

# American Casualties Mounting in Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

NOV. 16 — The number of American soldiers the government has admitted have been killed on the Vietnamese battlefields has gone over the 1,000 level, associate editor of the *New York Times* James Reston stated Nov. 14. This compares with the government's figures of 831 combat deaths Oct. 14, 902 as of Nov. 1, and 987, Nov. 8. ("Non-combat" deaths have not been listed since this summer. At that time they were given as approximately 400 as compared to approximately 600 combat deaths.)

This rapid increase in the toll of American GIs reflects the change in the character of the Vietnamese war which has occurred in the past several weeks. For the first time, large numbers of U.S. troops are being thrown into prolonged battles against the Vietnamese revolutionaries.

At Pleime, near the Cambodian border, an off-and-on battle is now raging in its fifth week. During this time, several U.S. platoons have been chewed to pieces, accounting for the bulk of the increased casualties. One platoon was reduced from 29 to 6, the *New York Times* reported Nov. 16.

Reporting similar casualties from a second battleground near Bienhoa, Nov. 11, *Times* reporter R. W. Apple, Jr., described the reaction of one private: "It wasn't worth it," he said, twisting his hat in his hands. "Every time I looked up there were bullets dancing toward me. It was hell. I hated it."

A staff sergeant whose squad had been nearly wiped out told Apple: "I've done the very best I could . . . I haven't shirked. I've tried to make my commander proud of me and my squad. Now all I want to do is get out of here, get away from this place, go home. But I can't take my men with me, because they're most of them dead."

This is only the beginning of what looks like a long and bloody attempt by U.S. military forces to turn the tide of the Vietnamese war in Washington's favor. It will be long and bloody, as these reports indicate already, because the South Vietnamese people are going to fight every inch of the way to defend their country against the U.S. invaders.

But Washington appears ready to stop at no sacrifice of human life to preserve their imperialist foothold in Southeast Asia. As of midnight, Nov. 11, the *Times* reported today, there were 161,000 American troops in Vietnam, ready to replenish the supply of troops being cut down in battles like the one near Pleime.

Draft boards across the country are beginning to sink their levies into the ranks of college students, married men and young doctors. The December draft call, now placed at 40,200 is the biggest since the Korean war. It will place the total draft for the last six months of 1965 at 175,150 as compared to the cold-war normal of about 100,000 men a year.

As resistance of the Vietnamese revolutionaries stiffens in South Vietnam, the United States is stepping up its daily bomb attacks both on villages in the



Sec'y of State Rusk

South and against industrial and military targets in the North. The Nov. 7 strike against defensive missile installations in North Vietnam was the closest to Hanoi so far, the Associated Press reported, while the giant Guam-based B-52 jet bombers flew the 60th saturation bomb raid against South Vietnam, the same day.

The sharp step-up of U.S. troop commitment to the Vietnam battle lines has not been accompanied by a parallel clarification of U.S. goals by the Democratic administration. The reason is clear

enough: millions of Americans are opposed to the war-of-atrocities in Southeast Asia and would refuse to accept the Johnson war program if it were ever spelled out.

"There is a quiet uneasiness in this country," James Reston conceded in the editorial cited above, "about the war in Vietnam — far more widespread and probably more important than the noisy demonstrations in the universities . . ." Therefore, Reston suggests, "Officials go on talking as if one more summer or one more winter of American action will bring the desired result, but in private they concede that this kind of war could easily go on for years."

An example of the cynical and hypocritical lying which Washington uses to cover its aggression in Vietnam was embarrassingly thrown in the face of the State Department this week in an article in *Look* magazine by Eric Sevareid. Sevareid disclosed, and the State Department reluctantly admitted, that North Vietnam had been prepared to enter negotiations with the United States in Rangoon, Burma, last fall.

How about Johnson's 1964 presidential "peace" campaign and his promise of "unconditional negotiations"? "On the basis of the evidence available to us," the State Department's press officer Robert J. McCloskey replied, "we did not believe at any time that North Vietnam was prepared for serious peace talks." McCloskey might have added, "and we were also preparing to dump thousands of tons of bombs on North Vietnam."

## ON-THE-SCENE REPORT

# Calif. Grape Pickers Strike

By Hal Verb

DELANO, Calif., Nov. 6 — "Huelga!" ("Strike!") was the cry that greeted a caravan of cars loaded down with cartons of food for striking grape pickers when it arrived in this agricultural town today. Delano is in the Central Valley, heart of the state's vineyards, which has been the scene of a two-month long strike against the grape growers association by farm workers in a drive for better wages and a union contract.

The motorcade originated out of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area, a distance of nearly 300 miles from the beleaguered town of Delano and is one of many which have been bringing tons of food here for what has been described by observers as "the largest and most effective strike since the 1930's."

In California, agribusiness is a multi-billion dollar industry. So profitable has it become that companies as far away as England have invested in California. The Kern County Land Company, for example, is an English-controlled corporation which owns more than 200 square miles in Kern County alone.

Large corporations such as those operating the Sierra Vista Ranch (DiGiorgio Corporation), the California Packing Corporation (Del

Monte Products) and the giant Sunkist orange and lemon combine have had a history of market manipulation. Through such practices as these and the low wages farm workers are paid the companies are able to amass huge profits in a highly exploitative industry.

### All Tied Up

Moreover these companies have an interlocking directorate of corporations that reads like a list of some of the biggest banking, utilities, manufacturing and insurance corporations in the U.S. The DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, for example, has interlocking directorates which include such titans of big business as Union Oil Co., Lockheed Aircraft, Bank of America and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company; yet these enterprises are exempt from labor laws as if they were family farms.

The grape pickers strike is led by the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) and the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). It began Sept. 8 when hundreds of Filipino workers organized by AWOC in ten camps near Delano and in nearby Earlimart had refused to work, demanding a salary increase from \$1.10 an hour to \$1.40 an hour.

# THE MILITANT

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## An Interview With Deacon for Defense

By Herman Porter

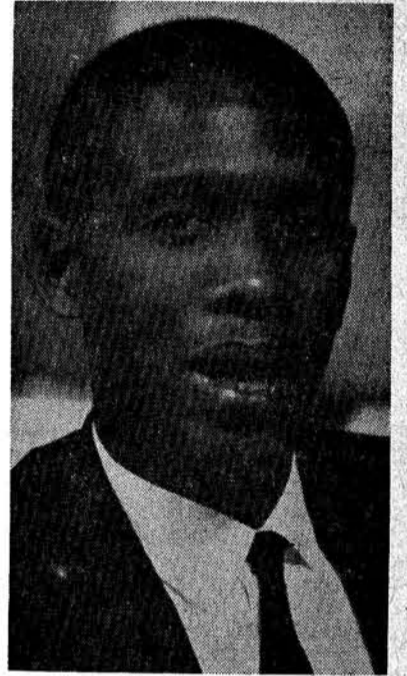
Henry Austan, a leader of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, gave an interview to *The Militant* while in New York on Nov. 13.

Austan explained that he had never been active in any civil rights activity until the beginning of this year, when he moved from his home in Baton Rouge, La., to Bogalusa, La., to begin a new job as an insurance salesman. An incident occurred soon after which impelled him to join the movement.

Austan and his supervisor stopped along a road to talk with a policy holder one day. The three Negroes were approached by a white man who pulled out a .45 caliber pistol and said, "What are you niggers doing here?" Another white man with a shotgun came over, and ordered them out of the area. The sheriff was contacted, but he would do nothing about the incident.

"I bought a pistol," said Austan. "Three weeks later, I heard of the Deacons and joined them."

The atmosphere in Bogalusa is different from Baton Rouge, Austan explained. Bogalusa is a small,



Henry Austan

relatively new town, and white people there are more antagonistic toward Negroes than in the city of Baton Rouge.

The Deacons were first organized in Jonesboro, a small town in northern Louisiana, on July 10, 1964. Civil rights activity had begun there, and the Klan was using terror tactics against the movement. The Klan rode through the black community shooting into houses; they dragged people from their homes and threatened them. The police were informed but did nothing to stop the terror. One night a 25-car Klan caravan drove through led by a police car.

That was too much. Ernest Thomas, called "Chilly Willy" by his friends because of his cold reserve, and two others called together a group of ten veterans of the Korean war and World War II. They organized the Deacons of Defense and Justice to defend against Klan terror. The organization spread to Bogalusa, said Austan.

"The Deacons are not just a gun-battling organization," explained the young organizer. They are set up to participate in a wide range of activity — from voter registration to transporting civil rights workers in safety into "hot spots." "We are dedicated to freedom and we're willing to use any means necessary to obtain our freedom."

The Deacons are concentrating on the next steps in building their organization: raising funds, organizing new chapters, establishing better communications among the chapters, and training the members in various aspects of self-defense, said Austan. They hope to

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# Washington Antiwar March and Convention Nov. 25-28

Antiwar Convention called by National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Nov. 25-28 at Lincoln Memorial Temple, 11 & R St. (Sat. session at Mayflower Hotel, Connecticut & DeSalle.) Peace March at White House, Sat. Nov. 27, 11 a.m.



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Foreign affairs is the greatest problem facing the AFL-CIO according to a Convention Call signed by AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler.

The Convention, the AFL-CIO's sixth constitutional session, will open Dec. 9, in the Civic Auditorium, San Francisco. It marks the tenth anniversary of the merged federation.

After incorrectly observing that "America's repeated appeals for peace, for unconditional negotiations at any time in any place, have been answered only by new attacks by the Communist forces," the Call complained about "misguided protests of some Americans against the war."

This attack was weakened by the call's admission that "our country is committed to a defense effort half-way around the world which no one likes and too few understand."

A report in the Oct. 29 *Seafarers' Log* complains of three foreign flag ships tied up "at various ports around the world" due to refusal of foreign crews to sail the vessels. All three, reportedly loaded with military cargo for South Vietnam, are of British registry. One ship, the *Craftsman*, was tied up in Kobe, Japan, when her Indian crew deserted after learning the ship was bound for South Vietnam. A Chinese crew, flown in to replace them, sailed the ship as far as Hong Kong, but they too refused to continue. The remaining British ships are also manned by Chinese crews.

The *Seafarers' Log* also reports that several Japanese shipping companies have recently cancelled contracts to carry supplies to South Vietnam because of the refusal of Japanese seamen to sail with the cargo.

The November Metal Trades Department *Bulletin* (AFL-CIO) reports similar incidents: "This past September a 9,000 ton military cargo for Vietnam was delayed three weeks when first a Greek

crew and then a Mexican crew refused to sail with it aboard Greek and Mexican flag ships. A few weeks later another Greek crew refused to sail with another cargo for Vietnam."

American owned "run-away flag ships" are also unreliable for carrying Vietnam cargo, according to the *Bulletin*, because "they carry mixed crews not always sympathetic to the U.S."

A continuing decline in attendance at union meetings led a Philadelphia local of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Union to adopt a new rule. It stated that candidates for union office, in order to be eligible, must have attended 75 percent of all union meetings during the previous two years.

A legal ruling in a U.S. District Court, however, held that the rule was "too harsh" since it would have disqualified 489 of the 500 members in the local.

Meanwhile, Baltimore AFL-CIO President Dominic N. Fornaro recently wrote a letter of "advice" to wives of union members in the area. "If you have a good man at home," he pleaded, "shoo him off to his union meeting."

The letter invited wives to attend meetings of the Central Labor Council to learn more about the union movement.

After being double-crossed by Democratic "friends" in the 89th Congress, who helped block the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, AFL-CIO leaders are now praising the last session of Congress.

One example is a special article in the November *Union News*, published by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, which proclaimed: "1965 Great Year for Working Man in U.S. Congress."

An editorial in the same issue then points the finger of guilt at rank-and-file workers as those responsible for Section 14(b) remaining on the books. "You — the individual union member," it complains, "are the culprit."

After observing that the AFL-CIO had grown by more than 245,000 members the year ending June, 1965, and now numbered more than 13 million members, the edit palms off this legislative defeat by unctuously stating: "But how many of you have taken the time to write a postcard to your senator, urging him to vote for repeal . . ."

## Catholic College Holds Latin America Teach In

NEW YORK — On Nov. 12, students of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, located in Westchester county in New York, held a teach-in on U.S. policy in Latin America. It was attended by hundreds of students as well as nuns, priests and members of the community. In addition to professors and experts on the topic the teach-in also invited Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in 1964, to debate Enrique Abascal, an exiled Cuban, on "Christian Democratic Evolution vs. Communist Revolution."

The highlight of the evening was a presentation by Felix McGowan, a former priest, who had spent 10 years among the Bolivian Indians and who had visited Cuba.

He reported on how much he had been impressed by the positive achievements of the Cuban revolution and how he had begun to learn to look on communists as people and not as something beyond the pale of humanity. When he finished his presentation and answering questions, McGowan was given a standing ovation.

# ... California Grape Pickers Strike

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selves. The NFWA is an independent membership organization started three years ago by Chavez.

In Delano the Filipino Community Center was turned into a headquarters for the strikers and a storehouse for the tons of food that were delivered from all over the state. Each morning at 4 a.m. crews of pickets would move out to find out which fields growers would attempt to work. In many cases the strikebreakers did not know that they were being asked to work behind picket lines until they reached the field. A large percentage never showed up the next day after they learned from the shouting pickets what was at stake.

"At first they (the growers) laughed at us — they thought we were fools," one striker told this reporter, "but now they are not smiling." It took three of the strikebreakers to replace each striker since most of them had not picked grapes before. The field bosses watched over them like mother hens trying to keep them from going out to the road where the pickets were marching.

Said Chavez: "Ranchers in the area which included DiGiorgio Fruit, Schenley and many independent growers did not take the strike seriously at first. By the second or third week, however, they began taking another look and striking back. The growers



Willard Wirtz

began harassing the pickets spraying them with sulfur, running tractors by them to create dust storms, building barricades of farm machinery so that scabs could not see the pickets.

"These actions not only increased the determination of the strikers, but convinced some of the scabs that the ranchers were, in fact, less than human. Scabs quit work and the strike grew. The growers hired security guards for \$43 a day. They began driving their patrol cars, equipped with police dogs and rifles, up and down the roads. The people made

more picket signs, drew in their belts and kept marching."

According to *El Malcriado*, the Delano strikers' bi-weekly newspaper, pickets have been knocked down by members of the Growers Association. When Hector Abeytia of AWOC was beaten in front of witnesses by grower and shipper Charles Dispoto the police report referred to the attacker as "assailant unknown" and ignored the testimony of both Abeytia and the witnesses.

The pickets had also charged that Dispoto had attempted to run them down with cars. According to Anne Draper in the *Los Angeles Free Press* (Oct. 15, 1965): "Private owned guards have been hired to patrol the enormous acreage under strike. Growers have pulled guns on the strikers. A picket's car was shot full of holes. Deputies and county and city police flank the fields with their cars and follow the picket cars on their assignments."

### Walked Out

On Sunday, Oct. 10 a large group of workers imported from Texas had decided to walk off the A. Caratan Ranch after learning of the strike from Mrs. Dolores Huerta, vice president of the NFWA. They then teamed up with the striking grape pickers.

The workers had been brought from out of state at considerable expense by the Caratan family in a desperate move to break the strike. According to Chavez, "Production was down 30 per cent and the growers began looking for more and more scabs. They went to Fresno and Bakersfield and Los Angeles to find them. They didn't tell the workers that they would be scab crews. The pickets followed them into every town and formed ad hoc strike committees to prevent scabbing. They succeeded in these towns.

"Within two weeks, only one bus, with half a dozen winos, escorted by a pearl gray Cadillac, drove into the strike zone. A new plan was formed. The ranchers would advertise in south Texas and old Mexico. They bring these workers in buses and the workers are in debt to the rancher before they even arrive in town. We have a new and more difficult task ahead ahead of us with these scabs."

### Foreman Complains

Furious at the incident of Mrs. Huerta and the strikers, the Caratan family charged her with "trespassing" on one of their ranches. A complaint was signed by the foreman and Mrs. Huerta, mother of seven children, was put in jail on Oct. 12 solely because they claimed she had stepped on some dirt belonging to the multimillion dollar Caratan hacienda.

Local opposition to the strike has come from city officials. Because the federal government had previously allocated \$267,000 for the NFWA which is to be used in a program of improving education for farm workers and a plan to help workers better manage their finances, the Delano City Council passed a resolution saying: "Cesar Chavez is well known to us and does not merit our trust and the money should go to Delano High School instead." The City Council which claims to speak for all the citizens does not have a single representative from the Mexican and Filipino community which comprises more than half of the city's population.

Contributions can be sent to AWOC, 1457 Greenwood St., Delano, Calif. or to NFWA, Box 894, Delano, Calif.

# ... Defense Deacon Interview

(Continued from Page 1)

put out a newspaper from Bogalusa.

"Wherever they have organized the Deacons have acted as a deterrent to Klan aggression and white hoodlum activity," Austan declared. He recounted one incident as an example of the effect of the Deacons: an 18-year-old Negro girl from St. Louis was arrested by Bogalusa police along with other civil rights activists.

A mob of about 200 whites assembled outside the jail yelling that they wanted to "rape the nigger bitch." The police decided to release the young woman while the mob was there. She succeeded in calling the Deacons who were guarding another demonstration, and five of them went to get her. When they appeared before the mob, "you could have heard a pin drop." The girl got in the car and drove away with the Deacons without any interference.

"It is so essential for Negroes to stand up," explained the Deacon organizer. "I've seen many times when the police wouldn't do anything until Sims [leader of the Deacons in Bogalusa] said, 'If you don't, we will.'"

The police would not protect the civil rights marchers in Bogalusa until Henry Austan shot one of the attackers. "Then they wouldn't let any of them do anything," he said. Austan is out on \$2,500 bond, and faces trial on a charge of aggravated battery for shooting a racist attacker in self-defense during a civil rights march in Bogalusa in July. He faces 10 years in prison.

"The Deacons have given the Negro throughout the nation an organization they can point to with dignity. There is no dignity in the non-violent march . . . There is no dignity when a Negro woman is attacked . . . The attackers have no respect for the non-violent," Austan continued.

Austan gave his position on the war in Vietnam and explained that he was speaking as a black man, and not as a Deacon:

"As a black man, I couldn't fight in this country's army. If I went to Vietnam and was asked what I was fighting for, what could I tell them? . . . How can you free someone else when you're a slave? "If I'm going to fight in any

foreign country, I'll fight in Mississippi, Louisiana, or Alabama. They must be a foreign country — at least they are foreign to the principles and ideals of democracy that I was taught.

"They patted Dr. King on the head when he used nonviolence in Alabama. If nonviolence is such a good thing, why don't we have a nonviolent army in Vietnam? When King condemned the Deacons for using 'violence' in defending Negroes' lives and property they gave him a Nobel Peace Prize. When Dr. King condemned me for shooting a white racist, they called him a responsible leader. When King condemned the U. S. for armed intervention in Vietnam, they said Dr. King had stopped being responsible and gone into meddling.

"If violence is right in Vietnam, then surely violence is right in Mississippi. If violence can be a righteous tool for the white man then surely it can be just as righteous for the black man. If violence can be used to murder defenseless women and children in Vietnam, then certainly it can be used in Louisiana to defend Negroes' lives and property.

### View of Malcolm X

"It seems funny to me they want me to fight the Vietcong, when the Vietcong never called me a nigger."

"Malcolm X is my idol," said Henry Austan. He explained his attitude toward Malcolm X as follows:

"Malcolm had not yet reached his peak, but I believe he was on the right road. The road I'm on is the one I think he was on. I think he believed that the black man in America had to unite and stand up. I think this is what he was trying to do — unite the Negroes. He once said, 'Freedom by any means necessary' — which I made my motto. I hope it will become the motto of the entire black mass of this country."

Henry Austan is organizing chapters of the Deacons and chapters of the Friends of the Deacons, an affiliated supporting organization. He is available to speak before organizations to raise funds. Those interested in helping can contact the Friends of the Deacons at: 271 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Weekly Calendar

### NEW YORK

**FILMS AND FUN.** A group of eight films, including ones with anti-war themes. Each showing followed by a social. Sunday, Nov. 21, 1:30 and 5:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Committee to Aid the Blooming-ton Students.

No forum on Nov. 26 during week-end of Washington Anti-War Convention.

**THE WASHINGTON ANTI-VIETNAM CONVENTION.** A report by Doug Jenness, editor of the Young Socialist. Fri., Dec. 3, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Save Sat., Dec. 11 for BANQUET TO HONOR E. D. NIXON, organizer of the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott.

**TWIN CITIES FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.** Speaker: I. B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement of South Africa. Fri., Nov. 26, 8:30 p.m. Hall 240, 704 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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THE NEW YORK ELECTIONS

# How Lindsay Got Elected

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Right-winger William Buckley opened his campaign for mayor by declaring that his avowed purpose was to bring about the defeat of Republican John Lindsay. He wound up electing him.

This was an essential feature of an election which, in its final days, saw thousands of progressive-minded voters rallying to Lindsay as a means of cutting down Buckley. One consequence of the Lindsay sweep was a small socialist vote, according to partial, incomplete returns.

Within the confines of capitalist-party politics, there was a wide manifestation of a limited form of political independence, ticket-splitting. The Democrats won all major offices except mayor and most minor ones. Several hundred thousand Democrats split their ticket to vote for Lindsay.

It was the liveliest municipal contest in years. For decades the Democrats have heavily outnumbered the Republicans in the city and whatever serious mayoralty contests there were took place within the Democratic machine. Every four years the Republicans would have to scrounge around to find someone willing to enter a race in which he was a guaranteed loser.

This time, however, the Republicans sensed that popular dissatisfaction with the Wagner record was so deep that there was an outside chance of beating the Democratic machine.

**Right Qualities**

And in John Lindsay they had a candidate with the necessary qualifications to make an effective race in New York. He's young, literate, has a carefully established Congressional record of liberalism, and — equally crucial — a whopping bankroll at his disposal to make up for the absence of a patronage-based city machine.

Wagner, too, saw the handwriting on the wall and decided to quit while he was ahead. This made City Hall a very real prospect for the Republicans.

Their stock rose even higher when the Democrats accepted Abraham Beame, choice of unsavory Bronx party boss Charles Buckley.

A near-caricature of a political nonentity, Beame was weighed down even further by the wide

**Official Vote Still Not In**

NEW YORK — The Board of Elections has been unusually slow this year in making official returns, including the minority party returns, available. We had been informed that the returns would be available before our press time for this issue. Now they have been delayed for five days. We hope to carry the SWP returns in our next issue. The returns cited in the article on this page are unofficial and subject to change.

distaste for his mentor. His only apparent asset was that he was Jewish in a town with a large number of Jewish voters. And, ironically, even that didn't help. As fear of right-winger William Buckley rose among Jewish voters, they went over in large numbers to Lindsay.

Lindsay's well-oiled, high-powered sales job was the slickest this town has seen in a long time. It is said that the Republicans poured more than \$1 million into the contest. The campaign was shrewdly tailored to appeal to the one section of the New York electorate which could put him in City Hall — the liberal and radical minded voters who generally vote Democratic but who were increasingly dissatisfied with the miserable Democratic record on a whole series of vital social issues.

Although he was largely financed by Nelson Rockefeller's state Republican machine, Lindsay ran his entire campaign as though he never heard of the Republican Party. No prominent Republicans were permitted to stump for him and the word Republican did not appear on a single piece of literature issued from his headquarters.

His campaign gathered momentum from the outset. The leaders of the Liberal Party decided to endorse him. CORE broke a long-standing non-partisan policy to add its endorsement. A number of Democratic Reform clubs saw the bandwagon and clambered aboard.

The left-liberal community flocked to his banner. The influential *Village Voice* urged his election. Norman Mailer wrote an emotional appeal on his behalf. Jules Feiffer did a comic strip boosting him. Dick Gregory came to town to speak for him. Socialist Party leader Michael Harrington devoted one of his weekly *New York Herald-Tribune* columns to an enthusiastic explanation of how his candidacy helped to restore a "responsible" two-party system. Throughout the city's intellectual community, it became the "in" thing to be for Lindsay.

But even all of this would not have been enough to beat the deeply entrenched Democratic machine. The necessary margin was provided by William Buckley.

Editor of the McCarthyite monthly, *National Review*, Buckley entered the race with a twofold purpose: to consolidate the city's ultra-right into a viable political machine and to make that machine a power in relation to the Democratic Party. By running against Lindsay he intended to demonstrate that the Republicans couldn't win an election without the ultra-right and therefore it must be given a significant voice in shaping party policy and selecting candidates.

**Made Gains**

There is no question that the ultra-right gained ground as a result of the campaign, although it didn't gain as much as the vote would indicate at first glance. Buckley owed his success, in large measure, to the mass media, which gave him an unprecedented amount of exposure. He was one minority candidate who couldn't complain that he didn't get equal time.

In addition, he proved a glib campaigner whose candid comments about the major party nominees evoked a response from people of all political shadings. Further, he carefully cloaked his gutter racism and rabid labor-baiting with a cheap pseudo-intellectual veneer.

All these factors combined to give him a greater vote than the rest of his Conservative ticket. While he polled 339,000 his running mate for President of the City Council polled only 208,000. But, of course, even the lower figure, which is more indicative of party strength, is not to be lightly dismissed.

One man who won't dismiss it lightly is Abraham Beame, who was aced out of a good job as a result of it. Buckley's contribution to Lindsay's victory was of a twofold character. To begin with, it seemed to escape a lot of people that the bulk of New York's right-wing is in the big, powerful Democratic machine, not in the small uninfluential city Republican Party. Most observers now agree that Buckley drew more votes from Beame than he did from Lindsay. Particularly in the suburbs, numerous Democratic districts turned out for Buckley. (The city's cops who are traditionally reactionary, and traditionally Democratic, went for Buckley in a really big way.)

**High Court on CP Registration**

As we go to press it is still not clear how the Supreme Court ruling limiting the right of the federal government to compel individuals to register under the Communist registration clause of the McCarran Act will affect the trial of Communist Party leaders now going on. It is clear, however, that the need remains to press for complete repeal of the reactionary law.



**WILL THEIR PROBLEM BE SOLVED?** Children of families on New York's East Side who were forced to go on rent strike because Mayor Wagner failed to make slumlords comply with law. Will their plight change under John Lindsay?

In addition, by his steady insistence that Lindsay was the man he was out to get, Buckley convinced a lot of people who were properly concerned about his reactionary movement, that the only effective way to rebuff him was to pile up a vote for Lindsay. It is noteworthy, for example, that Lindsay won 40 percent of the Negro vote, the highest gained by any Republican nominee since the Roosevelt era. The same phenomenon occurred in Jewish neighborhoods that usually supported the Democrats.

There are a number of interesting aspects to the campaign. One is the example it offers of how far to the right the political scene has shifted in this country since the cold war. To several million New Yorkers, a conservative Republican (and that's really all Lindsay is) looked like a crusading social reformer.

**War Opposition**

A very encouraging side of the campaign is that its character reflected the widespread opposition to the Vietnam war. A sure sign of this is that both Lindsay and Beame were careful to avoid the issue throughout. When the unsuccessful parade was staged in support of the war, Buckley was the only mayoralty candidate in the reviewing stand with Beame and Lindsay conspicuous by their absence.

But the central feature of the campaign is that the great bulk of the voters, while exercising a greater degree of independence within the framework of the two-party system, are still very much hung up with that system.

With all the sophistication they demonstrate at the polls, the great bulk of progressive-minded voters are still very much wedded to the notion that they can't afford to "waste" their vote on someone who has no chance of winning — that the only way to register a "practical" gain at the polls is by trying to choose between those with a chance of winning.

**Successful Campaign**

There are undoubtedly thousands of New York voters who revere the memory of the late Eugene V. Debs. But it's only a small minority of them that agree with his dictum that it's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it.

Viewed in this context, the Socialist Workers campaign was a successful one despite the small vote. It succeeded in bringing its message of socialist opposition to the Vietnam war to a greater number of people than it had ever before reached in a municipal election.

It had to fight for almost every minute of it, but it won a total of eight hours of television time for its candidates and an even greater amount of radio time.

These broadcasts, coupled with the distribution of 80,000 platforms featuring the Vietnam issue, evoked more written responses than any previous local campaign. Unsolicited campaign contributions also set a record.

The campaign against the Vietnam war was given an added boost when nearly 90 independent voters, including representatives of the literary and academic world and the peace and civil rights movements, endorsed the SWP ticket as a means of registering opposition to the war. Their stand was carried in advertisements in the *New York Times* and *Village Voice*.

The campaign around the Vietnam issue had an effect that was not reflected by the vote. Many people sympathetic to the SWP view nevertheless cast their vote for Lindsay. There were numerous indications of this. This writer knows of at least three people who contributed money to the SWP campaign while indicating they intended to vote for Lindsay. A number of others said they split their vote between Lindsay and the SWP.

In sum, the SWP campaign contributed to the fight for peace and socialism. But the campaign also served as a reminder that a major political development is still required to shake progressive-minded voters loose from the tenacious fallacy that somehow, someday, they must find a "better man" or "lesser evil" among the choices offered them by the capitalist power structure.

## Combination Subs Coming In

We have received many coupons clipped from *The Militant* in response to the joint *Militant-Young Socialist* subscription drive. One letter, arriving along with a subscription from Phoenix, reads: "Have been reading one of your latest copies of *The Militant* and find this to be one of the best of its kind. Would like your *Young*

*Socialist* for six months and *The Militant* for four — as you offered as a special introductory offer. Enclosed \$1.00 for the offer. I hope I can arouse others to oppose this war in Vietnam."

We hope that all those who are interested in building the antiwar movement will take advantage of this offer. As the scoreboard indicates, many already have.

**SCOREBOARD**  
**Young Socialist - Militant Sub Drive**

City	Accepted Quota	Subs Received
Ann Arbor	75	52
Berkeley	175	2
Boston	250	85
Chicago	225	50
Cleveland	75	23
Denver	25	1
Detroit	125	41
Los Angeles	100	43
Philadelphia	75	28
Madison	25	35
New York — downtown	200	101
New York — uptown	125	61
San Francisco	75	12
San Jose	25	8
Seattle	25	1
Twin Cities	200	28
Washington, D.C.	25	7
At Large		28
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1,825</b>	<b>611</b>

## Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO

By Art Preiss

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\$7.50

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# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 29 - No. 42 345 Monday, November 22, 1965

## New Dominican Revelation

Last week it was reported that the State Department had drawn up a white paper justifying U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic but had decided not to release it because its publication might provoke Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, into releasing evidence in the hands of his committee which would expose the contentions in the white paper.

The State Department had good reasons for its fears. Its controversy with Fulbright was brought into the open when the Arkansas Democrat made a slashing attack on the role of the U.S. in the Dominican Republic in a Sept. 15 speech on the floor of the Senate. At that time Fulbright said his charges were based on testimony from government officials who appeared before his committee. Now the *New York Times* has come into possession of facts included in that testimony.

Among those who appeared before the committee were Johnson's principal adviser on Latin American affairs, Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann, and representatives of the Defense Department and CIA.

According to a Washington dispatch to the Nov. 14 *Times* by Max Frankel, their testimony revealed the following:

- At the outset of the civil war, the U.S. decided to back the military junta and was ready to intervene militarily if the Constitutionals gained the upper hand.
- The U.S. was determined to prevent the return of Juan Bosch, the legally elected president.
- The U.S. "explicitly solicited" a request from the junta for troops on the basis of an alleged need to save American lives.
- "The administration seriously considered an attack to wipe out the rebel forces." (The *Times* says it was deterred from doing so only because it would have meant heavy casualties among women and children. It didn't explain why this deterrent isn't operative in Vietnam where the civilian population is napalm bombed.)
- Even before the Constitutionalist uprising, the U.S. was giving extensive economic aid and political advice to dictator Donald Reid Cabral even though its own polls showed he was hated by the people and even though it knew he planned to cancel a slated election.
- The CIA trained Reid's police force.

Any wonder a growing number of people are beginning to question the proclaimed U.S. role as "free world leader"?

## Socialist Education Fund

### A Healthy Spurt Needed

With two-thirds of the time gone in our drive to raise an \$18,000 Socialist Education Fund, we're seriously behind schedule. As the scoreboard below shows, only 40 percent of the money pledged has been turned in.

In fund-raising campaigns of this kind it is not uncommon that collections should lag at this point. It usually takes a last-minute spurt to wind up with the quota filled on schedule. But more than an ordinary spurt is required this time if we are to maintain our tradition of winding up such drives with the quota collected in full and on time.

This is so because it is not simply

a case of one or two areas with large quotas falling behind. Only two cities, St. Louis and Chicago, are up to, or ahead of schedule. Only one, Cleveland, is near where it should be. All others are lagging to a lesser or very much greater degree.

Our General quota which includes contributions from individuals in areas where there are no group quotas to be credited increased by \$15 this week, all in a single, very welcome contribution from a friend in the nation's capital.

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

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Goal	Received	Per Cent
Chicago	\$1,600	\$1,250	78
St. Louis	150	110	73
Cleveland	700	413	59
Detroit	1,100	571	52
Twin Cities	1,250	600	48
New York	4,800	2,157	45
Philadelphia	275	115	42
Milwaukee	350	139	40
Los Angeles	3,600	1,007	38
Boston	1,000	295	37
Denver	200	75	37
Oakland	800	200	25
Allentown	150	25	17
Newark	150	20	13
Seattle	450	60	13
San Diego	200	22	11
San Francisco	800	—	—
General	425	65	14
<b>Total: Nov. 16</b>	<b>\$18,000</b>	<b>\$7,124</b>	<b>40%</b>

# Malcolm X Speaks

After leaving the Black Muslims in March, 1964, Malcolm X set up the Muslim Mosque, Inc., stopped advocating a separate nation and began to develop his own brand of militant black nationalism. One of his speeches in that period was at a symposium in Cleveland sponsored by CORE on April 3, 1964. The first speaker was Louis Lomax, who said among other things that "the issue is not black against white, but right against wrong."

## Installment 5

### THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET

Mr. Moderator, Brother Lomax, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies: I just can't believe everyone in here is a friend and I don't want to leave anybody out. The question tonight, as I understand it, is "The Negro Revolt, and Where Do We Go From Here?" or "What Next?" In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet.

### Same Problem

Before we try and explain what is meant by the ballot or the bullet, it is best for us to first see that we have the same problem, a common problem — a problem that will make you catch hell whether you're a Baptist, or a Methodist, or a Muslim, or a nationalist. Whether you're educated or illiterate, whether you live on the boulevard or in the alley, you're going to catch hell just like I am. We're all in the same boat and we all are going to catch the same hell from the same man. He just happens to be a white man. All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man.

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us.

1964 threatens to be the most explosive year America has ever witnessed. The most explosive year. Why? It's also a political year. It's the year when all of the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community jiving you and me for some votes. The year when all of the white political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a letdown, with their trickery and their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep.

### An Explosion

As they nourish these dissatisfactions, it can only lead to one thing, an explosion; and now we have the type of black man on the scene in America today — I'm sorry, Brother Lomax — who just doesn't intend to turn the other cheek any longer.

Don't let anybody tell you anything about the odds are against you. If they draft you, they send you to Korea and make you face 800 million Chinese. If you can be brave over there, you can be brave right here. These odds aren't as great as those odds. And if you fight here, you will at least know what you're fighting for.

I'm not a politician, not even a student of politics; in fact, I'm not a student of much of anything. I'm not a Democrat, I'm not a Republican, and I don't even consider myself an American. If you



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.

and I were Americans, there'd be no problem. Everything that came out of Europe, every blue-eyed thing, is already an American. And as long as you and I have been over here, we aren't Americans yet.

Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn't need any legislation, you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution, you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now.

### Not American

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver — no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used to only look at. They're becoming politically mature. They are realizing that when white people are evenly divided, and black people have a bloc of votes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the White House and who's going to be in the dog house. It was the black man's vote that put the present administration in Washington, D.C. Your vote, your dumb vote, your ignorant vote, your wasted vote put in an administration in Washington, D.C., that has seen fit to pass every kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibustering on top of that.

And your and my leaders have the audacity to run around clapping their hands and talk about how much progress we're making. And what a good President we have. If he wasn't good in Texas, he sure can't be good in Washington, D.C. Because Texas is a lynch state. It is in the same

breath as Mississippi, no different; only they lynch you in Texas with a Texas accent and lynch you in Mississippi with a Mississippi accent.

And these Negro leaders have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the White House with a Texan, a Southern cracker — that's all he is — and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to be better for us because, since he's from the South, he knows how to deal with the Southerners. What kind of logic is that? Let Eastland be President, he's from the South too. He should be better able to deal with them than Johnson.

The Democrats have got the government sewed up, and you're the one who sewed it up for them. And what have they given you for it? Four years in office, and just now getting around to some civil-rights legislation. Just now, after everything else is gone, out of the way, they're going to sit down now and play with you all summer long — the same old giant con game that they call filibuster.

### All Tight

All those are in cahoots together. Don't you ever think they're not in cahoots together, for the man that is heading the civil-rights filibuster is a man from Georgia named Richard Russell. When Johnson became President, the first man he asked for when he got back to Washington, D.C., was "Dicky" — that's how tight they are. That's his boy, that's his pal, that's his buddy. But they're playing that old con game. One of them makes believe he's for you, and he's got it fixed where the other one is so tight against you, he never has to keep his promise.

So it's time in 1964 to wake up. And when you see them coming up with that kind of conspiracy, let them know your eyes are open. And let them know you got something else that's wide open too. It's got to be the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet. If you're afraid to use an expression like that, you should get on out of the country, you should get back in the cotton patch, you should get back in the alley.

They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big jobs. Those big Negroes didn't need big jobs, they already had jobs. That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing. I'm not trying to knock out the Democrats for the Republicans, we'll get to them in a minute. But it is true — you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last.

### What Alibis?

Look at it the way it is. What alibis do they use, since they control Congress and the Senate? They blame the Dixiecrats. What is a Dixiecrat? A Democrat. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. The Democrats have never kicked the Dixiecrats out of the party. The Dixiecrats bolted themselves once, but the Democrats didn't put them out. Imagine, these lowdown Southern segregationists put the Northern Democrats down. But the Northern Democrats have never put the Dixiecrats down.

No, look at that thing the way it is. They have got a con game going on, a political con game, and you and I are in the middle. It's time for you and me to wake up and start looking at it like it is, and trying to understand it like it is; and then we can deal with it like it is.

Next week: A New Interpretation.



**THE NEW ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT**

# The Issue of Non-Exclusion

By Fred Halstead

One of the most important features of the new antiwar movement is the practice of non-exclusion — of working with anyone opposed to the war regardless of his political or philosophical viewpoints on other matters, and of refusing to go along with red-baiting.

By sticking to this simple principle, the new antiwar movement has already made a good start in educating the American people away from the whole atmosphere of hysterical anti-communism which is used to excuse the worst war crimes abroad and the most flagrant violations of civil liberties at home.

The movement, by keeping its eye on its own aim, and refusing to exclude anyone who agrees with that aim, has challenged the whole cold war mystique. This is the mystique by which all reasoning, exchange of ideas, and cooperation around common goals is supposed to stop when the epithets "communist" or "subversive" are applied.

**Big Gain**

In a few months, the application of the principle of non-exclusion has shattered the crust of fear and capitulation to red-baiting which had overlaid the "old" peace movement and has set an entirely new tone in the biggest section of the movement. This is an accomplishment of no small import. It has already had its effect on wider circles of American society — particularly the academic community — and it is bound to have an ever-widening effect as long as the antiwar movement continues to grow.

Non-exclusion, as it has developed within the movement since the April 17 March on Washington, has two aspects. Both were initiated by the Students for a Democratic Society in its preparations for that march. First, anyone who agreed with the call for the march, regardless of political affiliations or views, was invited to join the committees building the march. Second, every interested organization — including those which were the direct targets of red-baiting — was invited to endorse it and to participate in its planning and organization.

**Welcome All**

Generally, in the Committees to End the War in Vietnam which have been formed since then, everyone regardless of political affiliation has been welcome to join. In the united fronts — where various organizations, including the committees, cooperate in an action they all agree upon — the principle of non-exclusion of organizations has been widely adopted.

All of this has had a dynamic and energizing effect. For one thing, the red-baiters have been put on the defensive, both inside and outside the peace movement. Non-exclusion challenges the very idea of pariahs, groups or individuals whose ideas are rejected out of hand, without consideration or discussion, on the basis of labels. It creates an atmosphere in which the ideas and positions themselves must be weighed, and if they are

**Army Musters Out GI Picket**

During an anti-Vietnam-war demonstration Nov. 11, sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action in front of Fort Devens army base in Massachusetts, a young man joined the demonstrators, picking up a sign which said "I was only obeying orders — Eichmann." When hecklers yelled "draft dodger," the youth reportedly replied: "I'm not a draft dodger, I'm in the army, stationed on this base." The soldier, Stephen Underwood, was then arrested. However, no charges were placed against him because he had been on authorized leave and in civilian clothes when demonstrating and therefore had done nothing illegal.

According to a CNVA spokesman who called the base to find out what happened to Underwood, the commanding officer said the soldier would be discharged from the army.

to be countered, it must be with other ideas and positions, not by name calling and slander.

For the first time in many years a movement involving many thousands of Americans is developing which has not only rejected, but has directly challenged this McCarthy-type thought control. And that's what red-baiting in all its forms is — thought control.

This, among other things, has made the movement attractive to many youth who value their right to weigh different ideas in an objective atmosphere and who resent being told that there are some political and social concepts which are taboo and shouldn't even be considered.

One of the great strengths of the new antiwar movement has been its ability to arrive at unity in action by various political tendencies and many independents around a central point of agreement, while being open about the existence of various points of view on other matters among those within the united front. This is the essence of an honest and effective united front — to strike together on the points held in common while recognizing the divergent views.

**Some Unite**

Of course, it will not always be possible to unite all the various radical and pacifist tendencies and all the other people opposed to the war around every action in the antiwar movement. There will be some actions and some positions that only some of the tendencies and only some of the independents will want to take. The others will exclude themselves from those particular actions or positions with which they cannot agree. But no tendency or person who agrees with the point in question should be excluded.

The tradition of inviting participation in the planning and organization of each action by all tendencies which support the idea, is a good one which assures the broadest participation and guards against the return of exclusion and any form of red-baiting.

As a general rule the broadest unity is possible only around the narrowest point of agreement. As more issues are introduced, the number of tendencies and people who can agree to all of them is reduced. For example, people who can agree on withdrawing the troops from Vietnam may not be able to agree on a particular kind of electoral action. This general rule must be considered when

proposals are raised for "broadening" the antiwar committees through increasing the number of issues to which they commit themselves.

The point is often made that merely educating or demonstrating against the war is not enough, that people must become involved on levels which touch their own day-to-day lives, that a general radical "base" must be built in this country to effect the social changes necessary to eliminate imperialism, and so on.

There are proposals that the antiwar movement, or the committees against the war in Vietnam, should be "multi-issue," that they should take up such activities as anti-poverty, civil rights, political action, university reform, etc. In the first place, a clear distinction should be made between the antiwar movement as a whole and the Committees to End the War in Vietnam which were formed around the specific issue of the war.

**Many Issues**

In a sense the movement as a whole is already multi-issue. All the radical groups involved in antiwar work — SDS, DuBois Clubs, YSA, May 2nd, etc., have multi-issue programs. All understand that no basic change can be made in American society — whether it be by reform or revolution — by a program limited to a single issue.

But all these groups have differences over what the program to transform society should be. These are extremely important differences and they are not going to be resolved easily or quickly. They cannot be resolved by ignoring them, or by glossing over them. They should be discussed, clarified, and tested in action.

Each of the various political tendencies is involved in this sort of probing and testing. All of them should be anxious to learn from the experiences of the others, and to discuss their views with one another and with the many persons just awakening to radical social consciousness. However, unified action around these many points of disagreement is simply not possible at this time.

The great unifying issue at this time is opposition to U.S. involve-



**GROWING MOVEMENT.** Part of throng of 30,000 that marched down New York's Fifth Avenue to protest Vietnam war Oct. 16 attend rally that wound up demonstration.

ment in the Vietnam war. Broad united front actions of all the tendencies are possible on that issue.

What is more, the formation of a national anti-Vietnam-war organization, based on the hundreds of independent committees against the war in Vietnam, is possible and would be a big step forward. Such an organization would be a key component of the antiwar movement. It would be the component which all those favoring withdrawal from Vietnam could join. It would be the logical organizing center for those who are not willing or ready to accept any particular multi-issue radical program or join any particular tendency. And such people are the vast majority of those already involved in antiwar activity, not to mention the many who are yet to be organized. The Committees to End the War in Vietnam are the natural vehicles to reach and organize the growing number of Americans who are developing opposition to the war.

The real question involved in whether or not such an organization should be built is this: Is it possible for the antiwar movement as such to develop the power necessary to stop the war? In my

opinion the answer is yes. The antiwar movement in this country can be an important factor, perhaps the crucial factor, in ending the war. It can be that if it maintains clear opposition to the administration's war policy, insists on bringing the G.I.'s home, and if it proceeds to organize the tremendous potential which has only just begun to be tapped.

Even the public opinion polls show that millions of U.S. citizens right now are opposed to this war, and that many additional millions are deeply disturbed about it. The new antiwar movement has barely begun its work of getting out the truth on the nature of the war, of countering the calculated campaign of distortions, hate propaganda and lies to which the American people are being subjected. It has just begun involving people in mass demonstrations of various kinds. It has so far had demonstrations involving only between 100,000 and 300,000 people. This is significant, but just the beginning. Yet it has already forced a national debate of sorts on the Vietnam war issue.

**Anti-War Feeling**

This movement could not possibly have come about among the youth, the academic community, the intellectuals, or even among all the radicals who have suddenly become active, if it did not reflect a certain changing mood in much broader sections of the population as a whole.

The growth of consciousness by the student youth is a forerunner of a growth of consciousness on a much larger scale, among the working class youth, among young men forced into the army, and among broad sections of the population as a whole.

It is well within possibility that not just a few hundred thousand, but millions of Americans can be actively involved in the struggle against the Vietnam war. A movement of that scope, even though centered around the single issue of the war, would have the most profound effects on every social structure in the country, including the trade unions and the soldiers in the army.

It would very probably also result in a general rise in radical consciousness on many other questions, just as it has already had an impact against red-baiting. But above all, it could be the key factor in forcing an end to the Pentagon's genocidal war in Vietnam. The lives of untold thousands of Vietnamese men, women and children, and U.S. G.I.'s may depend upon it. That alone is reason enough to put aside sectarian differences to unite and help build a national organization which can encompass anyone willing to oppose U.S. involvement in Vietnam, regardless of their commitment, or lack of it, on other questions.

## How to Win New Supporters For the Anti-War Movement

NEW YORK — The Washington Heights Committee to End the War in Vietnam, one of the community-based committees here, handed out some 10,000 leaflets against the war in upper Manhattan in the past three weeks and received a very favorable response. A number of people who learned about the committee from the leaflet-joined it, and others made contributions.

The leaflet reads in part as follows:

"American military forces in Vietnam have just admitted making another mistake.

"Two U.S. planes destroyed a 'friendly' village, killing 48-civilians and wounding 55 more. Many of the casualties were children. There was an immediate apology. For bombing a village? No... for bombing a 'friendly' village. Thus it is perfectly all right to bomb 'unfriendly' villages, to wipe out 'unfriendly' villagers with their 'unfriendly' children.

"And just such bombings have been going on for quite a while. These raids are referred to as Missions against 'Vietcong strongholds' or 'suspected Vietcong strongholds'...

"Our planes pour napalm and TNT on these people (who make up the great majority of the Vietnamese) — and there are no apologies. As one pilot said, on return-

ing from a raid: 'I killed 40 Vietcong today. That's the number they told me were in the village anyway, and I leveled it.' (New York Post, March 3)

"Or, as another American pilot put it: 'If you're going to worry about killing women and kids you'd go crazy in a week. This is a bomber and you shouldn't fly it if you feel like that.' (London Daily Mail, June 28)

"Of course, there are many American boys in Vietnam who are sick to their stomachs from this war, who are revolted by its brutality against the Vietnamese people.

"And despite all of the frantic efforts to drum up enthusiasm for this war by our government, by the press, radio and TV, the American people are growing increasingly disturbed. They are growing increasingly doubtful about continuing a war which: GROWS MORE BARBARIC AS IT ESCALATES; REQUIRES EVER INCREASING SACRIFICES; HAS NO END IN SIGHT; THREATENS TO PLUNGE ALL MANKIND INTO WORLD WAR III.

"Yes, bombing the 'friendly' village was a tragic mistake. But our MOST SERIOUS MISTAKE, and the GREATEST TRAGEDY is the war itself. We say: BRING THE BOYS HOME!!!"

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## BOOK REVIEW

# Origins of Materialism

**THE ORIGINS OF MATERIALISM** by George Novack. Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., N. Y., N. Y., 1965, 300 pp., \$6.95.

One of the tests of a philosopher's method is to see how he explains the origins and development of his own school of thought. George Novack, in this clearly written book, uses the ideas and methods of historical materialism, which lie at the foundations of Marxism, to uncover the social and historical forces which gave birth to materialism some 2,500 years ago in the city-states of Ionian Greece on what is now the Aegean shore of Turkey.

The word materialism is used in philosophy and in this book not with its ordinary meaning of devotion to gross appetites and egotistic interests, but as one of the two opposing views of the world which have dominated philosophy from its beginnings up to the present time. The other viewpoint is that of idealism (idealism, too, is not used here in its ordinary sense of devotion to great ideals, but in its philosophical sense).

Materialism holds that matter is the essence of reality and that human society and thought have arisen out of nature. Idealism, on the other hand, is the view that mind, spirit or thoughts are the basis of reality, and nature and matter are the results of the activity of mind or God. All philosophers have tended towards one view or the other, or have accepted both in an eclectic mixture. The first chapter of the book outlines the opposition between these two views.

Materialism is based upon an acceptance of the common sense view, rooted in the experience of mankind, that the world is real and can be known and understood. Materialism flows from the practical activities of man in his struggle to survive in the real world of material things and forces. The second chapter discusses this "real basis of materialism."

*The Origins of Materialism* serves as an excellent introduction to the materialist outlook. It is a companion work to the author's earlier *Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, which goes into

the concepts of dialectical thinking and logic.

From its beginnings, materialism has had to contend with opposition from the ruling powers. Its naturalistic and humanistic outlook undermines religious and idealist rationalizations of the domination of the many by the few. One consequence of the general hostility of the ruling classes through history to materialism has been the domination of idealism in the field of philosophy.

## Distorted and Ignored

The content and history of materialist thought has been distorted and ignored; one unfortunate result has been the loss of many of the writings of the early materialists. Although there are many histories and studies of philosophy, very few give materialism adequate discussion or its proper place in the history of ideas. *The Origins of Materialism* will help to correct this situation for the first period of materialist philosophy which began with Thales in the 6th century B.C. and culminated with Lucretius in the 1st century B.C.

This pro-idealist bias is reflected in our schools and universities today. The great idealists of antiquity — Socrates, Plato and Aristotle — are taught and analysed, while the early materialists remain cloudy background figures. Even in scientific schools, such as the one I attended, the theories of the early materialists are denigrated. The atomists, an important school in early materialism, were pictured as odd ducks, who devised an atomic theory of matter through a fantastic and lucky guess, and not through their concern with providing an explanation for the aspects of matter they attentively and critically observed, such as compressibility, fluidity, the transformation of one kind of matter into another, etc.

The atomism of the materialists of antiquity was essentially a scientific theory which attempted to explain the observable properties of nature on a materialist basis. This theory was developed for five centuries in Greece and Rome. While its conclusions were rough and crude, limited as they were by the state of knowledge at the time, as a scientific theory of the structure and movements of the real world the atomism of the first materialists was not surpassed until modern times.

## Born Together

Materialism and science were born together — along with philosophy. The first philosopher, Thales, of the Ionian city-state of Miletus, was also the first materialist. Novack explains why this was so. He spends a chapter dealing with the predecessors of philosophy in the realm of thought: magic and religion. The views of the first philosophers originated in opposition to the ideas and methods of magic and religion, which gave their thought its materialist direction.

The key problem the book deals with is to explain the social and historical forces which gave rise to the great leap in thought from religion to the methodical reasoning known as philosophy that the Milesians made. Novack's explanation is itself a brilliant use and confirmation of the materialist view.

The birth of philosophy was not the result simply of the advanced intelligence of a few individuals, or of divine inspiration or the racial characteristics of the Greeks. It came about because of the peculiar social and historical circumstances of the Ionian Greek city-states, which Novack discusses in some detail.

The first shoots of philosophy and science "could not have appeared," Novack concludes, "until

the historical soil for their growth and cultivation had been prepared and enriched by the elements we have described: the introduction of iron, metallic money, alphabetic writing, weights and measures; a new type of slave production; the shattering of the remaining institutions of tribal society and the breakup of agriculturally based theocratic despotisms; the ascent of trade, manufacturing and colonizing to new levels; the birth of powerful new progressive social forces in the maritime city-states of Greece which carried class antagonisms to a new pitch of intensity and created new types of legal, political and cultural institutions. Such were the indispensable historical preconditions for the formation of philosophy."

Novack explains how these conditions reached their highest point of development in the trading centers of the Ionian city-states, especially in the central port of Miletus. The fact that Thales' giant step forward was made in Miletus is thus seen as a natural development of the whole of Aegean civilization.

Subsequent chapters trace the elaboration of materialism through antiquity, discussing its major representatives, and the social forces influencing its development and eventual eclipse in the decaying Roman empire of the 2d century A.D. Some of the figures receiving special attention are Heraclitus (the first dialectician, who saw that all matter is in motion and that reality is therefore inherently contradictory), Anaxagoras, Epicurus, Lucretius and Lucian.

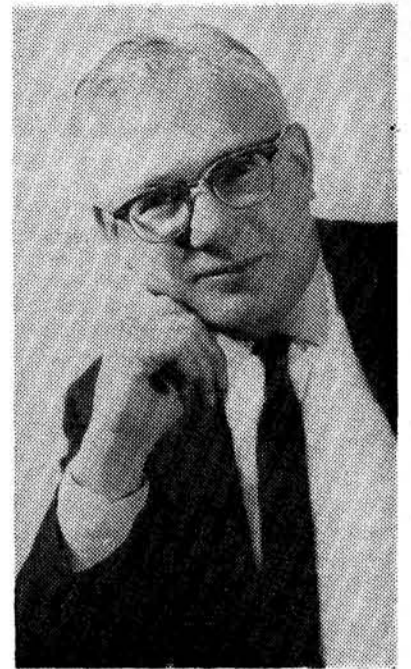
## Basis of Materialism

The concepts of materialism are by no means confined to philosophy. The real basis of materialism lies in the practical activity of man. Even when officially suppressed in philosophy, materialism has cropped up in art and science and other fields. Among the early Greeks, materialism helped foster and further such sciences as medicine and history and Novack discusses these fields in some detail. Everyone has heard of the oath of Hippocrates, still sworn to by doctors today. Hippocrates and his school of medicine were greatly influenced by materialist ideas, and they put medicine for the first time on a rational and materialist basis. The Greeks were the first historians, as well as the first geographers, physicists, mathematicians, psychologists and logicians.

The book also deals with the first idealist philosophers. The social climate of Athens, where Socrates, Plato and Aristotle developed, is described. Idealism resurrected the concepts of religion on the new grounds of philosophical reasoning introduced by the materialists. Novack discusses the social needs of the slave-owning Greek ruling class which were at the roots of the rise and triumph of idealism. He also discusses the interaction between idealism and materialism, and a separate chapter deals with the contributions the idealists made to philosophy and science.

## No Denigration

To explain the origins of philosophy and materialism as a logical development of human society does not denigrate or belittle the accomplishments of the first philosophers, any more than the theory of evolution denigrates mankind by describing his natural origins. *The Origins of Materialism* breathes the spirit of humanism so congenial to materialism, and in its explanation provides the finest tribute to the men who first struck out on the path of philosophy. Novack quotes from Breasted's *The Conquest of Civilization*:



George Novack

"They entered upon a new world, which we call science and philosophy — a world which never dawned upon the greatest minds of the early East. This step, taken by Thales and the great men of the Ionian cities, remains and will forever remain the greatest achievement of the human intellect — an achievement to call forth the reverence and admiration of all times."

The reader of *The Origins of Materialism* cannot help but experience that same reverence and admiration.

\* \* \*

A question remains. Why should George Novack, one of the foremost socialist scholars in the United States, take the time to write a book on *The Origins of Materialism*, and why should socialist activists take time out from their political struggles to read and study such a book, apart from its scientific value?

Scientific socialism rests upon materialist foundations. An important concept of historical materialism is that nothing can be really understood until its history is understood. To grasp materialism in its present form of historical materialism, and to understand opposing philosophies, it is necessary to know as much as possible about the origins and development of materialism. The better understood it is, the better it will be applied to today's reality and political struggle, and the better it will be defended against the philosophies and ideologies of the ruling class.

Marxism, historical materialism, is the most powerful weapon and tool of the world's working class. It should be as developed, refined and powerful as possible.

## Global Struggle

Secondly, the world-wide struggle between the workers and peasants on the one side, and the imperialists on the other, is fought out in every field — from the battlefield to the classroom. Every battle won, including the battles of ideology, strengthens the working people of the world. In his forward, George Novack points out that materialism's biggest battles lie ahead. "As in its infancy, materialism has still to contend for its rightful place as the outlook of emancipated humanity. Its definitive triumph in the domain of thought is still to come. May this introduction to its early history help bring that conquest closer."

Finally, it teaches by example the power of the materialist and dialectical approach to history and to the history of human thought. The dialectic, a strange concept to American minds, seems less strange and abstract when it is applied to a specific problem like the birth of philosophy whose subsequent development and unfolding through contradiction and conflict is seen as natural and real.

This is an important book for all who want to understand Marxism and philosophy better.

—Barry Sheppard

## Questions and Answers About Socialism

**Why do you say World War II was an imperialist war? — A Reader, Seaford, N.Y.**

Revolutionary socialists view World War II as actually three wars which were going on at the same time. The major war was a conflict between the advanced capitalist nations, the imperialists, over a redivision of the world. At the same time there was a counter-revolutionary attack by capitalist Germany on the Soviet Union. Lastly, some of the colonial and semi-colonial countries fought for their liberation from the imperialists. These three struggles were interconnected by war-time alliances which grouped the warring forces into two sides.

One side was dominated by Germany, Japan and Italy, the "have-not" imperialists, who were the last of the major capitalist nations to develop and who hadn't gotten "their share" of the colonies or who had lost their colonies as a result of World War I.

The other side was heterogeneous. It was dominated by the United States with relatively few direct colonies but an enormous area of foreign economic control and the need for an expansion of its foreign investments, and by the main colonialists, Britain, France, etc. fighting to retain their empires. These were the dominant imperialist powers of the world. The struggle between them and the "Axis" group for economic domination of the rest of the world was the predominant element in the war.

Allied to this block of imperialists were the Soviet Union, China and others who were not imperialists and not fighting an imperialist war. The Soviet Union fought to defend itself, the only worker's state in the world at the time, against German imperialism, while China, Indonesia and others fought the Japanese to gain their own independence. Revolutionary socialists opposed the imperialist war, while at the same time defending the Soviet Union and those peoples attempting to throw off imperialist rule.

The Communist Parties and other ideological followers of Stalin hold a different view of World War II. They maintain that because of their alliance with the

Soviet Union the Allied imperialists no longer pursued reactionary imperialist aims but fought instead for "democracy" and "national liberation" against fascism. In 1941, when the Soviet Union and Germany had an alliance, these same people had maintained that German war aims were in the interest of "national self-defense" and were not imperialist. These ad hoc, non-Marxist theories about the nature of the war had very serious consequences.

For example, the Communist-led Viet Minh which established control of Vietnam at the end of the Second World War allowed their "democratic" British "allies" to take over Saigon and return control of much of Vietnam to the French.

The U.S. Communist Party supported a no-strike pledge by the unions during and after the war — as long as the alliance with the Soviet Union was maintained. They opposed the idea of a Negro March on Washington proposed by A. Phillip Randolph during the war to demand equal rights. Calling the war "anti-fascist" rather than imperialist meant supporting the rulers of this country, whose war it was, against the oppressed.

Revolutionary socialists classify wars by the economic character of the countries involved, rather than by the political system of the countries, because their economic character determines the real objectives of nations. Liberals, social democrats, and others agreed with the Stalinists that World War II was a war of "democracy" against "fascism," or some would say "totalitarianism." For different reasons, each of these groups falsified the character of the war.

The U.S. imperialists emerged from World War II as the chief imperialist victors of that war. They extended their influence over the whole of the "free world," and reduced the other imperialist powers — "allies" and "axis" alike — to weak junior partners. The U.S. is today, partly as a result of the second imperialist war, the center of world imperialism, the center of opposition to the colonial and socialist revolutions sweeping the world.

—Herman Porter



# 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.]

## Revolutionary Religion

New York, N.Y.

I was much interested in your recent biographical sketch of Thomas Muenzer, 16th century revolutionary leader, who called for "the immediate establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth."

Too often radicals see religion only as a tool of the power structure. Yet it seems questionable to me that Muenzer (or in our time, Malcolm X) could have been as effective without it.

Vittorio Lanternari, in his book, *The Religions of the Oppressed*, has made an important study of the relationship of religion to revolution. Messianic cults, arising from the people, have usually been at the origin of political movements of liberation, among the victims of colonialism and neocolonialism. Often these cults have many of the forms of the ruling-class religion, but, in essence, are quite the opposite.

Such movements should be respected. Western radicals should not close their minds to the idea of fighting power-structure religion with revolutionary religion.

A.J.

## From National Guardian

New York, N.Y.

I must take exception to the manner in which you introduced the three-column letter in your issue of Nov. 1 by Pierre Frank which was sent originally to the *National Guardian* concerning Cedric Belfrage's article on Peru in our issue of July 31, 1965. Your introduction states that the Frank letter corrects "distortions about the role of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco." It states further that "the editors of the *National Guardian* have recently informed us that they do not intend to print Mr. Frank's letter or any other correction of Mr. Belfrage's article" and that you were therefore printing the Frank letter in *The Militant*.

It is of course your privilege to print the Frank letter and it is a most interesting and informative one. But it is also your responsibility to present the facts as they concern your exchange with the *Guardian* more fairly and accurately. The facts are as follows:

The Frank letter took many weeks to reach us because it was sent to a wrong address. When we finally received it, I wrote as follows on Sept. 17 to *The Militant's* managing editor Barry Sheppard, who had queried me about the letter:

"I am sending a copy of the Frank letter on to Cedric Belfrage in Mexico for his comment. Actually, Frank's letter is terribly

long and I doubt we would use it in full, if we used it. But if we did Hugo Blanco an injustice, we will of course correct it."

On receiving Belfrage's reply, I wrote again to Sheppard on Oct. 11:

"I have a reply from Belfrage who found the Frank letter most interesting but felt, as I do, that it did not raise any objections that need to be corrected in the pages of the *Guardian*. Belfrage writes: 'It is quite true that Blanco did not organize guerrillas but I never said that he did. The information that he gave himself up came from my own source, a usually reliable one.'" In fact, the bulk of the Frank letter is an elaboration about Blanco, rather than a specific correction. It is conceivable that our story may have been lacking about Blanco. It is also possible to fault the *Guardian* for not printing the Frank letter (it would have taken two-thirds of a page). But the implication in your introduction is that we gave the whole matter the brush-off, and this of course is neither factual nor responsible.

I trust that you will print this letter to clarify the matter.

James Aronson  
Editor, National Guardian

## The Antiwar Protests

Detroit, Mich.

The recent country-wide antiwar demonstrations were encouraging and thought-provoking. Our nation's insane policy of "brink-

manship" will, I firmly believe, ignite the flames of another war. The Johnson administration and the bulk of the communications media are literally "brainwashing" the American people into believing that our aggression in Vietnam is in support of democracy and freedom. This is a bald lie of the dimensions used by Hitler to satisfy his political aspirations!

Antiwar forces (and the entire Left) can now expect a "Red Scare" to be perpetrated by the administration, press, and pseudo-patriotic organizations. Those of us who in good conscience oppose the brutal hand of imperialism in Vietnam will be smeared as "traitors." Already Attorney-General Katzenbach and the politically senile J. Edgar Hoover are indulging in McCarthyite tactics by branding the Peace Movement as "communist controlled." Under such despotism our protests must not lessen but be increased tenfold. The militarists, phony "patriots," and neo-fascists are making their bid to control this country and we must fight them without respite or consideration. If they win then we can "kiss democracy goodbye."

The abuse and gutter tactics of these pro-war forces would indicate that they seek to use violence on us in the hope we will mount some form of insurrectionary activity. Then they would persecute us as "traitors" and instigate mass arrests and repressions.

Although we must not be the FIRST to use force we must protect ourselves. A massive nationwide campaign of peaceful civil disobedience must start NOW! This may very well be the death-knell of a free, democratic, and Constitutional America!

Richard M. Woodruff

## A Severe Critic

New York, N.Y.

I respect *The Militant* for its interesting coverage of the civil rights movement and its well-organized articles on the history and current practice of socialism. Initially, however, I was much repelled by your inflammatory attacks on U.S. government policy. The general tone of *The Militant* is very irritating. Following is my conception of why.

It is not the attacks *per se* that are objectionable. I agree with the substance of your critique of U.S. actions in Vietnam. But your style on this subject is outrageous and bombastic. You use words like "criminal" too heavily, and your descriptions of burning villages were sensational. Worse, your militancy is so extreme that you report *only* bad facts about the government as if even to note its beneficial aspects were to imply approval of it as an institution and dilute your integrity as Socialists.

Selecting facts so that they strengthen only your case is an undesirable mixing of editorializing with reporting. This, together with your extreme language and excessive repetitions of doctrine, is what gives the paper its "heavy-handed, vehement and bitter" quality noted by reader R.S. (October 11). Your tone is so very hard-hitting that it invites the reader to discount your statements as simply emotional — or even to defend the government — instead of following your argument.

It also seems to me that you pad your facts with theoretical concepts. Wherever your information is incomplete, you round out the picture with a word like *imperialism* that, it is implied, really tells all one needs to know about the situation, anyway. Your interpretations do not emerge naturally from your facts. Instead, they sound dogmatic and patronizing because the reader has been given no basis for his own evaluation. I believe this must alienate many thoughtful readers. More detailed articles describing, for example, the political history of the Vietnam situation — or at least documentary coverage like your reports from Cuba — would enable the reader to draw his own conclusions and would be much preferable.

I realize that arousing anger against the government is one of your primary goals, that in a sense you aim to irritate. But you go about it in such a way that the anger aroused is likely to backfire on you. Can't you broaden your factual coverage and take the hysteria out of it? I feel sure this would broaden your audience and increase their receptiveness to the socialist point of view.

Sara Caldwell

## Thought for the Week

"More and more students are coming to look at war as it really is. The glory and parades are past history. The coverage from Vietnam and Korea heightens one's awareness of the effect of war on civilians. We stop to think what napalm bombings really mean." — Howard M. Moffet, chairman of the Yale Daily News as quoted in a Nov. 15 *New York Times* article on the widespread efforts of college students to avoid being drafted.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**High Crime** — We reported last week that Brent Davis, an instructor at Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, had been fired for circulating a petition opposing the whipping of prisoners at the state penal farm. Since then the Arkansas State Legislature has congratulated college officials on their "courageous action." In addition to opposing the whipping of prisoners, it is said that Davis took a dim view of the Vietnam war, and the hydrogen bomb, was an agnostic and once had a picture of Malcolm X on his wall.

**It Figures** — Birch Society president Robert Welch, who charged Eisenhower was a communist, announced last week that the U.S. is a vast insane asylum.

**Most Likely Story of the Week** — *Chicago Daily News* correspondent Georgie Anne Geyer reported from Santo Domingo Nov. 5: "Trujillo, who ran this country from 1930 to 1961, was known as, among other things, the 'father of his country.' He was beloved by the peasants, despite his cruelties and debaucheries . . ."

**New War Gadget?** — The Nov. 1 *Chicago Sun-Times* reported: "Research scientists have 'exploded' the brains of mice, rats and guinea pigs with a laser beam, killing them instantly. The laser is a controlled burst of high-energy artificially-produced light . . . No one contacted by the *Sun-Times* in this particular area of research would say that there are applications of the beam as a lethal weapon . . . Nevertheless, one two-year study has been under the guidance of a group at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology in Washington."

**The Chester Story** — Recently two school children in Chester, Pa., were suspended for three days because their parents provided them with lunch rather than having them pay 35 cents each for a school lunch provided largely under federal subsidies. The suspension drew wide criticism and town officials decided to rescind the rule that children had to pay

for the lunch whether they ate it or not. However, they added, they might now discontinue the lunch program. Chester has been the scene of militant drives by Negroes against school segregation and police brutality.

**Two-Tone Corpses?** — The funeral industry is throwing off the gloom visited on it by Jessica Mitford's *American Way of Death*. Delegates to the national funeral directors convention in Chicago said pastel-colored caskets and air-conditioned hearses are the coming thing in the industry. Once always black or somber gray, caskets are now available in delicately muted pastels with blues, greens and yellows for the inside linings. "It's much like a piece of furniture or a car," funeral man A. LaVigne observed. "A casket," he explained, "has a personality all its own."

**Research Dep't** — A group of Wall Street researchers announced

(after considerable thought, we assume) that the increase in Social Security payroll taxes paid by employers will hit hardest at firms with the biggest payrolls. They came up with another conclusion which we hope took them less time to figure out, namely: "It is reasonable to assume that most, if not all, of the new Social Security costs will be passed on to consumers."

**For Problem People** — Charles Wilson, Ltd., a New York catering outfit, serves up dinners for some of the country's most prominent people. But, a spokesman explains, despite this, the average little dinner the company caters is "simple, three course, nothing fancy." The average dinner runs about \$16.25 per person, plus the cost of help. The spokesman adds: "Most of those who can afford this kind of thing are in the older group and have a problem of some kind." Not financial, we trust.

—Harry Ring

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## Castro Assails Gunboat Attack On Havana Coast



Fidel Castro

Fidel Castro said that two pirate gunboats had attacked the Havana waterfront Nov. 14. He charged the boats were U.S.-based and put responsibility on the U.S. for the attack. (Three different Miami exile groups took credit for the raid.)

He disclosed the attack during a speech made on Mt. Turquino in Oriente Province. The highest mountain in Cuba, it was the first area controlled by the July 26 guerrilla force.

Commenting on the gunboat attack, Fidel said it reminded the Cuban people that they are the "irreconcilable enemies" of imperialism. He said Cuba does not "want peace with imperialism as long as it exists. And as long as there are victims of imperialist aggression and as long as in any part of the world there are people fighting against imperialism, their cause will be our cause."

## BOYCOTTERS FACE REPRISALS

# Natchez Movement Needs Aid

NATCHEZ, Miss. — A group of white businessmen are making a last-ditch effort to break the strength of the Negro community here. They proposed that if Negroes do not back down from their demands and call an end to the boycott of downtown Natchez (which has been estimated at 90 percent effective) white businessmen of Adams County should fire their Negro employees and housewives should fire their domestic help. This proposal was offered to the Adams County Chamber of Commerce for its endorsement on Nov. 5. The Chamber of Commerce conveniently postponed its decision on the matter, thus backing up this obvious attempt to scare the Negro community into compliance.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, after hearing of the plan, pledged to the Negro community of Natchez its full support and all the resources at its disposal. SNCC has already alerted its over 500 Friends of SNCC groups in cities and on campuses throughout the country to immediately begin an emergency food and clothing drive to help sustain the Negro community, should the businessmen actually go through with their maniacal scheme.

SNCC is asking the groups to send the food and clothing to Mrs. Mamie Lee Parker at 1223 Texas Street, Natchez, Miss.

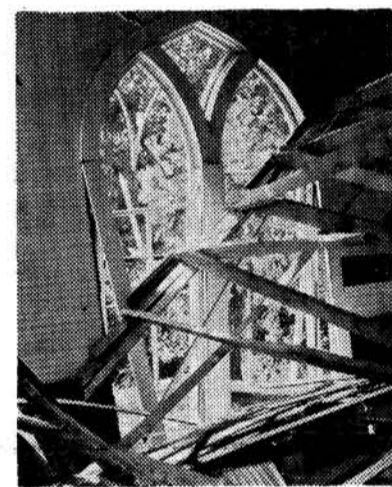
NATCHEZ, Miss. — "The Old South still lives in Natchez" — thus begins the Adams County Industrial Council pamphlet. And so it does. Within a week, between Oct. 1 and 7, over 400 persons were arrested as they protested the injunction which had been handed down on Sept. 30th against civil rights workers.

The injunction enjoined them

from participating or encouraging others to participate in demonstrations of any kind. The arrested were taken to Parchman State Penitentiary, some 200 miles away, where they were subjected to the most abject form of police brutality. Such treatment of Negro citizens is not unusual in Natchez, however.

Natchez, a city of 23,700 (12,300 Negroes; 11,400 whites) is the home of International Paper Company, Armstrong Tire and Rubber Company and the Johns-Manville Corporation, all of whom have remained silent as the bombs exploded and the Negro citizens of Natchez were brutalized. Natchez is also the home of truck driver E. L. McDaniel — Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America for Mississippi.

Natchez has been the center of stepped-up Klan activity in Mississippi within the past year and a half. Negroes and civil rights workers have been beaten, shot



BLASTED. Ruins of church bombed by Mississippi racists.

at, and murdered. Churches and homes have been bombed and burned.

On Aug. 27, 1965 George Metcalfe, local NAACP president, was seriously injured by a bomb which went off when he turned on the ignition of his car. Metcalfe was one of the first local Negroes in years to speak out in favor of the Movement.

It was the bombing of Metcalfe's car which precipitated the level of tension which has since reigned in Natchez. Soon after the bombing, a reporter stated that, "with the exception of military posts and hunting resorts, this city probably has been more heavily armed, man for man, than almost any other city in the country during recent weeks."

On Aug. 12, the Negro community presented twelve demands to the mayor and city council, and later stated that they would march on Sept. 2 if they were not granted these demands.

On September 2, 650 units of National Guardsmen arrived in the city. Charles Evers called the march off (although over 500 people were waiting ready to march) and called instead for a boycott of the entire downtown area. With the arrival of the guardsmen, a 10:00 p.m. curfew was enacted (which was actually applied only to Negroes). On Sept. 7 a school desegregation suit was filed against Adams County (Adams County had decided to remain segregated and forego some federal funds). Two days later, over 200 people marched to city hall under heavy guard. On Sept. 17, a march of 200 was again held, and then on the 26th, 700 people participated in a march to city hall.

These were the events leading up to the arrests which took place in the past weeks.

## Vietnam Teach In Draws Crowd of 5,000 at UCLA

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 13 — The first Vietnam teach-in to be held at the University of California at Los Angeles, traditionally one of the most apathetic campuses in the country, was attended by some 5,000 persons yesterday.

Sponsored by the University Committee on Vietnam of UCLA, an organization of professors, the teach-in lasted from 12 noon to 12 midnight. The main sessions took place in the Grand Ballroom of the Student Union, which holds several thousand. As speakers completed their presentations, they retired to other rooms where interested students gathered for questions and discussion. The Grand Ballroom was filled to capacity and persons had to be turned away at several times during the event.

### A Breakthrough

In what for UCLA is a remarkable breakthrough for freedom of speech and the press, representatives of all the radical tendencies had tables set up on campus selling their literature during the event.

The teach-in was supported by the Bruin Humanist Forum, the DuBois Club, the Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance and the newly organized UCLA Vietnam Day Committee.

Speakers were composed of four supporters of the administration policy, including Amron Katz of the Rand Corporation, and eight opposed to the war. Those opposed included Simon Cassidy, Prof. Hans Myerhoff, Robert Scheer, Paul Sweezy and David McReynolds. Applause and discussion by the students were overwhelmingly in favor of those opposed to the war.

# Cleveland Negro Almost Upset Machine

By Eric Reinthaler

CLEVELAND, O. — Carl B. Stokes, independent Negro candidate for mayor of Cleveland, received 85,375 votes in the recent election and was nosed-out in a photo-finish race by incumbent Democrat Ralph Locher who won with 87,833 votes, according to the unofficial count. Stokes has filed action with the Board of Elections to prevent Locher's certification until charges of irregularities are documented and a decision on a recount is made.

On election night over 1,000 Stokes supporters gathered at campaign headquarters, cheering as returns showed the independent candidate getting 90 percent of the vote in the Negro wards.

### Papers Warn

Cleveland newspapers, well aware of the upset in the local political relationship of forces, are now cautioning Locher on his future course, pointing out that he must respond to the pressing needs of the Negro community.

Stokes, a Democratic state legislator, bypassed the Democratic primary and filed over 30,000 nominating signatures to run as an independent. He ran with the support of many leaders of the Negro community and with the support of such organizations as CORE, the Freedom Fighters, and ADA.

The Socialist Workers Party gave Stokes critical support based on the character of his campaign, which was independent of and opposed to the Democratic and Republican Parties. The SWP holds that the question of Negro representation in government is of vital concern not only to Ne-

groes but to democratic-minded whites as well.

SWP criticism of the Stokes campaign was on his program, especially the question of a meaningful program for jobs, and Stokes' emphasis on "attracting industry back to Cleveland." Shortcomings on these issues conspired against a full mobilization of his voting potential. However, despite questions of program, the election decisively refutes the notion that a successful campaign can only be mounted within the Democratic Party.

While Stokes' program in and of itself could not solve the questions of jobs, housing and other problems facing the Negro people and poor whites in this community, his campaign points the way to the kind of independent political action necessary to force more basic solutions to those needs. The impact of the election has been a heightened solidarity and increased confidence of Cleveland Negroes. It has had a traumatic effect on the Democratic Party, the press and the AFL-CIO.

### Slimmest Margin

Ralph Locher, the Democratic mayor, who was re-elected by the narrowest margin in the history of Cleveland mayoralty elections, had the support of Cleveland's two daily newspapers, most of the Negro Democratic city councilmen, and the Cleveland AFL-CIO.

In the last weeks of the campaign, the Cleveland AFL-CIO publicly endorsed him as the "safe" candidate and accused Stokes of injecting the "racial issue" into the campaign.

The Republican candidate was

Ralph Perk, who polled 41,109 votes. The fourth candidate was Ralph McAllister, member of the Cleveland school board, and president of the school board during last year's school boycott. McAllister had the support of the most prejudiced and backward elements of the white community, and received 22,660 votes. The last weeks of the campaign saw inroads in McAllister support by Locher's backers who were successful in pointing out that unless McAllister supporters switched their votes to Locher, Stokes, a Negro, would be elected mayor.

### Will Try Again

Stokes announced that he would run again for mayor two years from now. Meanwhile Locher asked Stokes and the other defeated candidates to join with him to "bring unity and harmony to the city." Stokes, however, analyzed the vote as rejection of "Locherism and all it stands for." He added, "It is fantastic that a man in office three years and backed by both newspapers, the Democratic Party and organized labor could not have polled more than 37 percent of the vote." Stokes charged the Democratic Party and the Cleveland AFL-CIO with whipping up racial animosities against him. He said, "The racial issue was never an issue, really, until the Democratic and labor leadership made it one."

Stokes' support in the Negro community was demonstrated in Ward 25 where the Negro Democratic councilman endorsed Locher. The vote in that ward was: Stokes, 8,555; Locher, 411; Perk, 263; McAllister, 24. Similar over-

whelming majorities for Stokes in the ghetto wards do not reflect, however, more than 70 percent of the voting potential in the Negro community as a whole. Rather than indicating apathy alone, the number not voting reflects inadequate independent organization and a certain lack of confidence in the Negro Democratic politicians who have been elected to office in Cleveland over the past years.

In the campaign Stokes opposed the enactment of a city income tax and opposed increases in home owners' taxes. He proposed a city "value added in manufacture tax." The tax would be on the value manufacturers here add to the products they make from raw materials. For example, if a company took \$3.00 worth of raw materials and manufactured a \$5.00 product, the tax would be on the \$2.00 in added value. This tax, Stokes said, would bring \$12 million annual revenue into the city treasury.

### Muny Light

At the same time, Stokes advocated sale of the city's Municipal light plant because of its "inefficiency." The Muny Light Plant, however, affords lower electric rates to thousands of Clevelanders and serves as a brake on the rate schedules of the privately owned Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company. Some Stokes supporters, including the SWP, felt that he should have called for the expansion of the Muny Light Plant and its services.

The Freedom Fighters, a number of individuals, and the SWP regarded a position for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay for all city

employees as a concrete proposal to create several thousand new jobs in Cleveland. If Stokes had adopted this plank he could have attracted wider ghetto support and evoked a more favorable response from labor's rank and file.

### Review Board

CORE, Freedom Fighters, the United Freedom Movement, a number of churches and fraternal groups had also supported the proposal for a citizens police review board. Stokes did not put this into his program arguing that the conduct of the police department is ultimately the responsibility of the mayor's office and that if he were elected his office would always be open to hear complaints which he promised he would act on.

The strength shown by Stokes may force the union movement to question the policy of tying itself to the Democratic Party and to seriously consider the factor of a growing independent constituency in the Negro community which may well be the decisive factor in future elections in major industrial cities like Cleveland.

The action of Cleveland Federation of Labor head Patrick J. O'Malley in doing the racist dirty work for the Democratic Party in this campaign has evoked bitter resentment among Negro unionists. Other local labor leaders are sharply critical of O'Malley's role in the elections and repercussions are expected. The fact that neither President Johnson nor any important administration spokesman intervened in Locher's behalf showed the concern of the Democratic Party nationally with the danger of losing the Negro vote.