate the effectiveness of his program.

**Sensible Solution** — The government now estimates that 34.1 million people are living in poverty. But Wilbur Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Welfare and Education, believes "the United States has arrived at the point where poverty could be abolished easily and simply by the stroke of a pen." He says: "To raise every individual and family in the nation now below a subsistence income to the subsistence level would cost about \$12 billion a year." This is about one quarter the amount expended for war.

**Our Psychic President** — Presidential press secretary Bill D. Moyers reports that the President has no need to go among the people to know how they feel because "he has a great natural gift for knowing, feeling and sensing the mood of the American people" and that he "was born with a feeling for people." Mr. Moyers added

that it was not his job "to build the President's image."

**Hint for Harassed Homemakers** — In case the family is getting tired of that 69-cent-a-pound liverwurst, a number of New York's better markets are now offering foie gras (chopped and pressed goose liver to you) flown in fresh from France. It's available in half-pound, pound and two-pound hunks. Only \$30 a pound. And if you don't want to spend that much for something that looks like liverwurst, send \$130 to the Neiman-Marcus department store in Dallas. They'll ship you a 14-ounce tin of golden caviar, whatever that is.

**Dazzle Your Guests** — In addition to golden caviar, Neiman-Marcus is offering a 24-karat gold-plated toilet seat for \$250. For

another \$18, Hammacher Schlemmer in New York will provide a cut-Plexiglas cover for those who are offended by the sight of toilet paper.

**Command Performance** — The Oklahoma Pardon and Parole Board now requires convicts to learn the Bible's Ten Commandments before they can win parole.

**It Figures** — A strip-tease artist and a belly dancer charged they were robbed while performing at a police stag party in Elmhurst, N.Y. One had \$20 stolen from her purse and the other was missing a pair of silk lace panties worth \$10 to \$15. The cops obviously were looking the other way when the crime occurred. Or most of them, at any rate.

—Harry Ring

## A UNIQUE COMBINATION

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## Legal Group Documents Illegality of Vietnam War

By Dick Roberts

A group of prominent American lawyers issued a legal brief on Nov. 12 declaring that U.S. intervention in Vietnam is a clear violation of the United Nations Charter, the 1954 Geneva Accords, the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty and the United States Constitution. The brief, constituting a 26-page pamphlet was mailed to 178,421 lawyers, law professors and deans of law schools.

The signers of the brief, entitled "American Policy vis-a-vis Vietnam," include Robert W. Kenny, former attorney general of California. Kenny is the honorary chairman of the group which calls itself the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam; other signers are William L. Standard, a New York attorney, chairman; Carey McWilliams, editor of the *Nation*, vice chairman; and Joseph H. Crown, secretary.

The brief is helpful because it quotes the pertinent sections of the treaties which U.S. aggression in Vietnam violate, cutting through the intentional misrepresentations of these treaties which the Johnson administration and the American press have perpetrated to justify this war of atrocities.

The UN Charter outlaws all "threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state," and rules that the Security Council alone "shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression."

Furthermore, the brief points out, the Vietnamese war must be considered a civil war within a single nation, and the United States must be considered a foreign nation vis-a-vis Vietnam. This argument is based on a consideration of the 1954 Geneva Accords, which the United States supported, and the supporting statement.

The Accords made no division of Vietnam into two separate countries but rather designated a "military demarcation line," and stated in Article 6 that this line

### Solid Point

"Since the Geneva Accords recognized all of Vietnam as a single state, the conflict, whether of the Vietcong or Ho Chi Minh against South Vietnam, is 'civil strife' and foreign intervention is forbidden, because civil strife is a domestic question — a position insisted upon by the United States in its civil war of 1861. Ho Chi Minh can compare his position in demanding union of Vietnam with that of Lincoln, when Britain and France were threatening to intervene to assure the independence of the Confederacy . . . Nor should it be overlooked that Lincoln had very little support from the people of the South, who generally supported the Confederacy, while Ho Chi Minh has a great deal of support from the people in South Vietnam . . ." ("American Policy vis-a-vis Vietnam.")

"is provisional and shall not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

The intervention by the United States in the Vietnam civil war not only constitutes a violation of these international treaties, the lawyers insist, but a violation of the American Constitution, since Congress has not declared war.

They document this argument with a number of citations from Supreme Court decisions upholding the Constitutional separation of powers which give Congress the exclusive right to declare war. But the lawyers carefully add that "even a declaration of war by the Congress would not negate the violations of our [international] obligations."

Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained for \$1.00 from Jesse Gordon, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y.

## Young Socialist Spokesman Heard By Many in Midwest

Mary Alice Styron, touring spokesman for the Young Socialist Alliance, addressed four campus audiences and the Friday Night Socialist Forum during her stay in Chicago, Oct. 22-26. The most successful meetings were the Roosevelt University symposium

with Paul Booth of Students for a Democratic Society and Earl Silbar of the Roosevelt University Students Against War, and the Forum where the discussion included remarks from half a dozen veterans opposed to the Vietnam war.

Miss Styron held a well-attended press conference, and was interviewed on several stations and two television shows.

### Views Aired

At the Roosevelt U. symposium on "What Next for the Anti-War Movement?" Paul Booth explained the proposed SDS anti-draft program. Miss Styron spoke on the 1946 troop demonstrations in the U.S. Army that resulted in the demobilization of the army. She related those events to the present antiwar and anti-draft actions, arguing for a broad antiwar movement based on the demand to "Bring the Troops Home" rather than the anti-draft approach.

Since then the YSA leader has spoken in Detroit, Ann Arbor and Cleveland. While in Cleveland she spoke at Western Reserve University, Kent State University and a forum sponsored by the YSA. She was heard on WJMO, Cleveland's main Negro radio station, and interviewed on two television stations and in the *Cleveland Press*.

## U.S.-CUBAN EMIGRATION PACT

# Castro Sees No General Thaw

By Harry Ring

Fidel Castro does not see any immediate prospect for improvement in U.S.-Cuba relations despite current negotiations between the two governments over the departure of Cuban émigrés. This was reported by *New York Times* correspondent Richard Eder after a Nov. 1 interview with the Cuban Premier in Havana. Two other U.S. journalists and one from Spain participated in a five-hour discussion with Dr. Castro.

Eder, whose reporting from Havana has generally been fairly reliable, said that the Cuban revolutionary leader also described intensified efforts to curb bureaucratism and to promote greater freedom of thought and expression.

Castro said U.S. aggression throughout the world was the principal barrier to a thaw in U.S.-Cuban relations. "There can be no general improvement," he said, "until United States relations with other parts of the world improve."

He cited U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic as "a more aggressive, more interventionist policy against national liberation movements."

While keeping the door open for any further specific agreements that his country and the U.S. might possibly arrive at in the days ahead, Castro indicated that he did not think there would be many such cases.

### Reforms Described

Fidel also dwelt on some of the specific measures being taken to cut down Cuba's expensive and often obstacle-creating administrative bureaucracy, a theme that has figured prominently in several recent speeches to the Cuban people.

According to Eder, Fidel said that the Finance Ministry will be abolished, with its functions spread among several other existing agencies. A number of middleman agencies involved in the distribution of food, will also be abolished.

He reportedly announced that the agency responsible for the collection of urban rents would be dissolved and that 80 percent of the Cuban people would no longer pay rent.

Under Cuba's urban reform laws, rents had first been slashed in half and later multiple dwellings were taken over by the government and further reductions instituted.

### Retraining Planned

Abolition of the various agencies will reportedly eliminate 25,000 jobs. However, according to a previous report to the Cuban people, this will not mean 25,000 jobless. The campaign to reduce the size of the government bureaucracy involves not hiring new people for a ten-year period and providing training for new occupations at regular wages for those whose jobs are eliminated.

Citing moves to reduce tendencies toward bureaucratism and the stifling of free thought, Eder reported that Fidel said they would seek to make the Cuban press "less asphyxiated," with more discussion and controversy and with a more objective presentation of foreign news.

As the revolution becomes more sure of itself, he reports Fidel as saying, "we must work toward the most absolute latitude in what is printed."

Eder said Fidel also described the curbing of a tendency toward sectarian thinking among university students and the promotion of a greater degree of tolerance toward non-revolutionary students.

Eder adds: "There has also been an effort to stimulate more in-



Fidel Castro

dependent thinking among party members, he said, with less reliance on a manual of instruction borrowed from the soviet-bloc countries."

Replying to rumors in the international press that Che Guevara was dead, Fidel said he knew where Guevara was but would not disclose the place and that he was "in the best of health."

He told the newsmen that he had last seen Guevara on April 1 when the Argentine-born revolutionary had given him the letter which announced his decision to leave Cuba to aid the revolution abroad (See text of letter in *The Militant*, Oct. 18.)

Describing his last meeting with Che, Fidel said: "We said fare-

well. It was hard — a moment of great emotion, for the time we had been together and the great affection we had for each other."

Other points in the interview dealt with the prospects for Cuba's sugar crop and the negotiations surrounding those who wish to leave Cuba for the U.S.

Fidel said it would be a "tight squeeze" to fulfill this year's sugar crop quota of 6.5 million tons because of lack of rain in several key areas. However, he added, extensive new plantings and increased fertilization will bring the 1967 crop to a record 7.5 million tons.

### Departure Expedited

On the arrangements for those wishing to leave for the U.S., Fidel said that doctors and certain technicians might be delayed for a period, but that Cuba would expedite exit visas for all others. He said that "our principle is that the revolution should be a free association of people who want to live here."

Contrary to popular impression, Cuba has never closed the door on those who wish to leave. It was the U.S. who cut off the opportunity for people to come here at the time it imposed the embargo on Cuba. It was only last month when Castro challenged them on this, that U.S. authorities agreed to negotiate to make it possible for Cubans to come here.

Asked by his interviewers if he didn't consider it unusual that Cubans wanted to go to the U.S., Fidel replied: "Men have always wanted to go to your country from all parts of the world."

"Let me ask you," he added, "How many Brazilians do you think would go to the United States if the United States told them it would pay all expenses and make all arrangements, as it is doing here?"

## 5 Pacifists Burn Draft Cards At New York Rally of 2,000

NEW YORK — Some 2,000 people, the overwhelming majority opposed to the war in Vietnam, attended an anti-conscription rally in Union Square here on Nov. 6. A group of 40 ultrarightists counterpicketed noisily. The meeting was called by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, and featured a draft-card burning by five men.

A. J. Muste, dean of the pacifist movement, spoke on the self-immolation of Norman Morrison in Washington recently. He asked for a minute of silence in honor of Morrison and all the dead of the Vietnam war. The entire crowd observed the minute of silence while the band of right-wing counterpickets shouted, "Red, red, red!"

### Answered Critics

Muste answered those who accused Morrison of being deranged because he burned himself to death by saying: "We are living in a society which actually thinks of immolating itself in nuclear warfare."

Muste went on to answer those who criticize civil disobedience. He asserted that if you go back and look at the origin of any cherished institution, you'll see it was begun by acts of revolution or civil disobedience. It took people who were willing to transcend the law to bring these institutions into being, he said.

Thomas Cornell, one of the draft card burners, said that in passing the anti-draft-card-burning law the government had "consecrated a piece of paper, to exact obedience to it." As a Catholic, he ex-

plained, he could not acquiesce to "idol worship."

Four others burned their draft cards: James E. Wilson, Marc Edelman, David McReynolds and Roy Lisker. Wilson was the only one in the group to burn for the second time. He destroyed his first draft card in February 1965.

## Texas KKK Stages Vietnam War Rally

Thirty-one robed members of the Ku Klux Klan marched through Austin, Texas, Nov. 6 and then attempted to stage a rally at the State Capitol in support of the Vietnam war. The rally was called off after about ten minutes because the speakers were drowned out by several thousand University of Texas students who sang "fight songs" and roared football yells.

A Klan leader said the attempted rally was intended as a counter-demonstration to a march staged by Students for a Democratic Society two weeks ago in opposition to the war.

The Klan rally was apparently not based on the policy of non-exclusion. A group of American Nazi Party members who wanted to join the demonstration in favor of the Vietnam war were turned away by the bedsheet boys.

A Klan spokesman said, "We wanted to let the public know we back our government's policy in Vietnam."



Mary Alice Styron