

# ARE JOHNSON AND HIS GENERALS AIMING TOWARD WAR ON CHINA?

## THE MILITANT

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### Catholic Students Assail Gag on Antiwar Priests

NEW YORK — The growing mood of campus dissent was given unusual expression here Dec. 4 when more than 50 Catholic students picketed the headquarters of Cardinal Spellman. They were protesting the "muzzling" of three priests who had participated in the movement against the Vietnam war. Most of the students came from Fordham University, a Catholic institution noted for its conservative atmosphere.

The picket line, believed to be the first of its kind at the Chancery, drew wide press coverage.

The protest centered around the suppression of three Jesuits: Rev. Daniel Berigan, Rev. Daniel Gilfoyle, and Rev. Frank Keating.

#### New Job

Father Berigan, Catholic editor and author, was sent off on an "assignment" in Latin America on the eve of a slated speech at a "Clergy Study Conference on the Moral Implications of the Vietnam Crisis." Fathers Gilfoyle and Keating are on the faculty of St. Peter's College in Jersey City. Frank Carling, a Fordham student, said that both of them had been ordered not to participate in or comment on anti-war demonstrations. He said Fordham students had called the two priests and were told they had been "ordered by their superiors not to talk to anyone on any subject connected with Vietnam."

The protesting students carried signs that declared: "End Power Politics in the Church"; "Does Obedience Preclude Dissent?"; "Exile and Constraint Are the Tools of Totalitarianism" and "St. Paul Was a Rebel."

The demonstration was organized by the Fordham Student Committee for Religious Liberty.

The action against the three priests was blasted by the *National Catholic Reporter* which pointed to "the muscle of the



Cardinal Spellman

New York Chancery."

Cardinal Spellman is the most powerful figure in the Catholic Church in this country and a major figure in the international Catholic hierarchy. A right-winger in his politics, he played a key role in lining up U.S. support for the late Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. He remains an enthusiastic supporter of U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

The suppression of the three priests is not the first case of its kind. In 1963, Father Felix McGowan was suspended by the Maryknoll Fathers, the order of which he was a member, because he traveled to Cuba and spoke favorably of the Castro government upon his return. He declared that Cuba's social progress was in consonance with the true aims of Christianity. Later he was exiled for a year and a half to Tanganyika. Upon his return here recently he was given a leave of absence from his duties as a priest.

McGowan is slated to speak at the Militant Labor Forum on Jan. 14. He will discuss the effect of the Cuban Revolution on him after ten years as a missionary in Latin America.

By Dick Roberts

DEC. 8 — In the wake of a heavy propaganda drive to prove North Vietnamese troop infiltration into South Vietnam, the United States has all but admitted that it intends to expand the war in Vietnam to the size of the Korean war. On the basis of official leaks during Defense Secretary McNamara's visit to Saigon, the *New York Times* reports today that the Pentagon is considering a "force level" of from 350,000 to 400,000 men. This new escalation of the war multiplies the danger of all-out war with North Vietnam, and war with China.

The troop increase will mean a continuation of the present heavy draft calls (38,280 for January, the second highest since the Korean war), and a digging into the ranks of the Reserves and the National Guard. In addition, it may mean the extension of air strikes into Laos and Cambodia and the probable bombing in the near future of Hanoi and Haiphong.

*Times* correspondent Max Frankel reported from Washington Dec. 2, "The bombing of North Vietnam itself is said to have become so widespread that Hanoi and its port, Haiphong — the major population and industrial centers — are left as mere 'islands.' Attacks on the two cities have apparently not been decided upon but they are no longer ruled out either . . . The purpose of pointing to a possible increase in infiltration, officials say, is not to justify the current United States buildup, which was planned some time ago, but to set the stage for further step-ups in the months ahead."

The truth of the matter is that the present and proposed buildup of U. S. troops in Vietnam is not primarily the result of reinforcements from North Vietnam — whether or not these have actually taken place. The escalation is a direct result of the failure of the Saigon puppet-government forces to carry out Washington's plan to destroy the National Liberation



"Our aim is always peace"

Front, and the decision made in Washington some time ago that U. S. troops, alone, could be counted on to carry out this deadly mission.

A Dec. 5 dispatch from the *Times* military specialist, Hanson W. Baldwin, written from the U. S. Marine base in Danang, points to the true nature of the war and the main reason why Washington is sending over more GI's.

"Most officers with experience in the Vietnam fighting," Baldwin writes, "suggest that more troops and a better-coordinated South Vietnamese effort will be required

to extend the pacified areas now held by the Marines here and at Chulai and Phubai. 'We can go anywhere in Vietnam we want,' an officer said recently, 'but somebody is going to have to fill in the vacuum behind us as we move along.'"

A short sentence, but it tells a long story. At Danang, thousands of U. S. Marines have been able to hold down an area that is all of four-and-a-half by five miles in total dimension. A Marine Company might be sent out to burn a couple of villages to the ground in the nearby area, and many have; U. S. (Continued on Page 3)

## Report HUAC Readying Probe of Rights Groups

By Alex Harte

DEC. 6 — There are new indications that now the House Un-American Activities Committee has gone through the motions of investigating the Ku Klux Klan, it will turn on its real target, the civil rights movement. The Dec. 2 *New York Herald Tribune* referred to "a statement by Rep. Edwin Willis, committee chairman, indicating that the committee may investigate infiltration of the civil rights movement." Willis made the statement in an interview on TV station KLFY in Lafayette, La.

"Rep. Willis has previously implied that the Un-American Activities Committee might look into the civil-rights movement, but had never gone so far as in the KLFY-TV interview," reports Dom Bonafede of the *Tribune* staff.

Rev. M.L. King responded that an investigation of the civil rights movement "would serve to mobilize many forces to get rid of this most un-American of all American organizations." "I felt this was exactly where the whole thing would lead when they announced the Ku Klux Klan hearings," he added.

Willis used the same interview to smear the most prominent civil rights leaders: "Martin Luther King, Farmer (James Farmer, head of CORE), the Communists, the wizards of the Ku Klux Klan,

they are all in the same bed opposing the hearings," he said.

HUAC's investigation of the Klan served two other purposes related to its intended attack on the civil rights movement. It was meant to make the Johnson administration look like it was doing something to end the racist murders and terror in the South. And it was intended to give HUAC the cover of "impartially investigating" both the right and the left.

#### Friendly Relations

The attempt to appear unbiased never got very far. In contrast to its vicious attacks on "unfriendly" witnesses, the committee treated Klan officials with "deferential courtesy." That was reported at the time imperial wizard Shelton was being questioned. "At times Chairman Edwin E. Willis (D., La.) and other Southern committee members have seemed almost to be trying to get chummy with Klan witnesses. This kid-gloves treatment has been in sharp contrast to the committee's customary rough-and-tough handling of witnesses it has accused of being Communists or Communist sympathizers," reported Jack Steele, of the *Scripps-Howard* newspapers.

"Shelton took advantage of this yesterday to accuse Appell, who has been the committee's chief inquisitor of Klan witnesses, of having made a 'half-hearted

apology' to him in private for the way the committee treated him," the article continued.

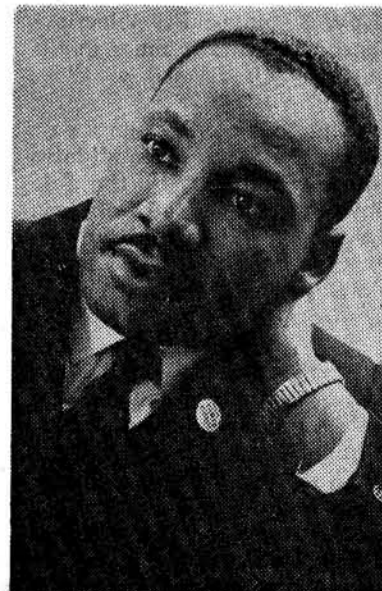
After letting that statement go unchallenged for several hours, Appell wound up dignifying the charge by taking the witness stand before the committee to deny it under oath. "But for the committee's deferential handling of Klan witnesses, it might not have felt

it necessary to make such a reply to Shelton," the *Scripps-Howard* reporter pointed out.

Shelton lent credibility to his charge by saying that Appell's statement was made at the dining room of the Congressional Hotel. That hotel "is a hangout for both Klansmen and the committee's members and staff. It has been the scene of some fraternizing between committee inquisitors and Klan witnesses . . ." the article explained.

In any investigation of the civil rights organizations, HUAC would not be so "deferential." Its object is to smear and intimidate individuals and organizations of which it disapproves, and it would not treat the above organizations in the friendly fashion it handles the Klan. Its object would not be to "investigate" the civil rights movement but to attempt to wreck it.

King told the *Herald Tribune* reporter that he was not against the KKK investigation as such, but was strongly opposed to HUAC conducting it. King is quite right in taking a stand against HUAC's investigating the Klan. HUAC has no right to "investigate" anybody, for its activity is designed to suppress free speech, free thought and free association. Its "investigation" of the Klan serves to hide its real purpose of smearing other groups.



Martin Luther King



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

350 delegates attending a San Francisco convention of the Building Trades' Department of the AFL-CIO on Dec. 2 voted unanimously to support President Johnson's war policies in Vietnam.

Apparently little if any pre-convention discussion on the Vietnam war had taken place among the 3.5 million Building Trades' workers located in 8,000 local unions and 525 state and local councils. This was indicated by another decision of the delegates who agreed to attempt to explain United States intervention in Vietnam to the rank-and-file workers.

What was more clearly indicated was pressure from the State Department on the convention to take a pro-Vietnam war position. Immediately after the vote was taken, for example, C. J. Haggerty, president of the Building Trades' Department, read a telegram from Secretary of State Dean Rusk which expressed "appreciation for the labor official's support of United States policy in Vietnam."

Five officials of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) are on their way to South Vietnam to help the State Department and Army brass speed up the handling of military cargoes arriving in that country. This assistance was offered by ILA President T. W. Gleason when, after a recent visit to Saigon, he complained about the work habits of the men and women dock workers in that port.

Gleason's sleezy contempt for longshore workers, however, is not confined to South Vietnam. In a recently concluded agreement on an amendment to the union's contract with the New York Shipping Association, Gleason accepted the right of stevedore companies to discipline workers charged with violating an automation agreement signed last January.

According to reports, the penalties are as follows: "For the first failure to show up without good reason the dockworker will get a warning. For the second offense a week's layoff; for the third two weeks' layoff and for the fourth violation the penalty is three weeks. If it happens a fifth time, the committee can remove the offender from the pier list where he works."

## Weekly Calendar

### CHICAGO

A HISTORY OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT OF THE THIRTIES. Speaker: Robert Himmel. Fri., Dec. 17, 8 p.m. Rm. 204, Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

FRANTZ FANON — THE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION. A review of his books, "The Wretched of the Earth" and "Studies in a Dying Colonialism." Speaker: Jan Garrett. Fri., Dec. 17, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

THE KU KLUX KLAN. Speaker: Charles Bolduc. Fri., Dec. 17, 8:30 p.m. Rm. 240, 704 Hennepin Ave. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

CHARLES SIMS, president of the Bogalusa Deacons for Defense and Justice, will speak on Self Defense and the Southern Freedom Struggle. Fri., Dec. 17, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

PARTY: With entertainment by Roger Bowen, Bessie Jones, Len Chandler, Janis Fink, Lou Gilbert. Saturday, Dec. 18, 8:30 p.m. Coda Gallery, 89 E. 10 St. Contrib. \$1.25. A usp. Washington Heights (upper Manhattan) Committee to End the War in Vietnam.



Harry Bridges

Discontent with union leadership is spreading from the AFL-CIO to some of the independent unions. A reported example are developments in San Francisco reported in the Nov. 26 *Labor Herald* which observes that "a labor power compact formed five years ago on the West Coast by Harry Bridges and James R. Hoffa has been ripped apart by a feud among subordinates in the two unions." These are the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

In recent months both unions have attempted to organize white collar workers in San Francisco and have opposed each other in several NLRB elections.

While this interunion fight has been developing, Bridges is reportedly meeting increasing criticism in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Hawaii in ILWU locals negotiating new contracts.

The president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Gordon Freeman, has raised the possibility that the recent Northeast electrical power blackout could have been the result of the elimination of skilled workers and increasing automation in the electrical power industry. In a letter to the Federal Power Commission (FPC), he asked "whether such a complete blackout could have occurred if the interlocked power stations had not placed such complete reliance on automation."

He also noted that in the ten years, 1953-63, the industry generated 106 percent more kilowatt hours of power, while the number of non-supervisory workers had dropped 8 percent.

— Tom Leonard

## New York Socialist Vote

NEW YORK — The vote of the socialist parties in the Nov. 3 mayoralty elections here were finally made available by the Board of Elections.

The Socialist Workers Party city-wide candidates were credited with the following vote: Clifton DeBerry, mayor, 3,977; Peter Camejo, president of the city council, 4,303; Hedda Garza, comptroller, 4,717.

SWP candidates in Manhattan received: Paul Bouteille, borough president, 2,845; Lynn Henderson, councilman at large, 2,331.

The Socialist Labor Party candidates received the following vote: Hass, mayor, 2,084; Herder, president of the city council, 2,216; Emery, comptroller, 2,236.

## SEVAREID ON STEVENSON

By Harry Ring

Eric Sevareid's *Look* article of Nov. 30 describing his last hours with Adlai Stevenson in London drew international attention because of the revelations it contained. The article established that the U. S. had rejected a Hanoi offer of negotiations and also threw further light on the Dominican intervention.

But the article is informative and interesting from another viewpoint. Without intending to do so, it provides a rather devastating picture of how the rulers of this country use a politician with a liberal image to win people to a reactionary course.

Stevenson was the great hope of the country's liberal community. Urbane, literate, civilized and liberal-minded, he emerged in the post-McCarthy era as a refreshing contrast to the reactionary-minded ignoramuses associated with the two major parties.

After Stevenson discredited and humiliated himself with his lies in the UN at the time of the Cuba invasion, great numbers of his supporters expressed the hope that he would resign to safeguard his remaining reputation. Many were convinced that he didn't really agree with what the administration was doing but was only going along out of a sense of duty to his country.

### Wanted Out

It is true, according to Sevareid, that Stevenson was fed up with the way Washington used him and heaped humiliations on him, and wanted to quit. But his reasons were not quite the same as those of his supporters.

Sevareid explains: "He was accustomed to making policy, not being told what the policy was to be and how he was to defend it and explain it before the world. In particular he could not bear having certain White House and State Department people whom he regarded as mere youngsters telling him what to do. He felt these men simply did not understand his difficulties at the UN, and he doubted their wisdom about this dangerous world."

"At times, when he was in the middle of a UN debate with a Communist adversary — on TV and before the listening world — he would receive phone calls from Washington, or notes would be slipped to him, instructing him



Adlai Stevenson and Harry Truman.

on how he should complete his argument. The tactic, apparently, had driven him wild."

But while Stevenson had pretty much decided he wanted out, there was a problem. Sevareid explains the problem:

"It would be very hard just then, partly because all manner of his intellectual and academic followers who violently objected to our Vietnam and Dominican Republic action were trying to get him to repudiate his Government and his President. These efforts deeply exasperated him."

"These simple, if high-minded fellows, did not grasp the delicacy of his official relationship with Washington. They underestimated his sense of duty to his office and vastly oversimplified the American problem in foreign affairs."

Sevareid added that while Stevenson wanted to get out, "at no time did he fundamentally criticize the Vietnam or Dominican policies. If he had strong negative views about the latter, he may have restrained them with me because he may have known I was on record in support of the Caribbean intervention . . ."

Ah, some liberal fans of Stevenson may say, "You see, at least he was against the Dominican intervention!"

Sevareid indicates the extent of

Stevenson's opposition on Dominican policy.

"Couldn't the President have waited, say three days, so we could round up more Latin American support?" he asked Sevareid. ". . . did we have to send in so many troops," Adlai said, "20,000 of them?"

Sevareid replied: "I said the Pentagon had initially asked permission to land 30,000, and Stevenson was surprised to hear this. I also said the line the men had to cover . . . was 16 to 19 miles. That required a great many men for thorough security."

Adlai said, "You may be right. You may be right."

But while Stevenson had a few questions and numerous beefs he served the men who run this country with loyalty. I can think of no better description of how a professional liberal politician serves the ruling powers than the following:

### Well Respected

"On Saturday, July 10, Stevenson flew to London . . . On Monday the Embassy told American news offices in London that Mr. Stevenson would be interviewed on the BBC that night by Mr. Robin Day, a tough cross-examiner. In fact, the Embassy had arranged the interview, with America's 'image' overseas in mind."

"Most Englishmen thought highly of Stevenson. They did not associate him with their developing picture of the United States Government as aggressive, military-minded and reckless. If Stevenson were to talk to the British people in explanation and defense of Vietnam and the Dominican intervention, he could dilute the efforts of the British 'teach-inners' and their far-left-wing associates. The interview could help make up for Henry Cabot Lodge's disastrous performance in the Oxford debate a month earlier."

Stevenson sat down before the cameras, and "fielded Day's questions with his customary sincerity."

Maybe the difference between non-liberal and liberal capitalist politicians is the difference between an artful dodger and a "sincere" one.

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THE WASHINGTON ANTIWAR PARLEY

# The Real Issues in Dispute

By Fred Halstead

One feature of the four-day peace convention called by the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam in Washington, D. C., over the Thanksgiving weekend was a dispute over whether or not local independent committees against the war in Vietnam which stand for the position of immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops should form themselves into a national organization which would be part of the N. C. C.

When the convention opened, the mention of this idea was like waving a red flag in front of a bull. The reaction was so extreme that the very right of people who were interested in this matter to gather in the same room to hold a workshop and discuss the idea was challenged. And two days of the convention were dominated by the attempts to prevent this meeting. The central source of all this heat and complicated organizational argument was a serious ideological difference over the whole future course of the antiwar movement. The main protagonists were on the one hand those who seek to strengthen the section of the movement that stands for im-

mediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam, and on the other those who believe that it is wrong for any section of the movement to raise that demand.

As far as the organized radical tendencies are concerned, these positions were chiefly represented by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in favor of the immediate withdrawal position, and the Communist Party and the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs against it.

In a leaflet passed out at the convention, the Communist Party presented its position on ending the war. The main difference between this statement and that presented by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and other conservative peace groups at the Nov. 27 March on Washington is the use of more militant sounding phrases. Otherwise they are the same. Their most essential feature is that the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam and the ending of the war is *qualified*. It is made dependent on negotiations. The only unequivocal demand in both versions is for a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam.

Another rephrasing of essential

ly the same set of demands was presented in a leaflet issued by the national office of the DuBois Clubs and distributed at the Nov. 27 March. It says: "We Demand: An end to all bombing north and south. Negotiations with Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to get our boys out of Vietnam. A return to the Geneva Accords so that the Vietnamese can decide about Vietnam through free elections."

Once again, "get our boys out of Vietnam" is made conditional on the Geneva Accords which provide for internationally supervised elections.

**A Contradiction**

Right off the bat, this whole business of calling for self determination for the Vietnamese through internationally supervised elections is a contradiction in terms. If a people has self determination, it determines things for itself, including how its elections shall be run or whether it shall have them or not.

To make the point sharp, put it this way: "Self determination for the Soviet people, internationally supervised elections in the Soviet Union." Or: "Internationally supervised elections in the United States." Neither the Soviet Union nor the U.S. would brook any such nonsense, and the Vietnamese should not be asked to accept it either. Lurking behind this proposition is an arrogant, racist, "white-man's burden" attitude toward the people of Asia.

It is true, of course, that Hanoi did accept the Geneva Accords in 1954 to end the fighting with the French. It is also true that the Vietnamese might once again feel they have to negotiate and accept something short of full sovereignty as the price of ending the fighting. That is their right. It is they, after all, who are under the gun.

**Different Matter**

But it is a different matter for U. S. citizens to ask the U. S. government to negotiate anything in Vietnam. Such demands implicitly recognize some sort of U. S. rights in Vietnam. But it has none, and the only correct thing for it to do is get out.

There is much more involved in this point than a matter of upholding the idea of respect for the sovereignty of small nations. Though that is important enough, for until the American people

## ... Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

planes might rocket thousands of pounds of TNT into village after village and drive hundreds of thousands of people into refugee concentration camps, and they have; but the moment U. S. troops pull out of an area, the freedom fighters come back.

There is only one way the warmongers in Washington can "pacify" the Vietnamese population, and that is by total military occupation of all areas which are not bombed-out. This plan requires two things: heavier U. S. bombing, and more U. S. troops, and this is precisely the direction of the escalation of the war.

Even when the gun-fire and bombing has died down, after the deaths of millions of Vietnamese people and tens if not hundreds of thousands of U. S. troops, Washington knows that it will have to occupy the country long after. This is part of the war-plan, too.

Speaking at West Point Dec. 3, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, one of the prime architects of U. S. Vietnam policy, told cadets: "One word of advice. When graduation week comes and you decide which books to keep and which to throw away, you'd better keep the ones on Vietnam... We'll have a residual problem as we did in Korea."

## Independents in Vietnam Committee Publish First Issue of Newsletter

A new publication is being circulated within the antiwar movement which calls for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. It is called the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter. The Newsletter was established by the Caucus to Constitute a National Organization of the Local Anti-Vietnam War Committees for the Withdrawal of U.S. Troops Now.

"The job of the Newsletter," it states, "will be to advance the two central ideas of the independent Caucus — the importance of demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and of building the independent Committees to End the War in Vietnam and the Vietnam Day Committees."

The articles in the first issue are: "Why We Say 'Bring the Troops Home Now'"; "A Report on the Thanksgiving Anti-War Convention"; and "The Truth About Vietnam."

A subscription of 13 issues for \$1.00 can be obtained by writing to: Daniel Rosenshine, 2776 Hampshire Rd., Cleveland, Ohio, 44106.

learn such respect there will be no peace in this world. But the growth and effectiveness of the antiwar movement is also very much involved in this point. The Johnson administration already claims that it respects the Geneva Accords. Demands to end the war which are couched in these terms give the administration a way out, a way to equivocate, a way to claim they are meeting the demand while they proceed with the war.

The same thing is true of all the various forms of demands for negotiations. They represent a certain amount of pressure on the administration, but they all give the administration a way out. Johnson can and does claim that he is willing to negotiate. Indeed, he escalates the war on the excuse that he is seeking to create an atmosphere for negotiations.

**Less Effective**

This is one reason why the "negotiated settlement" demands are much less effective in appealing to the ordinary Americans who are disturbed about the war than the demands for bringing the troops home now. The apologists for the war have a host of reasonable-sounding arguments to answer the demands for "negotiations" but they are disarmed by the demands to bring the GIs home now.

An attempt at a reasoned explanation of why the "negotiated settlement" position should be used by the peace movement was made in a position paper distributed at the convention by the Philadelphia DuBois Club. It says:

"The ultimate goal of the fight for an end to the war in Vietnam must be complete U. S. withdrawal... Yet it is hard to imagine complete withdrawal coming as the next step. The U. S. government, once it is forced to recognize that it must withdraw (and we are certainly not at that point), will undoubtedly, under continuing pressure, try to find face-saving intermediary steps. These do not run counter to the interests of peace, or even of the Vietnamese people, but in fact aid such interests. We are not opposed to negotiations, and we welcome all those who call for negotiations aimed at ending the war (which means ending U. S. participation) as a legitimate part of the peace movement."

**Face Savers**

Of course once the U. S. government "is forced to recognize that it must withdraw" it will do so through a number of face-saving steps. But the job of the peace movement is not to give advice and comfort on that matter. Johnson has experts to do that. The job of the antiwar movement is to help create the conditions which will force the government to recognize that it must withdraw. The job is to get the government in as much trouble with the American people as possible. The job is to appeal to the millions of Americans disturbed about the war and who want the slaughter stopped, not to appeal

to the politicians who want to save face.

The issue is: Which will create massive pressure faster, more effectively and more powerfully: the unequivocal, easily understood, popular demand to bring the troops home now; or the equivocal, complicated, readily parried and misleading demands for a negotiated settlement?

An important question remains: Why should the CP and the DuBois Clubs, which are obviously sincere in their opposition to the Vietnam war, be so anxious to impose the "negotiated settlement" position on the antiwar movement?

**General Approach**

The answer lies in their general approach to American politics — operating within the capitalist power structure in the hopes that some liberal politicians can somehow be persuaded to oppose the cold war. They want to channel the new antiwar movement into the Democratic Party, into support of liberal candidates. But these candidates with virtually no exceptions find the immediate withdrawal position untenable. These liberals basically support the "rights" of U. S. imperialism to protect its "vital interests" throughout the world, though some of them would like to see it done with a little less blood.

I agree with the Philadelphia DuBois Club that those who call for negotiations should be part of the movement — as long as they really oppose the war. But they are the weakest part of it — and they must not be allowed to dominate the new antiwar movement — as Sane dominated the old peace movement — or to muzzle the dynamic and growing section which calls for withdrawal. That is what the fight at the convention was all about.

## HOLIDAY BOOK LIST



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# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 29 - No. 45 345 Monday, December 13, 1965

## Outrageous Acts of Intimidation

In flagrant abuse of their authority, at least two state selective service directors (Michigan and Delaware) have decided that students can be put into 1-A for participating in protests against the Vietnam war.

Four students in Michigan have lost their deferments for being arrested in a demonstration at a local draft board. Col. Arthur Holmes, an old Army man who heads the state selective service, says "people accuse me of being a Hitler." Queried on this vicious practice, Lewis Hershey, national Selective Service Director, has refused to comment.

The American Jewish Congress has called upon Hershey to put an end to this abuse of power which it declared is "prohibited under the Bill of Rights."

Use of the draft as a club against dissenters has also been opposed, according to the Dec. 5 *New York Times*, by the American Civil Liberties Union, a Congressman, the Michigan Democratic Central Committee, several Michigan legislators and two Michigan university administrators.

The four students, including Eric Chester, chairman of a local Students for a Democratic Society chapter, are appealing their reclassification and the Michigan Civil Liberties Union is seeking a court injunction against the draft officials concerned.

Army induction centers may not be too happy about this move by the draft boards. The induction centers have shown a marked aversion to drafting outspoken opponents of the war, obviously in fear that their views might prove contagious within the armed forces.

## A Final Fund Appeal

The Dec. 15 deadline for raising a Socialist Education Fund of \$18,000, announced earlier, is rapidly drawing nearer.

Supporters from the various areas listed below who had pledged certain quotas vary from 94 to 17 per cent of fulfillment. The top five, with over 80 per cent paid, are within easy reach of the goal. The others will be straining a little to catch up on time.

Readers and supporters of *The*

*Militant* who are not represented in the area quotas have been very generous, contributing \$325 to the "General" category — a big increase since the last report. Sums ranging from \$5 to \$25 have been coming in this week.

This will be the final appeal for "General" contributions. Readers who want to help us get on with the good work should clip the coupon immediately and send in their contribution.

## I Want to Help

I want to help fulfill the quota in the \$18,000 Socialist Education Fund. Enclosed is my contribution of .....

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## Fund Scoreboard

City	Goal	Received	Per Cent
Chicago	\$ 1,600	\$ 1,500	94
Philadelphia	275	245	89
San Francisco	800	705	88
Boston	1,000	865	87
Cleveland	700	568	81
Detroit	1,100	893	81
St. Louis	150	110	73
Twin Cities	1,250	800	64
Milwaukee	350	219	63
Oakland/Berkeley	800	507	63
Newark	150	85	57
New York	4,800	2,587	54
Seattle	450	227	50
Los Angeles	3,600	1,348	37
Denver	200	74	37
San Diego	200	58	29
Allentown	150	25	17
General	425	325	76
<b>Total as of Dec. 7</b>	<b>\$18,000</b>	<b>\$11,141</b>	<b>61%</b>

# Malcolm X Speaks

The following is a continuation of a speech made at a CORE symposium in Cleveland, on April 3, 1964, shortly after Malcolm left the Black Muslims and began developing a new philosophy and movement.

### Installment 8

#### A LITTLE BRIEFING ON GUERRILLA WARFARE

Right now, in this country, if you and I, 22 million African-Americans — that's what we are — Africans who are in America. You're nothing but Africans. Nothing but Africans. In fact, you'd get farther calling yourself African instead of Negro. Africans don't catch hell. You're the only one catching hell. They don't have to pass civil-rights bills for Africans. An African can go anywhere he wants right now. All you've got to do is tie your head up. That's right, go anywhere you want. Just stop being a Negro. Change your name to Hoogaga-gooba. That'll show you how silly the white man is. You're dealing with a silly man.

A friend of mine who's very dark put a turban on his head and went into a restaurant in Atlanta before they called themselves desegregated. He went into a white restaurant, he sat down, they served him, and he said, "What would happen if a Negro came in here?" And there he's sitting, black as night, but because he had his head wrapped up the waitress looked back at him and says, "Why, there wouldn't no nigger dare come in here."

So, you're dealing with a man whose bias and prejudice are making him lose his mind, his intelligence, every day. He's frightened. He looks around and sees what's taking place on this earth, and he sees that the pendulum of time is swinging in your direction. The dark people are waking up. They're losing their fear of the white man. No place where he's fighting right now is he winning. Everywhere he's fighting, he's fighting someone your and my complexion. And they're beating him.

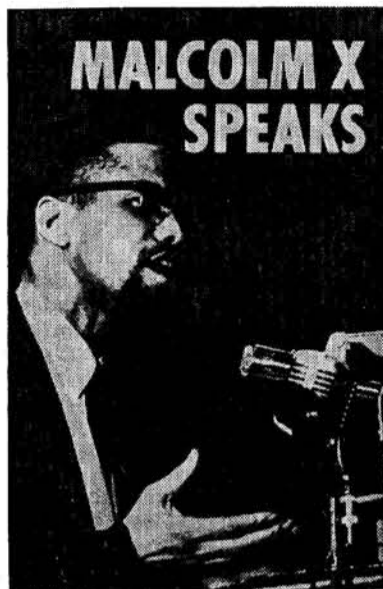
#### Fails to Win

He can't win any more. He's won his last battle. He failed to win the Korean War. He couldn't win it. He had to sign a truce. That's a loss. Any time Uncle Sam, with all his machinery for warfare, is held to a draw by some rice-eaters, he's lost the battle. He had to sign a truce. America's not supposed to sign a truce. She's supposed to be bad. But she's not bad any more. She's bad as long as she can use her hydrogen bomb, but she can't use hers for fear Russia might use hers. Russia can't use hers, for fear that Sam might use his. So, both of them are weaponless. They can't use the weapon because each's weapon nullifies the other's.

So the only place where action can take place is on the ground. Those days are over. The black man knows it, the brown man knows it, the red man knows it, and the yellow man knows it. So they engage him in guerrilla warfare. That's not his style. You've got to have heart to be a guerrilla warrior, and he hasn't got any heart. I'm telling you now.

I just want to give you a little briefing on guerrilla warfare because, before you know it, before you know it —

It takes heart to be a guerrilla warrior because you're on your own. In conventional warfare you have tanks and a whole lot of other people with you to back you up, planes over your head and all that kind of stuff. But a guerrilla is on his own. All you have is a rifle, some sneakers and a bowl of



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rice, and that's all you need — and a lot of heart.

The Japanese on some of those islands in the Pacific, when the American soldiers landed, one Japanese sometimes could hold the whole army off. He'd just wait until the sun went down, and when the sun went down they were all equal. He would take his little blade and slip from bush to bush, and from American to American. The white soldiers couldn't cope with that. Whenever you see a white soldier that fought in the Pacific, he has the shakes, he has a nervous condition, because they scared him to death.

The same thing happened to the French up in French Indochina. People who just a few years previously were rice farmers got together and ran the heavily-mechanized French army out of Indochina. You don't need it — modern warfare today won't work. This is the day of the guerrilla. They did the same thing in Algeria. Algerians, who were nothing but Bedouins, took a rifle and sneaked off to the hills, and de Gaulle and all of his high-falutin' war machinery couldn't defeat those guerrillas.

Nowhere on this earth does the white man win in a guerrilla warfare. It's not his speed. Just as guerrilla warfare is prevailing in Asia and in parts of Africa and in parts of Latin America, you've got to be mighty naive, or you've got to play the black man cheap, if you don't think some day he's going to wake up and find that it's got to be the ballot or the bullet.

#### Muslim Mosque

I would like to say, in closing, a few things concerning the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which we established recently in New York City. It's true we're Muslims and our religion is Islam, but we don't mix our religion with our politics and our economics and our social and civil activities — not any more. We keep our religion in our mosque. After our religious services are over, then as Muslims we become involved in political action, economic action and social and civic action. We become involved with anybody, anywhere, any time and in any manner that's designed to eliminate the evils, the political, economic and social evils that are afflicting the people of our community.

The political philosophy of black nationalism means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community; no more. The black man in the black community has

to be re-educated into the science of politics so he will know what politics is supposed to bring him in return. Don't be throwing out any ballots. A ballot is like a bullet. You don't throw your ballots until you see a target, and if that target is not within your reach, keep your ballot in your pocket.

The political philosophy of black nationalism is being taught in the Christian church. It's being taught in the NAACP. It's being taught in CORE meetings. It's being taught in SNCC meetings. It's being taught in Muslim meetings. It's being taught where nothing but atheists and agnostics come together. It's being taught everywhere. Black people are fed up with the dillydallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward getting our freedom. We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome.

The economic philosophy of black nationalism is pure and simple. It only means that we should control the economy of our community. Why should white people be running all the stores in our community? Why should white people be running the banks of our community? Why should the economy of our community be in the hands of the white man? Why? If a black man can't move his store into a white community, you tell me why a white man should move his store into a black community.

#### Re-Education Program

The philosophy of black nationalism involves a re-education program in the black community in regards to economics. Our people have to be made to see that any time you take your dollar out of your community and spend it in a community where you don't live, the community where you live will get poorer and poorer, and the community where you spend your money will get richer and richer. Then you wonder why where you live is always a ghetto or a slum area. And where you and I are concerned, not only do we lose it when we spend it out of the community, but the white man has got all our stores in the community tied up; so that though we spend it in the community at sundown the man who runs the store takes it over across town somewhere. He's got us in a vise.

So the economic philosophy of black nationalism means in every church, in every civic organization, in every fraternal order, it's time now for our people to become conscious of the importance of controlling the economy of our community. If we own the stores, if we operate the businesses, if we try and establish some industry in our own community, then we're developing to the position where we are creating employment for our own kind. Once you gain control of the economy of your own community, then you don't have to picket and boycott and beg some cracker downtown for a job in his business.

The social philosophy of black nationalism only means that we have to get together and remove the evils, the vices, alcoholism, drug addiction, and other evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our community. We ourselves have to lift the level of our community, the standard of our community to a higher level, make our own society beautiful so that we will be satisfied in our own social circles and won't be running around here trying to knock our way into a social circle where we're not wanted.

Next week: If it's not a country of freedom, change it.



# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**STUDIES IN A DYING COLONIALISM** by Frantz Fanon. (French title, **THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION**, 1959). Translated by Maakon Chevalier, with an introduction by Adolfo Gilly. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1965. \$4.95 181 pp.

Those who felt a deep respect for the author of *The Wretched of the Earth*, tinged with a slight uncertainty as to the exact meaning of some of his statements, should place Fanon's earlier book, just now translated and published in English, near the top of their reading list.

The book is composed of five essays on the fundamental social and psychological changes that came over the Algerian people as they totally mobilized to defeat French colonial rule. Fanon's psychiatric observations, through which he is able to probe into the innermost self of the oppressed and the oppressor, are integrated into the separate essays — not left at the end as in *The Wretched of the Earth*. The essays are clearer, more concrete and less repetitious, if less analytical than the later work.

Together, the essays constitute a whole. They make up a study not so much in the death agony of colonialism as in the birth process of a truly human consciousness in the Algerian people.

Fanon's *Studies* is a fresh antidote to the sterile reports of patronizing sociologists who see the colonized people through the culture-bound eyes of the colonizer.

He explains, for example, that the defense of the large Algerian veil and the retreat into the home of the woman, constituted far more than a stubborn native resistance to the "liberalizing" influence of European values. Prior to 1954, when the national liberation struggle began, the Algerians considered these actions as last-ditch attempts to maintain a shred of dignity, hidden from the colonizer, which he could not spiritually plunder as he had materially plundered the land.

The beginning of the armed conflict put an end to all that. Algerian women had to leave the confines of the home to travel long distances, and through European sectors, carrying instructions from the FLN. They doffed the veil. Later, however, they reassumed it for pragmatic reasons: to carry grenades or supplies past the occupation troops. Still later it came off again, as the women joined the men in the guerrilla fight itself.

The radio was seen originally as an instrument of the oppressor culture and few native homes had or wanted them. But when the FLN started its broadcasts, from the mountains and neighboring countries, radios became a necessity for the people and the Europeans tried to outlaw their sale.

Even the medicine of the European — its scientific basis obviously superior to the "medicine" of folk doctors — was viewed as an encroachment on the person and body of the Algerian national. The attitude toward modern medicine entirely reversed itself, however, when the FLN received medical supplies and acquired medical units.

The most advanced technological elements, theretofore unassimilable, then became part of the total process of national emancipation. The Algerian people, leaving behind a past that could never be regained, reached out for the future and found themselves able to contend with one

of the most modern of the European states.

Fanon's study of the changes in family structure and the role of friendly Europeans in the all-out freedom struggle also provide valuable insights. The reader will find that young Algerians and anticolonialist French students played a vanguard role similar to that of young Cubans and a minority of American students in deepening and defending, respectively, the Cuban revolution.

The introduction by Adolfo Gilly deserves reading on its own merits. This is the first time, to this writer's knowledge, that Gilly has fully discussed the international revolutionary perspective which was implicit in his earlier writings translated into English.

Gilly's analysis has two major theses: 1) "The whole of humanity has erupted violently, tumultuously onto the stage of history, taking its own destiny in its hands. Capitalism is under siege, surrounded by a global tide of revolution . . . This revolution is changing humanity."

And 2) "this revolution, still without a center, without a precise form, has its own laws, its own life and a depth of unity — accorded it by the same masses who create it, who live it, who inspire each other from across boundaries, give each other spirit and encouragement . . ."

The U. S. A. is not excluded. "The United States is not isolated by any *cordon sanitaire* from the revolution which is engulfing mankind." The anti-Vietnam-war protest movement, Gilly contends, is "a highly important symptom of what is gestating in the still unconscious depths of broad segments of the population."

The growing evidence to back up Gilly's theses provide salient reasons for not avoiding the Fanon book.

— Jan Garrett

# The Rhodesia Crisis

By Dick Roberts

The Organization of African Unity declared on Dec. 3 that it will break diplomatic relations with Britain, if Britain has not crushed the white-supremacist revolt of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith by Dec. 15. This follows by several days Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda's invitation to British troops to guard the Kariba Dam in Southern Rhodesia, which supplies a major part of Zambia's electric power.

The OAU's resolution reflects the mass opposition of black Africa to Smith's brazen attempt to stabilize white-supremacist rule in southern Africa, and it serves to pinpoint the role that Britain is playing in failing to stop this process. However it does not appear that Smith has any intention of seizing the Kariba Dam at this point.

The Kariba Dam and the Rhodesian railways which freight Zambia's copper to the sea, are Smith's trump-cards, to be sure. But this is not because Smith might prevent Zambia from using them. He has said more than once that he has no intentions of making such a move.

They are Smith's trump-cards because they mean that no matter what kind of white-terrorist regime he sets up in Southern Rhodesia, the copper trusts will keep on pouring funds into his country. This cuts the ground out from under Britain's so-called economic sanctions.

Whatever immediate losses Rhodesia might suffer from British refusal to purchase Rhodesian products, Smith has plenty of time to make these up. Portugal, Holland, France and South Africa, for instance, have already gone on record as refusing to uphold the British boycott.

Anyone familiar with Britain's role in Africa, will know that British troops have never been used to further the just struggle for African rule of this continent. They were sent into Aden against the blacks only recently and they guard the British Protectorates in Southern Africa. Just a year ago, the U.S. airplanes which carried murderous Belgian machine-guns to Stanleyville, where they massacred thousands of Congolese civilians, took off from British islands.



Britain does not want to make any serious attempt to topple the Smith government. After all, Britain set up the government Smith now rules, supplied and armed the troops Smith now uses to terrorize the black Rhodesian civilians. And the United States will back Britain to the hilt. When word of the Dec. 15-deadline OAU resolution reached Washington yesterday, the State Department replied, "this is an unreasonable time limit."

What Britain and the United States hope is that during the time that they say it will take for the economic sanctions to have any effect on Rhodesia, most people will forget about the Smith regime, and everything will calm down—probably leaving Smith in power.

Just in case, however, Britain will undoubtedly respond to Kaunda's request for troops. What Britain is worried about, along with Smith, is the militant demonstrations by black workers in the larger Rhodesian cities against the new Rhodesian regime, and the sympathy of black revolutionaries all over Africa for their struggle.

Britain would like to be in the position, and she won't wait for much of an excuse either, to be able to crush the first signs of armed African revolt against the Smith regime.

It is therefore dangerous to allow Britain to build up any sizeable troop commitment in this area. The lesson of the Congo is very important. That showed that no matter what pretense the imperialists might use to bring their forces into action—in the case of the Congo, as a United Nations "peacekeeping mission"—they will ultimately be used to crush the African freedom struggle, and to support whatever puppet-dictators the imperialists can lay their hands on, white or Negro.

The UN forces stayed in the Congo for four years. They drove tens of thousands of Africans into concentration camps, and they sat by while mercenaries murdered the very man that had invited the UN forces in to begin with, Patrice Lumumba. When the UN forces finally pulled out last summer, they left the hated dictatorship of Lumumba's murderers, the Kasavubu - Mobutu - Tshombe clique, and thousands of murdered freedom fighters.

Ultimately, it is only Africa that can destroy the Smiths and Mobutus. To rely on Britain to achieve this purpose is to fall into a trap that Britain, herself, set up. The OAU resolution will further expose Britain's true role in Rhodesia; but no one should have any illusions that Britain has any intentions of instituting a democratic black government in Smith's white supremacist place.

## World Events

### 'Free World' Showcase?

If you hear of a resurgence of the Hukbalahap revolutionary movement in the Philippines, don't be surprised. Here's how a member of the American journalistic establishment describes social conditions on the islands (Seymour Topping, Nov. 22, *New York Times*):

"The economy, which grew by only 3.8 percent in 1964, cannot cope with the exploding birth rate. About 10 percent of the country's work force of eight million is unemployed, 30 percent is underemployed, many of them peasants who work only three months a year, and about 300,000 job-seekers pour into the economy each year. The cost of living rose by 9.6 percent in 1964, while wages increased by 2.9 percent."

"The wide gap in living standards between the 200 top millionaire families and the majority of the population, which is badly housed and fed, is evident in both the cities and the countryside."

### Anti-Textbook Textbook

A model textbook that "authorities are highly unlikely to recommend for use in the schools" has been drawn up by some critical-minded West Germans. The first chapter, written by an avant-garde poet, tries to cut through an old German tradition. It urges students to "betray unworthy secrets" and examine critically

"any orders." In fact the theme of the textbook is "distrust your textbooks." It gives a broad selection of "unorthodox" German writing, from Karl Marx through the satirical poet and critic Heinrich Heine, to a speech to workers by Alfred Krupp, founder of the giant monopoly.

### Guerrilla Strikes

"Guerrilla strikes" are what British bakers are using to enforce their demands for a 30 percent wage increase and a shorter workweek. These are selective, 48-hour work stoppages, cutting off bread production now in one area, now in another. The bakers are striking in spite of the Labor government's policy of holding the line on wages, a policy supposedly aimed at stabilizing the British pound.

### Spanish Interest in Trotsky

Interest in the views of Leon Trotsky has been shown recently in the Spanish emigre press and the Spanish underground. The underground magazine *Acción Comunista* printed excerpts from Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* and *Permanent Revolution*, along with a positive appraisal of the author.

*Ruedo Iberico*, an emigre Spanish magazine published in Paris, printed an article by Francisco Fernandez-Santos entitled "Trotsky, Our Contemporary," a very favorable commentary on Trotsky's life and work. In the same

magazine, Jorge Semprun, a former member of the central committee of the Spanish Communist Party, commented approvingly on Trotsky's book *Terrorism and Communism*.

### Scandinavian Interest Too

A new interest in Trotsky is also evidenced in Denmark and Sweden. In Denmark, the weekly *S. F.*, organ of the left-center Socialist People's Party, ran two articles entitled "Trotsky: Prophet or Traitor?" The author is Kai Moltke, a member of parliament and of the Danish delegation to the United Nations. The articles are very favorable toward Trotsky and contain a scathing attack against Stalinism. Moltke, the author of many books, was a leading member of the Danish Communist Party for twenty years.

In Sweden, a recent issue of the Socialist Students' official organ, *S*, printed an article "Trotsky in Memoriam" by Olaf O. Berggren. This was accompanied by a poem written by Karl O. Andersson, "Homage to Trotsky."

### Soviet Milk

Milk production in the Soviet Union this year will, for the first time, top U. S. production of the same, according to an Agriculture Department estimate. Total Soviet output is expected to be 127.8 billion pounds, slightly more than the U. S. total.

—George Saunders

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## Osceola and Wildcat

## When Red and Black Fought Whites

By George Lavan

The time was 130 years ago. The place was Florida. U.S. army officers and government officials were lined up on one side, chiefs of the Seminole Indian tribe on the other. Between them, on a table, was a treaty ready for signing. The military and government officials were trying to pressure the Indians into signing the treaty by whose terms they would place themselves in U.S. army custody for removal to the Indian territory in what is now Oklahoma.

At the crucial psychological moment a young warrior known as Osceola stepped forward, plunged his scalping knife into the treaty and declared: "This is the only treaty I'll ever make with the white man."

This dramatic incident, which used to be related and illustrated in almost every history book written for American teen-agers, was only one of the episodes which made Osceola one of the most romantic figures in American history. But his white contemporaries, particularly the slave-owners of Florida and Georgia, saw nothing romantic about the war which soon followed — sup-

posedly the most costly Indian war ever fought by the U.S.

The molders of public opinion in the 1830's and 40's and most historians since have pictured the Second Seminole War as being caused by the Indians' unusual attachment to their native soil. This was not so. They were not happy about moving but, like the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws, other and bigger tribes who lived in the Southeast, they were willing to move to new lands in the West.

However, in the case of the Seminoles something else was involved. That something else was the fact that the Seminoles had adopted large numbers of Negroes into the tribe as brothers and allies. They feared, and events proved they were right, that once they put themselves in the power of the U.S. military and politicians — for the government in those days was dominated by the slave-owners as much as it is today by the capitalists — their black brothers and allies would be seized and handed over to slave traders.

Almost from the beginning of slavery in the South, slaves had sought freedom by running away.

Since the jurisdiction of the British colonies ended at the boundary of Florida, which belonged to Spain, many escaped blacks settled there. Though slavery existed in Spanish colonies, Florida officials, lacking adequate military forces to keep off the British colonists to the North, found it fitted in with their defense plans to allow the escaped slaves to dwell there in freedom and to till the soil. They made a good fighting force against invaders from Georgia and the Carolinas.

In the language of the Creek Indians these escaped blacks were called Seminoles, which means runaways. At first the term was applied only to them. Later, in 1750, when a split took place in the Creek tribe and a seceding section moved south into Florida, settling in the vicinity of the escaped slaves and associating and intermarrying with them, the name Seminole came to be applied to Indians as well.

During the American Revolution more slaves escaped and the black people, variously called "maroons," "exiles of Florida," or "Seminole Negroes," grew in number. In light of present day discussions among Afro-Americans about integration and separation, the way of life of the escaped blacks in Florida is interesting. Some chose one way, some chose the other. Many Negroes joined Indian bands, intermarrying and being adopted into them. Others lived in and governed their own black villages which were allied with the Indians.

The fact that ex-slaves were known to be living in freedom just across the Florida boundary infuriated the Georgia slaveowners and encouraged the slaves to attempt to escape. The government in Washington made repeated protests to the Spanish authorities. It also tried to make the Creeks, who themselves had now become slave-owners, into its catchers of fugitive slaves by claiming that the Seminoles were legally still under Creek jurisdiction.

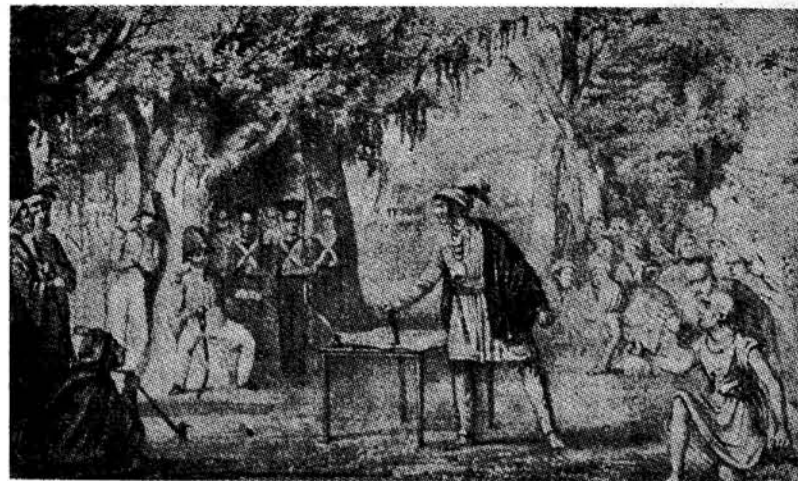
## First Seminole War

At the end of the War of 1812 General Andrew Jackson, a ruthless slavery expansionist, simply invaded Florida, attacking the free Negroes and their Seminole allies and laying waste their villages and crops. He succeeded in taking some prisoners and returning them to slavery.

In this First Seminole War (1816-1818) U.S. forces succeeded in killing or re-enslaving probably one-third of the escaped blacks.

The U.S. bought Florida in 1819, and in the next decade the Seminoles had good cause for even greater distrust of the U.S. When a runaway slave was tracked to their villages, the U.S. agent appointed to supervise their tribe would demand that the fugitive be surrendered. U.S. courts issued orders for the return of escaped slaves and, armed with these, the slavetraders would go into Seminole territory and try to seize any Negro, even those born in freedom. Georgia slaveowners organized raiding parties to kidnap Negroes living in the free settlements.

A plan was finally devised to get the Seminoles to agree to move West and when they were all assembled in army camps to go in with court orders and seize the escaped slaves and the descendants of escaped slaves. The Seminoles agreed to inspect the land offered them in Oklahoma and sent a delegation of eight chiefs to go and report back. It wasn't that the new land wasn't satisfactory, it was the fact that by the time the eight chiefs had returned it had become apparent that there would be no real guarantees for the safety of their Negro brothers, that caused the



"This is the only treaty I'll make with the white man."

young war chiefs Osceola and Coacooche, called Wild Cat by the whites, to take an adamant stand against the treaty.

Early accounts say that the incident which touched off the Second Seminole War occurred when Osceola and a party of Indians including his young bride, who was half Negro, visited Fort King for the purpose of trading. The young woman was seized as a slave and because of Osceola's violent protests, General Wiley Thompson, the Indian agent, ordered him put in irons. When he was released six days later the young woman was beyond reach somewhere in Georgia.

Some historians say the woman wasn't Osceola's bride and others raise doubts about the whole incident. But there is no question about Osceola's imprisonment and subsequent hatred for Gen. Thompson. He marked Thompson for death. With a small group of followers Osceola hid for weeks outside Fort King watching the Indian agent's every move. Finally the unsuspecting Thompson ventured outside the fort. Osceola and his braves slaughtered him and his four companions and immediately took off for the Great Wahoo Swamp where another act of vengeance was planned.

## Long March

Troops had been ordered to march north from Tampa to reinforce Fort King. Since the distance was 130 miles through forest and many swamps, Major Dade, in charge of the reinforcements, sought an experienced guide. Inquiries in Tampa led him to an old Spanish family named Pacheco who owned a slave named Louis who knew the route. This young slave spoke the Indian languages as well as Spanish, English and French, and also could read and write. His owner vouched for him as faithful and trustworthy, and Louis was hired as the guide at the rate of \$25 per month (which, of course, went to the owner).

Louis' sympathies were with the black allies of the Seminoles. He immediately sent messages to them about his mission and the route he would take, even specifying the best spot for an ambush — near the Great Wahoo Swamp. The free Negroes informed some of the more militant Seminoles, including Osceola and Wild Cat, and laid the trap. The massacre that ensued was the greatest military disaster for the U.S. army in its Indian wars until Custer's Last Stand 41 years later. Of Dade's battalion there were only three survivors — two soldiers, who escaped, and Louis, who joined the Seminoles and became Wild Cat's right-hand man.

The massacre of Gen. Thompson and the ambush of Major Dade's troops both took place on Dec. 28, 1835 and marked the beginning of the Second Seminole War. Osceola arrived at the Great Wahoo Swamp too late for the battle. Wild Cat led the fight. Now the Indians and free Negroes carried on the war with a boldness unusual in Indian warfare. They made frontal attacks on superior forces composed of veteran U.S. troops; they carried out sustained attacks on fortified positions.

But the Seminoles were a relatively small people, numbering

about 4,000, of whom at most a third could bear arms; their Negro allies numbered about 1,400 of whom about the same proportion were fighting men. They lacked sufficient arms and ammunition and in the end settled down to guerrilla warfare. But this, plus the fevers caught in the swampy country by the U.S. troops, took a heavy toll of their white pursuers.

In the fall of 1837 a delegation of twelve Cherokee chiefs arrived in Florida in an effort to arrange a peaceful settlement of the Seminole War. They had been sent by the Cherokee's principal chief, John Ross. The Cherokees were the most advanced of the "five civilized tribes" (Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles were the others).

The Cherokees lived in the mountain areas of Tennessee and North Carolina. Like the other civilized tribes, they had become a farming people. They had built prosperous towns, had developed an alphabet and had newspapers. Ross, son of a white father and an Indian mother, had been educated and Christianized. He worked devotedly for his people but within the limits of non-violent ideology, trust in the white liberals of the day and observance of the white man's laws and courts. Consequently he was to see his people swindled, evicted from their lands (though he won the tribe's case in the U.S. Supreme Court against that eviction), and perish by the thousands on the brutal enforced trek of the Cherokees overland to Oklahoma.

## Given Word

Wild Cat's father had been taken prisoner and sent his son a similar message. To test the offer Wild Cat approached the fort near St. Augustine. He was courteously received by General Hernandez and was sent messages by General Jessup, the top commander. Convinced the whites were acting honestly, Wild Cat left with the promise to bring Osceola to the fort in ten days.

On Oct. 23 Osceola and other Seminole chiefs bearing white flags approached Gen. Hernandez who had drawn his troops up in parade formation to receive them. Then, at a given signal, the U.S. troops surrounded the Indians, and Osceola, Wild Cat and the other Seminole and Negro chiefs were thrown into dungeons in Saint Augustine.

The Cherokee delegation left Florida in anger and their chief, John Ross, engaged in a lengthy but unavailing correspondence with the Secretary of War demanding the release of the Seminoles captured in violation of solemn promises and the flag of truce.

Osceola was transported to Fort Moultrie in Charleston, S.C. There he soon became ill and reportedly refused treatment by the army physician, who, by coincidence, was the brother-in-law of the massacred General Thompson. He died Jan. 30, 1838. The physician secretly severed the head from the corpse and embalmed it for a macabre collection he had. Osceola's head was later given by the physician's family to the library of the New York Academy of Medicine where it remained until it was destroyed in a fire there.

## Questions and Answers About Socialism

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

## Why do Marxists say that socialism is inevitable?

Marxists do not consider socialism inevitable in the sense that it is pre-ordained that socialism will triumph. If they thought that they would not have to devote themselves to building a movement that works to achieve socialism. However, they are encouraged to make their efforts by the knowledge that powerful social and historic forces are driving the world in the direction of socialism.

Marxists do consider socialism inevitable in the sense that if society does advance beyond capitalism the next social system to come upon the scene will be socialism.

This is in contrast to those who agree that capitalism is but one stage in human history but who either leave open what the next stage will be or see some other system than socialism emerging.

## One Theory

For example, right-winger James Burnham popularized in this country the theory of the "managerial revolution." According to this theory, the modern world is evolving toward a form of bureaucratic collectivism in which the managers of industry will become the new ruling class.

Marxists reject such views on the basis of their analysis of the specific economic forms of capitalist production, the way those forms are evolving, and the specific kind of class relations that are shaped and developed by such forms of production.

Marxists see the principal means of production that have developed under monopoly capitalism as already socialized insofar as the methods of production are concerned. That is, while the ownership of production remains in private hands, there is an increasing tendency toward centralized production as opposed to the early period of capitalism when there were many small, independent producers of commodities. In fact the means of production have grown to such an extent, and are necessarily so increasingly socialized in the methods of production,

that they strain to an even greater degree on the bounds of capitalism.

Internationally, the development of the world market and the pressure for ever greater rationalization of production also drives in a socialist direction. This is most clearly seen among the nations that have thrown off the yoke of imperialist domination. To one extent or another, in one way or another, their efforts to develop their economies lead them in the direction of socialized planning and production.

## Decisive Force

In the most developed capitalist societies, the enormous growth of the means of production and their ever-increasing centralization has led to the development of a working class which, by virtue of its size and relationship to the means of production, is actually or potentially the most powerful social force in the country. (Consider, for example, how a strike of steel workers ties up one of the country's vital industries.) Certainly the working class of the advanced countries is the only class force with the social cohesion and economic power necessary to dislodge and take over from the very powerful contemporary capitalist rulers of society.

That, in a brief and perhaps oversimplified way, is the general concept of the inevitability of socialism as employed by Marxists.

But, to repeat, socialism is not inevitable in the sense that its victory is pre-ordained. From Marx to Trotsky, the foremost Marxist thinkers have always explained that humanity is confronted with an historic choice: Either forward to socialism or back to barbarism.

And today it can be amended: Either socialism or atomic destruction.

Precisely because the outcome of the struggle is not guaranteed, and because the choice is clearly so fateful, Marxists are convinced that the greatest task of our time is to build the kind of political movement capable of ensuring the victory of socialism.

— Harry Ring



# 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.]

## Skinning a Racist Cat

Indianola, Miss.  
We are writing now to bring you up to date on our program towards getting a new Freedom School to replace the one burned down.

We have talked to the mayor and gone to the Board of Aldermen twice. The city still hasn't given us a building permit. Well, there is more than one way to skin a cat. We are going to make our house into a new Freedom School. We have a permit to remodel the house. The total cost will be \$4,000. The house will get a new roof, a new floor, aluminum siding and several other things. You will hear from us again on our further progress.

We are going to begin work on the house as soon as we get the money. We would appreciate whatever anyone can contribute.

Otis Brown, Jr.  
Sunflower County  
Freedom Democratic Party, P.O. Box 30  
Indianola, Miss.

## Freedom Labor Union

Boston, Mass.  
You published a letter several weeks ago from Marks, Miss., requesting help for the Freedom Labor Union strike fund.

I sent a small contribution and received the following letter which I thought your readers might be interested in:

"We appreciate your contribution very much. This county is a typical plantation area. There has been little violence — just everyday grinding exploitation of the agricultural laborers.

"Your gift will help make the Union more real to people here and show that they do have friends in other places."

A Reader

## Gov't Correspondence

Floral Park, N. Y.  
I was especially interested in "Where LBJ Refers Viet Protests" by Arthur Maglin (*Militant*, Nov. 29). In several letters to the President recently, I have complained about our persecution of oppressed peoples all over the world. Whenever the White House thought that it would not be inappropriate to reply to my sometimes sharp criticisms, the replies came from the State Department, not the Justice Department. However, when it became ap-

parent that letters have no influence on LBJ, I began writing to others, and at this point the Department of Justice, Internal Security Division, Civil Section, entered the picture.

A nice letter that I sent to Mr. Katzenbach about McCarthyism was answered by Mr. Yeagley ("This will acknowledge your letter of the 4th to the Attorney General and the comments contained therein.")

A letter to Senator Javits was referred to the Justice Department "for their comments. Thank you very much."

A letter to Senator Fulbright has not yet been answered.

Finally, I dashed off a letter of protest about the whole thing to Senator Kennedy. Now, I don't sign my name anymore, which allows me to be more frank in my statements. I have also abandoned the letter form. I just send brief messages in words several inches tall, so that even a child can understand them.

J.E.

## Postal Goof?

Detroit, Mich.  
Somebody or something slipped up at the Post Office today. Yesterday, Friday the 19th, I received my *Militant* dated the 15th, which

had been mailed in New York on Thursday the 11th. This 8-day trip is not unusual.

But today, Saturday the 20th, my *Militant* dated the 22nd was delivered — around 1½ days after being mailed.

This had not happened before, but it shows it can happen, even with *The Militant*. (It happens regularly each week with the *National Guardian* and other publications sent from New York.)

By the way, I was dissatisfied with your Nov. 15 editorial reply to the Seaford, N. Y. reader who asked you to print information on how to complain to the Post Office about this matter. All you said was that you would keep trying to get better delivery.

There are places, locally and nationally, where individual subscribers can lodge complaints. Why don't you find out about these and print the information? It might not solve the problem completely, but it might help.

George Breitman

[Complaints about slowness of mail delivery may be lodged with your local postmaster or with the U. S. Postmaster General, Washington, D.C. — EDITOR.]

## From Iceland

Reykjavik, Iceland  
A few days ago I saw for the first time the weekly *The Militant* and decided to become a subscriber. But the question is, how am I able to pay the fee? It is not so simple as to send Icelandic money, as I think there are some difficulties to change them. But if it is not, then please let me know. Otherwise you will have to inform me of the matter.

We here in Iceland do not have the slightest idea that there are published such radical papers as *The Militant*, and therefore it is necessary for me to have such a paper besides *Newsweek* and the *Times*.

S. O.

## Quaker's Death

Baltimore, Md.  
I was sick when Norman Morrison burned himself to death in Washington or I would have written about it. He was my best friend in Baltimore. He was execu-

F. B.

## Thought for the Week

"A lack of sensitivity has shown up in [CIA Director] Raborn's dealings outside the CIA. In Congress, some of those briefed by Raborn after the Dominican intervention were shocked when he indelicately suggested the possibility of '14 or 15 Dominican Republics' throughout Latin America before the problem of Communist subversion could be solved." — Washington columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, Dec. 3.

utive secretary of the Quaker meeting here and the father of three children. But he felt that somebody had to die to accent the error of the U.S. in Vietnam.

The Quakers have been in opposition to war for three centuries. They are the descendants of the middle-ages opposition to war and preach brotherly love. (It would be good if the socialists didn't leave this to the Christians to preach.)

Unlike the aristocrats who run the church, the religion preached by Jesus was pure socialism.

Archie Craig

## Leaves 'Land of Free'

Berlin, Germany  
This is to inform you of a change of address. We have left the United States and have moved to Europe. I am sure the reason for our move will be of interest to you. Last July my wife and I took a three-weeks vacation trip to the U.S.S.R. Upon returning to work I was informed that I had been laid off.

After ten and a half years of service at the age of 45 with a family of four to support my employer decided I was no longer needed. In view of these developments we decided to leave the "land of the free." The only thing we miss is your newspaper. Please forward it to our European address and bill me for the additional postage.

H.G.

## Solid Suggestion

Cleveland, Ohio  
One way to speed mail delivery of *The Militant* would be to wrap it and make it look like the *Wall Street Journal*.

G. G.

## We Agree

Los Angeles, Calif.  
"How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam" is the best I have read on that subject. The booklet is written by Robert Scheer and is published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, P. O. Box 4068, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103. A sample copy is free. I would urge readers to send for it.

F. B.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Tired of Free World** — In the wake of recent demonstrations against the Vietnam war, James Poulter of Ann Arbor, Mich., advertised in a local paper offering to pay the fare of anyone wishing to move to North Vietnam or China. He received a response that said: "I accept this offer, but will not be able to fulfill my end of the deal until sometime in 1967... But I do accept if we can make some kind of arrangement that will enable me to accept at a later date. Sincerely, Morris Flint, No. 283244, Jackson State Prison."

**Note to George Meany** — A right-winger wrote a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune* saying that if George Meany is really against those "peace creeps" like he says he is, and he's really for winning the war in Vietnam, how come he doesn't declare a moratorium on strikes. If the war goes on a while, Mr. Johnson may ask Meany the same question.

**Defects from Anti-Poverty Army** — Mrs. Mary Lee Inger, a Chicago coordinator of the federal "anti-poverty" program, resigned her \$10,000-a-year post because she "objected to being paid too much for accomplishing too little."

**Second Thoughts** — After spending \$28,000 to make a television film showing the aftermath of an imaginary atomic attack on England, the British Broadcasting System decided not to show it because it is "too horrifying for the medium of broadcasting." The BBC said its decision was not the result of any outside pressure.

**Shop Early for Xmas** — If you place your order in advance, Cartier's of New York will make you up a pair of gold chopsticks for \$850. They're wonderful for chop suey.

**Now We Know** — In case you're wondering why civil liberties ain't what they used to be, New York Police Commissioner Broderick explains that good police departments are "the strongest bulwark of civil liberties that we have in this country."

**Crazy, Man!** — We always considered the UN a pretty staid place, but we're going to take another look. When San Francisco

officials proposed to fly a UN flag in a park near the organization's birthplace, they ran into opposition. A retired Navy Lieutenant declared that the UN charter had been produced by a group that included "16 men, all proved to be Communists." He added: "At the entrance of the UN building is a statue of Zeus, the Greek god. Now Zeus lived a life of incest and depravity..."

**Feature That** — Harry Truman, the man who ordered the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who plunged this country into the Korean war and who is all for the U.S. war in Vietnam, says he is concerned that the UN isn't doing enough to discourage aggression.

**Risky Business** — A county welfare supervisor in Fullerton, Neb., was shot dead by a retired policeman whose welfare payments had been cut.

**Hysteria on Madison Avenue** — The Advertising Federation of America flipped its collective wig over what it called "biased" consumer-education programs in high schools. It charged such programs

"create doubt and suspicion" in the minds of school children "as to the integrity and dependability of the country's business firms and their advertising practices." It further charged such courses would create an "antagonism and distrust" toward our free-enterprise system.

**Outboard Motors for Impoverished Mexicans?** — We found *The Children of Sanchez* a highly educational and fascinating book, but we were equally fascinated by a press release which declared: "CHICAGO, Nov. 22 — The depth study techniques developed by sociologist Oscar Lewis to study impoverished Mexican families holds great promise for market research, Howard F. Larson, marketing vice president of Outboard Marine Corp., said today."

**Big Deal Dep't** — New York Mayor-elect John Lindsay announced that he will take a ten per cent pay cut as a symbolic gesture of the need for economy. That means he will now have to get along on \$900 a week, plus free rent.

—Harry Ring

## A UNIQUE COMBINATION

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

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

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## Rome March of 25,000 Protests Vietnam War

ROME, Italy — In support of the March on Washington, 25,000 people held a torchlight parade and all-night vigil here against the U.S. war in Vietnam, the night of Nov. 27-28. The parade went through the heart of this city, from Piazza del Popolo to Piazza Cavour, a few blocks from St. Peter's.

The vigil was endorsed by almost every internationally known Italian intellectual and artist, including people from the film in-

dustry such as Marcello Mastroianni and Federico Fellini.

One uniformed U.S. Marine and a few American civilians joined the parade and vigil. James Baldwin, the American Negro writer, was the first speaker, and stirred the crowd to emotional applause. There was also a big response to a letter from Suzanne Pollard of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee. The letter was read by Gian Carlo Volonto, whose production of *The Deputy* was censored last year in one of the nation's great causes célèbres.

Italian actor Tino Buazzelli read three poems, one of them by an American, Dan Georgakas, titled, "For the Human Torch," which was dedicated to Roger LaPorte. The other two poems were by Brecht.

The Rome march was only one among many in Italy. Demonstrations occurred in Milan, Naples, Turin, Florence, Bologna, Venice, and other cities.

A bombing attempt interrupted the Rome vigil. An anonymous telephone caller told police of a bomb planted in the theater where the vigil was held. Police found two suspicious packages in the toilet and ordered the demonstrators to clear the premises.

One of the packages contained six ounces of plastic explosives in a metal box with a timing device. The other package was stuffed with an old newspaper.

Police disconnected the time bomb and after an hour-and-a-half search in the theater allowed the vigil to go on. They did not say if the explosive would have gone off or at what time.

## Postpone Trial of Three In Malcolm X Murder Until Beginning of Year

By Herman Porter  
NEW YORK, Dec. 6 — The trial of the alleged murderers of Malcolm X began today, but was adjourned until Jan. 3. Judge Charles Marks of the New York Supreme Court ruled on several motions made by one of the defense attorneys and then began to seat the panel from which a jury will be selected.

Peter L. F. Sabbatino, attorney for Thomas Hagan, made a motion for a change of venue. He argued that because of the "religious and political tension" surrounding the case it would be impossible for his client to receive a fair trial in New York County. Attorneys William C. Chance, Jr., and Joseph Pinckney, representing Norman Butler and Thomas Johnson respectively, opposed the change of venue. The judge denied the motion, saying he was not aware of any religious tension, and certainly no political tension concerning the case.

Sabbatino then moved to have his client's case separated from the other defendants' so that Hagan would have 20 peremptory challenges of prospective jurors, rather than a total of 20 challenges for the three defendants together. He argued that guarantee of due process justifies this in cases where defendants may have antagonistic interests. The motion was denied.

Application for reasonable bail by Butler's attorney was also denied. In justifying the denial the judge referred to Sabbatino's remarks about "tensions."

Two of the defendants, Norman Butler and Thomas Johnson, are well-known Black Muslims who were arrested some days after the assassination of Malcolm X. Thomas Hagan, alias Talmadge Hayer, was shot and apprehended at the scene of the crime.

## 200 Cuban Exile Groups In Miami Disappear as CIA Handouts Dry Up

Of the more than 200 counter-revolutionary Cuban exile groups that flourished in Miami a few years ago, only one remains and that one doesn't amount to much. This was reported Dec. 5 by the *New York Times*.

The exile groups had mushroomed when generous amounts of tax dollars were being dispensed to them by the CIA. That was when Washington thought it could use the exiles as a front for an invasion of Cuba. Now, apparently on the basis of the Bay of Pigs disaster, Washington has decided that if it tries again it won't bother with the front.

The *Times* report says: "One United States government official, who has observed the exile scene for several years, said it appeared to him that the fervor of some of the organizations began to wane when the Central Intelligence Agency stopped financing them."

### BEHIND THE BEDSHEETS

## Who the Bogalusa Klansmen Are

Who hides under the white hoods of the Ku Klux Klan? Some interesting information on this question was entered into the *Congressional Record* of Oct. 22 by Georgia Congressman Charles L. Weltner. Weltner lists some 160 members of the Klan in the Bogalusa, La., section of the terror organization. He also explains something of how the Klan operates there.

Weltner said that he believes most white Southerners are opposed to the Ku Klux Klan.

"How, then, it might be asked, can the Klan exert such influence on some Southern communities?..."

"The Ku Klux Klan uses three basic techniques — secrecy, terror, and intimidation. It attempts to infiltrate legitimate functions of government. Again Bogalusa is a case in point.

"The mayor of that city, whether willingly or not, became subject to the influence of the Klan. His next door neighbor, Dewey Smith, was a member of the Klan and in close contact with the mayor. W. H. Burke, the city electrician, was to report on all activities taking place at the city hall, and Marvin Foster served as the city's liaison man for the Klan..."

"The prosecuting attorney for the city, Mr. Robert Rester, who is duty bound to prosecute whatever crimes are committed in Bogalusa, is a member of the Klan. O'Neil A. Jones, brother of City Judge A. J. Jones, is a Klansman. The mayor appointed to the Bogalusa Housing Authority a member of the Klan, Devon Varnado..."

"In addition to infiltration of law enforcement agencies, the



HOODED HOODLUMS. Masked KKK boys advertise rally. Nature of their activity leads them to prefer anonymity of bedsheet.

Klan has membership among other officials. They are: Ray Branch and Tom Bush, members of the police jury — or county commission — Spot Honaker, former member of the Bogalusa School Board...

"With membership in high places, the Klan instituted a reign of terror, seeking completely to dominate the city of Bogalusa. By intimidation, coercion, and boycott, these men — then anonymous — were able to force many innocent people to do their bidding."

Bogalusa, a city of nearly 30,000 people some 70 miles north of New Orleans, has become a stronghold of the Klan in recent years. In response to repeated Klan attacks, the black community set up a chapter of the Deacons for Defense and Justice to provide organized self-defense. The existence of the Deacons was undoubtedly a significant factor behind a recent federal court injunction against Klan terror in Bogalusa.

On Dec. 1, a three-judge federal court ordered Bogalusa Ku Klux Klansmen to stop "acts of terror and intimidation." The injunction is directed at the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, its front group, the Anti-Communist Christian Association, and 38 individuals.

The legal opinion written by Judge John Minor Wisdom of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit held that the organizations and individuals had "adopted a pattern and practice of intimidating, threatening and coercing Negro citizens in Washington Parish for the purpose of interfering with the civil rights of the Negro citizens."

## Sims to Speak In N.Y. Dec. 17

NEW YORK — Charles Sims, organizer and president of the Bogalusa, La., Deacons for Defense and Justice, will speak here Friday, Dec. 17 at 8:30 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place.

Sims has been arrested some 27 times over the years for fighting against racial oppression. Although he now has several cases pending against him, he has so far escaped any major conviction.

The Deacons for Defense and Justice have received widespread publicity because of their advocacy and practice of armed self-defense and protection of civil rights workers in the South. They were first organized in Jonesboro, a small town in northern Louisiana, on July 10, 1964. Civil rights activity had begun there and the Ku Klux Klan was using terror tactics against the movement. The police were informed but did nothing to stop the terror. A group of ten black veterans of the Korean War and World War II then got together and organized the Deacons to defend against Klan terror. The organization soon spread to Bogalusa and other places in the South.

### Johnson vs. McChesney Martin

## The Hike in Interest Rates

By Herman Porter  
DEC. 7 — The threat of inflation and the persistent balance of payments problem led the Federal Reserve Board to raise the discount rate from 4 percent to 4.5 percent despite public disapproval of the change by the Johnson administration.

The discount rate is the interest rate charged by the Federal Reserve System to commercial banks which borrow from it. Its significance results from the fact that other interest rates charged by the banks are scaled up from this minimum. These bank interest rates influence bond interest rates, etc.; so the whole interest rate structure is raised by the change in the discount rate.

The banks have been pushing for more than a year for a general rise in interest rates, but Johnson had intervened when general rises were announced a year ago and forced their cancellation. Johnson has argued that higher interest rates would hamper economic growth.

**Continue Upswing**  
The government's policy has been to try to prolong the current expansion by keeping interest rates low, the credit and money supply expanding continuously and fairly rapidly. It has sought to stem the flow of capital abroad, the biggest contributor to the balance of payments problem, by direct pressure, "voluntary" controls, and taxes on the purchase of foreign stocks — rather than by raising long term interest rates.

During the last year of the expansion, the threat of inflation has appeared for the first time since 1958. Wholesale prices, the ones that businessmen are concerned about, rose 2.3 percent in the past 12 months — more than they rose in the entire preceding

period since 1958. Until 1965 the high level of unutilized capacity exerted strong pressure against price rises even in highly monopolized industries. But plants are now operating at an average of more than 90 percent of their rated capacity, and some industries are running at full capacity. This makes it profitable to raise prices.

Johnson's response to rising wholesale prices has been to apply direct pressure against price increases in specific industries, aluminum and copper, rather than applying the traditional measures of tightening the supply of money and credit and raising interest rates which would tend to slow down the expansion. With

the escalation of the war in Vietnam, the federal deficit has grown rather than diminished, adding inflationary pressures.

As the economic expansion has continued, the demand for bank loans has tended to grow even faster than the supply of lendable funds available, which the Federal Reserve System regulates. This has resulted in a tendency for interest rates to rise. Because of the great demand by borrowers, the higher interest rates are unlikely to slow the expansion of most areas of the economy significantly. However, industries like home construction which are sensitive to interest rate changes will be affected.

### Foster Growth

The Johnson administration is still concerned principally with stimulating the economy to postpone a recession rather than with the threat of inflation. It has emphasized direct intervention and regulation in dealing with inflation and the balance of payments problem in order to avoid measures like raising interest rates which tend to slow down the economy. How effective Johnson's efforts will be remains to be seen. The rise in the discount rate shows that the majority of the Federal Reserve Board does not believe they are enough.

The decision by the board to raise the discount rate was made by a vote of four to three on Dec. 3. William McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, made a famous speech last summer comparing the present situation with that of the economy just prior to the 1929 crash in which he hinted at the need for higher interest rates. Johnson has consistently spoken against a rise.



Lyndon Johnson