

THE MILITANT

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2 Anti-War GIs Face Frame-Up

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — U. S. Army officials in Okinawa announced yesterday that the two American soldiers released by the National Liberation Front in response to demonstrations by Americans against the war in Vietnam had been charged on Dec. 21 with aiding "the enemy in efforts against the United States by preparing, furnishing and delivering to the Vietcong certain documents, statements and writings inimical to the interests of the United States." The Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, located at 5 Beekman St. here, issued the following statement in response:

Raises Questions

Yesterday's announcement that Sgt. George E. Smith and SP/5 Claude E. McClure — the two soldiers released by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on Nov. 27th — were being held in Okinawa for preliminary investigation of the charge that they aided the enemy while in captivity, raises a number of vital questions.

How come the American people are only hearing about this now — six days after the accusations were made and almost a month after the release of the two soldiers? Why have we been kept in the dark about their whereabouts and statements from them during the same period?

One Article

After the initial press coverage which included irresponsible claims that both of them were "brainwashed," we saw only one follow-up article. This article implied that Smith and McClure would probably be back in the U. S. in time to spend Christmas with their families. Now we learn that "they arrived in Okinawa Dec. 7th and since their situation has been a closely guarded secret."

Why are Smith and McClure being held incommunicado? Is it because they expressed their opposition to U. S. involvement in the Vietnamese War upon their release? As citizens and veterans we demand an answer now. It is our belief that millions of other Americans also want to know

what's really happening . . .

Furthermore, we make these specific requests of President Johnson, Secretary McNamara and all the other authorities involved: (1) Smith and McClure be returned to the United States immediately for any further investigations; (2) competent civilian counsel be encouraged to defend them rather than legal counsel provided by the Army; (3) full disclosure of the nature of the accusations and all pertinent facts about the conduct of the two soldiers while in captivity be made immediately to the American people; and (4) American and foreign journalists be given the right to meet with and interview Smith and McClure so that their side of the story can be given at least equal time with the "official" military interpretation of their supposed misconduct.

Since learning of the release of these two soldiers we, as a committee of veterans and reservists to end the war in Vietnam, have anticipated hearing their experiences first-hand. We still want to hear them.

Gov't Acts to Buy Out Civil Rights Leaders

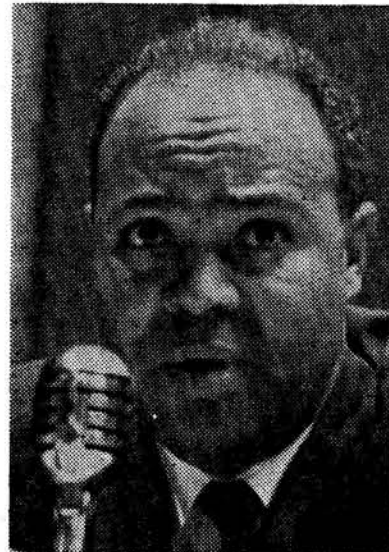
By Fred Halstead

The Johnson administration is developing a new agency which has all the earmarks of being designed to bring the civil rights organizations under the control of the capitalist state and away from militant protest. This would be accomplished by paying these organizations money to do a little harmless government-sponsored social work and diverting them from the struggle for freedom now.

The new agency, called the Center for Community-Action Education, Inc. is expected to begin operations next spring under an initial grant from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity of \$860,000. Additional money from government, corporations, and union treasuries controlled by labor lieutenants of the administration are expected to place some \$50 million at the agency's disposal.

The money is to be used to finance a literacy and job training program for Negroes and other racial minorities. The program would reportedly be carried out in large part by the major civil rights organizations, all of which, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, will be represented on the agency's board of directors along with corporation and "labor" executives.

The plans for the agency came to light Dec. 25 when it was announced that James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, will resign his CORE post March 1 to become the president of the "Center," as the agency is called in Washington.



James Farmer

The plans of the Center include providing some one million persons with sixth-grade reading skills and also some job training. Obviously \$50 million is a tiny drop in the bucket in relation to the problems of even only one million poor people who can't read. And it is ridiculous to think that such a program — 50 dollars per illiterate to be served — is going to have any appreciable effect whatever on the basic social problems of the 22 million Afro-Americans. But the wily Texas fox apparently feels that \$50 million is enough to be tempting when put at the disposal of some civil rights leaders. And he may be right.

At a press conference Dec. 27, Farmer declared that in taking the new job he had merely decided to attack from a different position "this terrible storm, this continuing tragedy of racial hatred and poverty and pain." He said the new agency will be "an extension of the struggle that sustains me."

"Courageous Act"?

According to a story from Washington in the Dec. 26 *New York Times*, "One source here said today that Mr. Farmer's decision . . . was 'a very courageous one' that will take him from a secure lifetime base into something not only untried and unknown, but something that is bound to be sniped at by militant civil rights groups as 'a sellout to the Establishment.'"

All this brings to mind a speech by Malcolm X on Jan. 7, 1965 at the Militant Labor Forum where he was commenting on the progress that had been made in the two previous years and he characterized the 1963 March on Washington and the 1964 civil rights bill as "devices to lessen the danger of the explosion, but not designed to remove the material that's going to explode."

"What," continued Malcolm, "will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar — fire on one end and fool on the other."



MANIFESTATION ON 34th ST. On the night before Christmas Eve, the last big night of shopping, some 400 opponents of the Vietnam war gathered at New York's Herald Square at 34th St. to give antiwar leaflets to Macy and Gimbel shoppers. Leaflets denounced anticipated bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi. Cops herded most of the demonstrators behind barricades but many leaflets were distributed. Demonstration was called by individuals active in antiwar movement.

An Appeal for Increased Opposition to the Vietnam War

[The following appeal to workers everywhere in the world was issued by the Congress of the Fourth International held recently in Switzerland.]

The Fourth International, the

World Party of the Socialist Revolution, meeting in its Second World Congress since reunification (the Eighth World Congress since its founding), urges you to aid and support the masses of the

Vietnamese people, who are resisting the ever more ferocious aggression of American imperialism.

The heroism of these masses, who have struggled for twenty-five years for national and social emancipation, compels admiration. Arms in hand, the workers and poor peasants of Vietnam have shown that the omnipotence of American imperialism is without real foundation, that even a small country can withstand the mightiest power on earth when it fights for a just cause and when this fight has the support of the entire people.

The struggle being waged by the Vietnamese masses against the American imperialist aggressor is a struggle on behalf of all the workers of the world. If this struggle had not been waged with exemplary courage, the imperial-

ists would attempt with increasing arrogance to drown freedom struggles in blood, wherever they erupt. They would seek more and more to erode, to undermine, even to attack those sectors of the world already torn from their exploitation.

Will React

Since the Soviet bureaucracy, despite its cowardice, is not ready to commit suicide, but will react at a certain point with sharp defensive measures, the continued escalation of the war in Southeast Asia by American imperialism constantly increases the threat of touching off a nuclear war if it is not halted firmly and in time. To fight imperialist aggression today when there is still time and when nuclear war is not yet imminent is to fight to preserve the very existence of mankind.

Precisely because the heroic masses of Vietnam are fighting for the workers of the entire world, it would be outrageous to abandon them, leaving them virtually alone in the front line of the common struggle against imperialism. Since they must resist by themselves the assault of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers armed with the most modern weapons, they pay an ever heavier price for their devotion to the cause of emancipation and of international socialism. The number of dead is countless. The country is in ruins. The imperialist bandits are using Vietnam to test their most barbarous new weapons, destroying crops, poisoning the streams, experimenting with poison gas.

It is imperative to let imperialism gain first-hand experience of the indignation and revulsion of

(Continued on Page 2)

We've Moved to New Address

NEW YORK — We are now located at our new address, 873 Broadway, corner of 18th St. The Militant Labor Forum and the National and City Offices of the Socialist Workers Party are at the same address. Our zip code is the same, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Our phone number, which was incorrectly reported last week, is 533-6414. The number of the SWP National Office is 982-5932. The City Office number is 982-6051.

The regular Friday night meetings of the Militant Labor Forum will begin at the new address on Jan. 14, with Felix McGowan describing how Cuba affected him after ten years as a Catholic priest in Latin America.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The International Teamster carried an editorial in its December issue titled "The Working Class and War."

"Throughout the history of mankind," it observes, "the burden of war has fallen heavily on the shoulders of those who labor for their daily bread . . ."

"The cruel fact surrounding the draft," the editorial adds, "is that the draftee who becomes G.I. Joe more often than not comes from a family which realizes its livelihood from a factory or weekly payroll."

Without specifically referring to the war in Vietnam, it states, "The ultimate in tragedy befalls the parents of sons who face a lonely death in some remote region of the world in a war he little understood."

"Peace is the most vital of all needs of the human race. Peace is especially wanted," charges the *Teamster*, "by those who must labor for their living because labor's place in history has taught that shouldering a carbine is the role predetermined for the working man's son."

Early this month the General Motors Corporation notified 3,100 striking members of the UAW that they were not eligible for a Christmas bonus which the union won in last year's negotiations. The workers went on strike against GM's Fisher Body Plant 2 in Flint, Michigan on Dec. 2. The walkout was caused by the company's refusal to settle some 500 grievances involving an increase in work standards on new models.

The American Motors Corporation will lay off all its production employees in automobile plants in Kenosha and Milwaukee, Wisc. from Dec. 22 to Jan. 17. Nearly 2,500 workers will not be recalled when production resumes and, according to the company, production will drop to 1,460 units per day compared to 1,800 in December.

A Sacramento, Calif., housewife recently discovered from personal experience that the rising cost of living is not the result of high labor costs.

She and a friend worked for six hours harvesting 3,750 pounds of tomatoes for which they jointly received \$17. The same evening she went to a local store and paid 29c for one pound of tomatoes.

This obvious discrepancy prompted her to send a letter of complaint to a local paper. "A little

multiplication," she wrote, "will disclose that my friend and I picked \$1,058.50 worth of tomatoes, of which we can account for \$17.00. Where is the other \$1,041.50?"

The major beneficiaries of union health and welfare plans are surgeons, according to officials of the New York Labor-Management Council of Health and Welfare Plans, Inc. They claim that fees charged by surgeons were almost 100 percent above the amount insured workers received from the plans.

A study prepared by the group was based on 12 health and welfare plans covering 146,000 employees and their dependents in New York City. It found that in a case where a welfare fund paid \$50 for a tonsillectomy and adenoidectomy, the average surgeon's fee was \$74. Under another fund which paid \$65 toward an operation, the average surgeon's fee rose to \$85.

The report also purported to show evidence of a rapid increase in medical and hospital fees as unions negotiated improved insurance plans so that as fast as plans advanced, so did the incomes of medical practitioners.

A field representative for the United Packinghouse Workers, Lester Tauer, has found what the December *Packinghouse Worker* described as a "regular 'commune' near Hiram, Utah — only it is strictly under capitalist auspices."

According to Tauer a family named Miller has a packing company, a rendering plant, a feed lot, an oil company, a coal yard, a lumber yard and a piece of the local bank. They employ about 100 workers from the surrounding countryside, who are paid a monthly salary for either working in town or ranching as business demands. Two of the Millers are bishops in the Mormon church and recently threatened workers that they would be kicked out of the church if they voted for a union, said Tauer.

—Tom Leonard

4th International Holds Congress

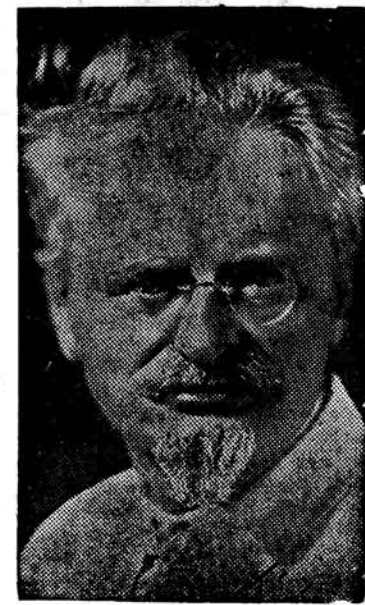
PARIS, Dec. 14 — The Second World Congress since the reunification of the Fourth International (the Eighth Congress since the founding of the movement) was held in Switzerland Dec. 5-12. More than sixty fraternal delegates and guests, from twenty-five countries and from all continents, participated in its deliberations. The national sections of eight countries were not able to send delegates, in most cases due to severe repression, in certain cases due to insurmountable material difficulties. These sections sent greetings to the Congress.

The World Congress elected an honorary presidium consisting of the Peruvian comrades, Hugo Blanco, Vladimir Valer and Daniel Perera, the Bolivian comrade Elio Vasquez and the Indian comrade Kanai Pal, a member of the West Bengal parliament. All of these revolutionary socialists are being held in prison because of their political views.

The Congress paid tribute to the memory of the Bolivian comrade César Lora and the Greek student, Sotiris Petroulas, who were murdered by the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie.

The Congress sent greetings to militants of the Fourth International imprisoned by capitalism in Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and South Africa, to the Algerian militants imprisoned by the Boumedienne regime, to the young revolutionists imprisoned in the workers' states because of their critical views.

The Congress paid homage to those Trotskyists and friends of the movement who died since the preceding Congress: Jules Henin



Leon Trotsky

(Belgium), Art Preis (United States), John Baird (England), Alfred Rosmer (France), Raphael Zakine (Algeria).

The World Congress of the Fourth International launched an appeal to the workers of the world for increased support of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against American imperialism.

The Congress noted with great satisfaction that the reunification carried out at the last Congress in 1963, after a split of some ten years, has been consolidated and reinforced in the intervening period.

The Congress discussed the following questions: (a) the Sino-Soviet conflict (reporter: Livio

Maitan); (b) the evolution of Capitalism in Western Europe (reporter: Ilario Rivera); (c) the problems of the African revolution (reporter: Livio Maitan); (d) the international political situation and the tasks of revolutionary Marxists (reporter: E. Germain); (e) activities of the organization (reporter: Pierre Frank).

After the discussion, the Congress approved documents (which will be published presently) on the political questions and approved the organizational report. A new International Executive Committee was elected.

Pablo Group

The Congress took note of the fact that the Pablo faction which violated the most elementary rules of party discipline and refused to carry out the decisions of the previous Congress, had set up an independent organization and thus left the ranks of the Fourth International. The retiring United Secretariat proposed a number of modifications in the statutes. These were submitted for discussion in the International and action at the next World Congress.

An outstanding feature of the Congress was the number of young cadres who were sent as delegates. This testified to the recruiting being done by the sections of the Fourth International in recent years as well as the formation of new sections in countries where the colonial revolution has been advancing. The composition of the new leading bodies elected at the Congress reflected the increase in the number of youth who have joined the world Trotskyist movement.

... Manifesto on Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

people everywhere against its aggression in Vietnam. It is imperative that the struggling Vietnamese masses receive more effective aid than nice words and appeals for "peace by negotiation" that only bring sneers from the foe.

Communist workers, members of Communist parties, young workers, and intellectuals of the workers states: initiate and broaden your

campaign to compel the Kremlin to cease its dirty parleys with the imperialist aggressor while it grants only miserable aid measured with an eye-dropper to the heroic masses of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam. By the millions take up the slogan: "Planes and missiles for the Vietnamese people!"

Workers, poor peasants, nationalist militants of the semicolonial countries: face imperialism resolutely, strike at it everywhere at once. Profit from the fact that it has engaged its principal forces in Vietnam in order to open new fronts of struggle and to defeat its lackeys and servants wherever conditions are favorable!

Workers in the imperialist countries: with strikes and demonstrations demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the imperialist troops from Vietnam! Dock workers, railway workers, truckdrivers, refuse to transport arms and munitions that aid imperialism to carry on its dirty repressive war against the Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom.

Workers, students, youth, soldiers, black fighters of the United States: the Vietnamese people ask only one thing, that they be allowed to freely determine their own fate. Your imperialist government is waging against this people the same kind of war of oppression that the British waged against your own Declaration of Independence in 1776, that the Nazi imperialists waged against

the peoples of Europe from 1939 to 1945, that French imperialism waged against the Algerian people from 1954 to 1962. Take up the socialist slogan: *not a man, not a cent for this dirty imperialist war!* Organize yourselves in ever greater numbers in a powerful united front of struggle to put an end to the war by bringing the troops back home instead of letting them die in Vietnam for the sake of the profit system.

Workers throughout the world: compel the leaders of your mass organizations, the leaders of all the workers states who claim to speak in the name of socialism, to form an unshakable anti-imperialist united front that will force imperialism to retreat under the terrible blows that will be dealt.

The Fourth International which has sections and seasoned revolutionary militants in forty countries, urges you to unite and to exercise the maximum vigilance and critical attitude toward treacherous or incompetent leaders, and to exert the greatest efforts to unite in struggle all those who are ready to give practical support to the heroic Vietnamese people.

Down with the imperialist aggression against Vietnam!

Long live the solidarity of the world proletariat with the Vietnamese revolution!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

Seek Review in Police Attack On N. Y. Puerto Rican Youth

By Arthur Maglin

NEW YORK — Ernesto Rodriguez, a 22-year-old Puerto Rican, has moved to reopen his case against two New York City cops. Rodriguez lost all sight in one eye as a result of an alleged beating by police. The case was dismissed by the grand jury, but is being brought before it again.

According to Rodriguez, on the afternoon of Oct. 16 he was about to enter a movie when two men in plain clothes called him from a parked car. They seized him and drove him to an underpass of the Cross Bronx Expressway. He identified one of the men as a patrolman who had arrested him a month earlier on a charge which was dismissed in court.

Thrown From Car
Rodriguez was badly beaten in the underpass and hurled from the car. A passing motorist picked him up and drove him to the barber shop owned by his guardian, Gerardo Luciano. Later the cops came to the shop, pushed him into a back room and attacked him again.

Rodriguez says the cops eventually took him to the Bathgate Avenue police station. Their version of the story was that they had initially pursued Rodriguez after an unnamed person had approached their car and pointed to the youth as his assailant. The police were subsequently not able

to produce the alleged complainant and the charges were dropped. Rodriguez now has four witnesses available to testify to the various events in the case.

For example, a young boy who was in the barber shop says that he witnessed part of the scene there and that one of the cops drew his pistol and warned him to forget everything.

Another youth who was in the barber shop says that he saw Rodriguez enter the shop bleeding. He says the officers took Rodriguez into the back room of the shop. When Luciano, the shop's owner, followed, tumult ensued and one of the officers was heard to yell, "I'm going to kill both of you."

Meanwhile, on Dec. 1, Julio Figuero became the sixth Puerto Rican this year to "hang himself" while in a New York City jail. When four of these so-called suicides occurred last February and March, civil rights groups picketed against the mistreatment of minority groups by police.

The Rodriguez case will provide an illuminating test of the intentions of Mayor-elect John Lindsay. During the campaign he made a lot of speeches about improving the relations between the cops and the Puerto Rican community. Now he has a chance to produce.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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

CHICAGO

THE WASHINGTON LIE FACTORY. An analysis of the misinformation and deception concerning Vietnam being perpetrated on the American public. Speaker: Edward Heisler. Fri., Jan. 7, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, rm. 204, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

PANEL DISCUSSION ON COMMUNITY ACTION. Speakers: Rev. Cameron Byrd, GROW; Alvin Harrison, ACME; Kenneth Cockrell, Jeffries North Block Club; Lorenzo Freeman, WCO. Fri., Jan. 7, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

FELIX MCGOWAN will speak on HOW CUBA AFFECTED ME AFTER 10 YEARS AS A PRIEST IN BOLIVIA. Fri., Jan. 14, 8:30 p.m. Note NEW AD. DRESS: 873 Broadway (at 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MALCOLM X TALKS TO YOUNG PEOPLE

35c.

The Youth Socialist
P.O. Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, N. Y. 10003

The Origins Of Materialism

By George Novack

300 pp. \$6.95

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Monday, January 3, 1966

The Bombing Pause

This is written during the third day of the pause in the U. S. bombing of north Vietnam — a move still shrouded in secrecy. While it is not possible at this point to offer a definitive assessment of Washington's move, it can be stated with certainty that the Johnson administration is not going in the direction that elementary human justice demands: an end to the hostilities and a withdrawal of U. S. forces so that the Vietnamese people can freely determine their own destiny.

A Dec. 27 Washington dispatch to the *New York Times* reports that qualified observers believe that Hanoi will find it difficult to respond to the Washington "gesture" but that there "is still an important point to be gained" if, as anticipated, Hanoi does not reply with an offer to negotiate.

"If, as appears likely," the dispatch explains, "any successful continuation of the war would call for increased United States involvement, the political storm raised by such an increase would be diminished by evidence that the administration had first made an earnest effort to get a settlement."

In other words, in the *Times*' view, the present pause could well be the prelude to a new escalation and is, very likely, a repetition of the bombing lull of last May which was nothing more than a crude propaganda effort to counter the growing international conviction that the U. S. is not interested in a genuine settlement in Vietnam.

But even if some kind of cease-fire were to result from the present move, the basic problems of Vietnam would be no nearer to a resolution. Vietnam would remain divided. Massive U. S. forces would remain in south Vietnam as a continuing barrier to the long, costly efforts of the south Vietnamese masses to win land and liberty. The building of U. S. bases in south Vietnam aimed at north Vietnam and China would continue. In short, all the conditions that led to the present terrible conflict would remain, but in a larger, more explosive form.

In a moment of candor, UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg recently confided to newsmen that the U. S. was suffering a crisis of credibility at home and abroad. This certainly is the inevitable byproduct of the treacherous deceptions that have accompanied Washington's brutal aggression. Partisans of peace will do well to keep the administration's low credibility rating in mind in the present situation.

There is, clearly, one meaningful demand to be made in the present situation: Get out of Vietnam! Bring the GIs home!

Socialist Fund Drive Ends Just a Hair Shy of Its Goal

The Socialist Education Fund closed its books last week just \$79 short of the final goal of \$18,000. That is close enough to be thankful for and comes out to 99.56 percent — better than Ivory Soap used to do with its "99 and 44/100 percent pure."

This will allow us to print more and better material to cover the important events of the day from a socialist viewpoint. The growth of the anti-Vietnam-war movement in this country presents us with an "escalating" demand for the truth.

This will be the last published scoreboard for the current fund appeal, although we are sure some

contributions, making up the final difference are still on the way, and were held up by the holiday rush. Friends and supporters may feel assured, however, that any checks or money orders received after this note goes to the press will still be counted — and used!

Only two areas have not sent in their full pledge, accounting for the shortage. These are San Diego, Calif. and Newark, N. J.

The "General" — accounting for individual contributions from areas all over the country (not listed separately) — is to be congratulated for going over the top of its quota and coming in with a 108 percent finish.

Fund Scoreboard

Area	Goal	Received	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 150	\$ 155	103
Boston	1,000	1,010	101
Allentown	150	150	100
Chicago	1,600	1,600	100
Cleveland	700	700	100
Denver	200	200	100
Detroit	1,100	1,100	100
Los Angeles	3,600	3,600	100
Milwaukee	350	350	100
New York	4,800	4,800	100
Oakland/Berkeley	800	800	100
Philadelphia	275	275	100
San Francisco	800	800	100
Seattle	450	450	100
Twin Cities	1,250	1,250	100
Newark	150	100	67
San Diego	200	121	61
General	425	460	108
Total as of Dec. 15	\$18,000	\$17,921	99½%

Malcolm X Speaks

The following is a continuation of remarks made by Malcolm X at a Harlem rally on Dec. 13, 1964, when the U.S. government was intervening in the Congolese civil war. The guest speaker of the rally was to be Mohammed Babu of Tanzania, who had been detained.

Installment 11

THE PRESS AND THE CONGO

Let's just take it one step farther before our guest arrives, to show you how they use this image-making through the press. I'm not condemning the whole press, because some of them are all right; but most of them aren't. Take Tshombe, there's a man that you should never let set foot in America. That man is the worst African that was ever born. He's a cold-blooded murderer. He murdered Patrice Lumumba, the rightful prime minister of the Congo. And what happened there at the time? They used their press to give Tshombe a good image. Yes, the American press. They take this man who's a murderer, a cold-blooded murderer — didn't murder just somebody, murdered the prime minister — and they go and use their press to make this man acceptable to the world.

He'll never be acceptable to the world. The world is not that dumb, not that easily fooled. Now, some of us in this country may be dumb, but not all of us, just some of us. And those that haven't been fooled will do whatever is necessary to keep that man from setting foot on this continent. He should be afraid to come here. He should think a long time before he comes here. Why? Because they told you and me we came from the Congo. I mean, isn't that what they taught us in school? So we came from the Congo. We're savages and cannibals and all that kind of stuff from the Congo; they've been teaching me all my life I'm from the Congo. I love the Congo. That's my country. And that's my people that your airplanes are killing over there.

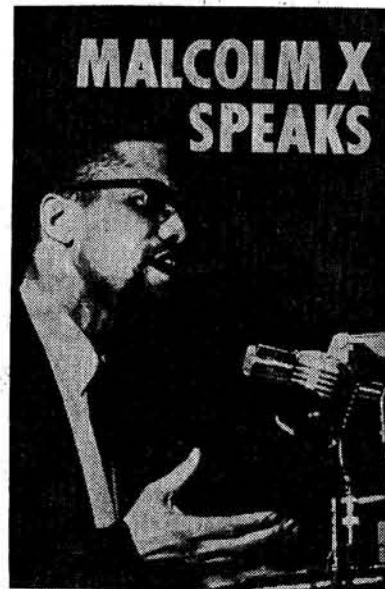
Hired Killer

They take Tshombe and they prop him up with American dollars. They glorify his image with the American press. What's the first thing he does? Now, Tshombe's a murderer, he has been hired by the United States to rule the Congo. Yes, that's all it boils down to. You can put it in a whole lot of pretty language, but we don't want a pretty language for a nasty situation. He's a murderer, who has been hired by the United States government and is being paid with your tax dollars by the United States government.

And to show you what his thinking is — a hired killer — what's the first thing he did? He hired more killers. He went out and got the mercenaries from South Africa. And what is a mercenary? A hired killer. That's all a mercenary is. The anti-Castro Cuban pilots, what are they? Mercenaries, hired killers. Who hired them? The United States. Who hired the killers from South Africa? The United States; they just used Tshombe to do it.

Just like they do with us in this country. They get a Negro and hire him and make him a big shot — so he's a voice of the community — and then he tells all of them to come on in and join the organization with us, and they take it over. Then they give him peace prizes and medals and things. They will probably give Tshombe the peace prize next year for the work that he's doing. I expect them to, he'll be the Nobel Peace Prize winner next year. Because he's doing a good job. But for who? For the man.

So these mercenaries come in,



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

and again, what makes these mercenaries acceptable? The press. The press doesn't refer to them as hired killers. The press doesn't refer to them as murderers. The press refers to the brothers in Stanleyville, who are defending their country, as rebels, savages, cannibals. You know, brothers, if the press allows itself to be used to make criminals look like victims and victims look like criminals, then the press is an accessory to the same crime.

I cite this tonight, before our guest comes — and I was told ten minutes ago that he should be here in ten minutes — I cite this to show you that, just as they do it on an international level, they also do it with us. Anytime black people in this country are not able to be controlled by the man, the press immediately begins to label those black people as irresponsible or as extremists. They put all these old negative labels up there, and you and I do the same thing — we draw back from it. Not because we know anything about them. But we draw back because of the image of them that the man has created.

When I say the man, you know what I'm talking about. I'm talking about the man that lynches, the man that segregates, the man that discriminates, the man that oppresses and exploits, the man that won't let you and me have equality education facilities here in Harlem. That man, whoever he is, that's who I'm talking about. I have to talk about him like this, because if I talk about him any closer, they'll call me a racist. And I'm not a racist. I'm not against somebody because of their race, but I'm sure against them because of what they're doing . . .

If you'll notice, as long as the blacks in the Congo were being slaughtered on a mass scale, there was no outcry. But as soon as the lives of a few whites were involved, the whole world became in an uproar. What caused the world to become involved in an uproar? The press. The press made it appear that 2,000 white people are being held hostage. And they started crying in big headlines if any of them were killed. Now the Africans didn't kill any of them, the brothers there in Stanleyville didn't kill any of them until the paratroopers landed. If the paratroopers hadn't invaded their property, nobody would have been killed. They hadn't killed them up to that point. And many people say it wasn't the brothers in Stanleyville that killed them; the paratroopers and mercenaries started

shooting at everybody.

[To prove this point, Malcolm then reads at length from a dispatch a British reporter had sent from Stanleyville to the *London Daily Express*, describing indiscriminate slaughter of the Congolese people by Tshombe's mercenaries. He quotes from the end of the dispatch.]

"I saw one mercenary . . . gun down four Congolese who burst out of the bush near the airport as I landed. They may or may not have been Simbas. All died. Yet men like Lieutenant John Peters from Wightman Road, Harringay, London, are capable of strong compassion. Today two starving dogs seized No. 7 Commandos' pet Nigger, a little black kid goat."

This white mercenary had a little black goat that he named "Nigger." That's what they do, anything black they name it nigger. They named you nigger, didn't they? I see one coming right now. Here comes my nigger, Dick Gregory. Say, Dick, come on up here. We're going to get Dick investigated. I heard Dick on the *Les Crane Show* the other night talking about niggers. Say, Dick, look what it says here, here's my name, just look at it [holding up a copy of Gregory's book, *Nigger*]. Come on, I'm going to get him investigated. Get him, brother, don't let him get away. He's going to lose all his jobs now. You won't get another booking — you'll have to work in Harlem the rest of your life.

Look what it says: "Today, two starving dogs seized No. 7 Commandos' pet Nigger, a little black kid goat. When we got there, Nigger was dying and John Peters shot him. He turned away and covered his eyes."

Human Problem

Here's a white mercenary that has been killing so many Congolese they had to stop him up; with no compassion at all, he shot them down. But as soon as his little black goat was bitten by some dogs, he cried. He had more feeling — this is a white man, an Englishman — had more feeling in his heart for a dead goat that was black than he had for all those stacks and stacks and stacks of Congolese who looked just like you and me and Dick Gregory.

So I say, brothers and sisters, it's not a case of worrying about what's going on in Africa before we get things straight over here. It's a case of realizing that the Afro-American problem is not a Negro problem, or an American problem, but a human problem, a problem for humanity. When you realize that, when you look at your and my problem in the context of the entire world and see that it is a world problem, and that there are other people on this earth who look just like you do who also have the same problem, then you and I become allies and we can put forth our efforts in a way to get the best results.

As I announced earlier, Dick, I told them that a friend of mine from Africa who is a real dyed-in-the-wool human revolutionary was on his way here. Then you walked in; they thought I was talking about you. Well, Dick wasn't the one I was talking about, but Dick is a revolutionary. And Dick is a dyed-in-the-wool African; he doesn't want to be, but he is. I don't mean dyed-in-the-wool, I mean African. Dick is one of the foremost freedom fighters in this country. I say that in all sincerity. I want Dick to hear our brother who's coming, but before he gets here, I think Dick had better talk to us. Come on, Dick, Dick Gregory — without the cigarette.

[Dick Gregory speaks.]

Next Week: I love a revolutionary.

The Vietnam Escalation

By Dick Roberts

On Dec. 9, 1965, the President of the United States sent a message to the AFL-CIO Convention in San Francisco from his ranch in Texas. Since it was his first major statement after many weeks of silence, due in part to a gall-stone operation, Johnson chose the occasion to express U. S. policy on the war in Vietnam. "We are there," he told the labor leaders, "because, for all our shortcomings, for all our failings as a nation and a people, we remain fixed on the pursuit of freedom as a deep and moral obligation that will not let us go . . ."

"To defend freedom," he reiterated, "— to permit its roots to deepen and grow without fear of external suppression — is our purpose in South Vietnam." Johnson then turned his attention to the question uppermost in the minds of most Americans — the possibility of ending the war in the shortest possible time. "On the crucial question of readiness to meet without conditions, the response in Hanoi, and still more in Peking, remains completely negative."

This statement expresses the two main ingredients of U. S. policy in Vietnam today. The first ingredient is that the United States holds North Vietnam and China responsible for the war in Vietnam, and will not negotiate a settlement of the Vietnamese conflict with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. A condition of Johnson's offer of "unconditional negotiations" is and always has been that these negotiations take place with Hanoi and/or Peking, not with the NLF.

But the second ingredient of Johnson's Texas message reflects a change from the expressed policy of the Kennedy administration and from the program of the Democratic Party which Johnson expressed in the 1964 campaign. At that time, the pretense for American presence in Vietnam was that the United States had been "invited" by the Saigon government, and that in the course of a few months, 20,000 or so U. S. "advisers" would be able to "stabilize" this government against the

"subversion perpetrated by Hanoi."

There was no hint that Saigon's "invitation" would entail the escalation of U. S. troop commitment into the hundreds of thousands, the daily saturation bombing of the Vietnamese countryside, the bombing of Laos, North Vietnam and now, Cambodia. Johnson said quite the opposite, for instance in the following remark from a campaign speech Aug. 12, 1964:

"Others," Johnson contended, "are eager to enlarge the conflict. They call upon us to supply American boys to do the job that Asian boys should do. They ask us to take reckless action which might risk the lives of millions and engulf much of Asia and certainly threaten the peace of the entire world. Moreover, such action would offer no solution at all to the real problems of Vietnam."

Today there is barely a mention of the so-called Saigon invitation in the statements of American policy makers.

A review of the Vietnamese war in 1965 points up three major changes in the character of U. S. intervention. First, is the change in the balance of forces between U. S. military power and that of the Saigon government, corresponding to the virtually complete collapse of Saigon's ability to exist without heavy U. S. reinforcement.

The second change is in the scope of U. S. bombing. "It is quite normal," Bernard Fall reports in the December issue of *Ramparts* magazine, "to fly 150 air raids in one day. The French, at the peak of their Indo-China campaign at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, expended during the entire 56 days of battle less bomb power than the United States does in one single day."

New Troop Strategy

The third major change in the character of U. S. intervention is in the nature of U. S. combat strategy. Last year, most of the U. S. forces in Vietnam were still, for all practical purposes, in an "advisory" capacity. The Saigon soldiers conducted the brunt of the fighting. American "special forces" men were assigned to the job of overseeing Operation Sunrise, whereby the Saigon army, with the help of napalm bombardment of peasant villages, attempted to persuade the Vietnamese peasants to live in "strategic hamlets."

The idea was to prevent them from feeding the revolutionaries, and starve the NLF out. This program has all but collapsed. The *New York Times* military specialist Hanson W. Baldwin reported from Pleiku Dec. 5, "Secure hamlets' number only about 31 percent of the total, and the government claims to govern only about 50 percent of the total."

Today only a handful of Americans are concerned with the "strategic hamlet" program, which now goes under the title of "rural reconstruction." Almost the entire body of U. S. soldiers in Vietnam are engaged either in safeguarding a ring of huge army, navy and air bases, or in constructing new bases. Three divisions have been assigned to out-and-out combat operation.

Robert Scheer, in an excellent article also in the December issue of *Ramparts*, summarized these three changes: "The time of counter-insurgency, of American advisers helping the Vietnamese 'fight for their freedom' is over," Scheer wrote, "and has been over since the United States escalated the war with the bombing of North Vietnam . . . The United States has made the decision to use whatever firepower it takes to win in Vietnam and the men who staff the higher circles in the military carry the air of winners . . ."

Scheer reports an interview with an American admiral who is Assistant Secretary of Defense in

charge of the Far East: "Vietnam was, he felt, at last defined as basically a military problem of using sufficient American firepower to destroy the enemy. The admiral suggested that if civilians chose to live in areas controlled by the Viet Cong, then they became the enemy. Such areas make up 70 percent of the countryside."

"He was not overly concerned about the Vietnamese civilian reaction to the bombing. He seemed convinced that they would place the blame for their destroyed villages on the Viet Cong, that elusive target and 'cause' of the bombing rather than on the Americans who actually dropped the bombs."

Do these changes in the nature of the Vietnamese war support Johnson's contention that the United States is defending Vietnam against aggression by Hanoi and Peking?

The collapse of the Saigon government's effort to stem the tide of revolution was in part the result of pressure against a succession of military-civilian regimes by the masses in the South Vietnamese cities.

January, 1965, found Tran Van Huong, the fifth Saigon ruler after Diem's downfall, beset with a new tide of student and Buddhist demonstrations at the same time there was a wave of general strikes in Hue, Quangtri and Danang. But there was an important difference between this wave of

Street Journal reported from Saigon: "Diplomats fear the failure of another government would increase the danger that some day a war-weary South Vietnamese regime will simply make its own peace with the Communists and ask American troops to go home . . . Whether the political turmoil can be halted and the trend toward neutralism reversed is anybody's guess."

It would be mighty embarrassing if the "invited guest" was invited to leave, and unless a stable pro-U. S. dictator could be found, this is just what would happen. *Times* correspondent Max Frankel wrote Feb. 18, "Non-Communist forces in Saigon are too weak politically and militarily to negotiate anything except the surrender of their country to the Viet Cong."

Buddhist Demands

On March 8, the uncalled for happened. The *New York World Telegram* of the same date announced: "In a major political development, South Vietnam's powerful Buddhist leaders asked the United States to withdraw its troops from Vietnamese territory. The Buddhists also demanded that the United States stop bombing North Vietnam. The Buddhist demands were made public at a meeting in Saigon." The same day the first wave of combat-ready Marines landed at Danang.

It was about this time that American journalists, and at first only those with associations in the highest echelons of power, got wind that a thoroughgoing change had been made in U. S. military policy — although the evidence of U. S. combat troops already en route to Vietnam suggests that the military decision had been made some weeks earlier. In his March 30 column Walter Lippmann asserted "for all practical purposes the Saigon government has lost control of the countryside, and its followers are increasingly holed up in the cities."

"This condition of affairs," he continued, "has been well reported by Richard Dudman in a series of articles in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, and his findings are confirmed in all essentials, though not yet publicly, in the well-informed quarters in Washington." Something else "not yet publicly confirmed," Lippmann revealed, is "contingency plans" to send 350,000 American infantrymen to take over the fighting because "Saigon has lost the source of military manpower" and this "deprives it of the means of winning the war."

U. S. Takes Over

From this time on, Washington's policy vis-a-vis the unpopular government in Saigon was twofold: to reinforce the Saigon regimes so that martial law could be established in the streets, and the mass opposition silenced; and to replace the Saigon armies in the field — where desertion rates ran as high as 30 percent.

By June there were over 50,000 U. S. troops in Vietnam, and they were mainly stationed in the larger cities. On June 14 there was a reshuffling of the Phan Huy Quat-Nguyen Van Thieu regime, which had been the ninth ruling group and had driven Khanh out of power Feb. 21. Gen. Thi, a stooge for this regime, had distinguished himself Feb. 16 by opening fire on a demonstration, killing at least 15 civilians and possibly 40, according to a *Reuters* dispatch. And finally, towards the end of June, the man who rules to this day emerged as commander — Nguyen Cao Ky, who told the British *Sunday Mirror* correspondent Brian Moynahan, "People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one — Hitler."

It is evident that Washington's decision to take over the job of running the Vietnam war from the Saigon government was the result



MAJOR PROTEST. View of New war. With some 30,000 participants, antiwar movement, which has

of mass South Vietnamese opposition to that government, both from the previously neutral Buddhist students, workers and intellectuals in the cities and from the revolutionary peasants in the countryside.

If we examine the second arena of escalation, there is equally little evidence to support Johnson's assertions. In fact, what stands out most clearly about the escalation of U. S. bombing in Vietnam is its lack of correspondence to the alleged design of preventing infiltration by the Peking-Hanoi "axis" into South Vietnam.

The first step, the bombings of North Vietnam on Feb. 7 and 8, is a case in point. On Feb. 7, Defense Secretary McNamara held a nationally televised press conference to explain the bombings. Behind McNamara there was a large map of Vietnam on which there were arrows running from the U. S.-bombed points in North Vietnam to points in South Vietnam, including the U. S. base in Pleiku.

It was because of the attack on Pleiku the day before, McNamara asserted, that the United States is "retaliating" against North Vietnam. But the very attack on Pleiku casts doubt on McNamara's explanation. In the Feb. 15 *Militant*, Fred Halstead analyzed this attack:

"The U. S. base near Pleiku," Halstead wrote, "Camp Holloway, is surrounded by two aprons of barbed wire, supposedly friendly South Vietnamese troops, and other defenses for a depth of two and a half miles. Yet the guerrillas — between 100 and 200 men by U. S. estimates — were able to penetrate all these defenses and place explosive charges by hand under aircraft on the field and against the walls of buildings in the center of the camp."

"The alarm wasn't given until a U. S. sentry saw guerrillas fastening explosives against a barbed wire fence. None of the soldiers of the Saigon regime detailed to guard the base gave any sort of alarm." A February 7 *AP* dispatch, Halstead pointed out, quotes a U. S. officer as saying: "Any of the people in that hamlet over there could have warned us that the



Robert McNamara

protest from the Buddhist majority of Vietnamese people (they outnumber the Catholics about 10 to 1), and those which had led to Diem's demise.

The people didn't confine their demonstrations to attacking the corrupt Saigon dictatorship. They carried signs reading, "The U. S. Should Not Interfere In Vietnamese Internal Affairs." Senator Richard Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee and the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, made the appropriate response. After a lengthy briefing with the CIA, Russell stated there can be no victory in South Vietnam unless a "more stable government" was established. The tone was not one of response to the demands of the Vietnamese majority.

By Jan. 22, Buddhists had attacked the U. S. Embassy in Saigon shouting "Down with America," the following day 5,000 students demonstrated in Hue against Gen. Maxwell Taylor, and by Jan. 25, the number of demonstrators in Hue had risen to 15,000, carrying banners reading "Taylor Go Home." The Huong government fell to General Khanh, and three weeks later, Feb. 16, that to Phan Huy Quat.

What worried Washington at the time was not so much the rapid turn-over of government heads, as the direction in which their policies seemed to be drifting. The day of the Quat takeover, the *Wall*

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York parade of last Oct. 16 demanding an end to the Vietnam war, it was one of the biggest single actions staged by the town with the escalation of the war.

Viet Cong was around. But they didn't warn us."

"The success of the raid," Halstead concluded, "—like the success of the guerrilla war as a whole — was due to the simple fact that the population is friendly to the guerrillas and hostile to the American invaders."

The excuse of "retaliation" rapidly faded from the picture. By March 3, the Johnson administration asserted that it would bomb North Vietnam at any time and any place it chose. In addition, the temporary fiction that the bombing raids were conducted by Saigon pilots was dropped. Washington admitted that the planes were and would be flown by U. S. personnel.

Routine Bombings

By March 15, the bombings had become routine, and included as many as 100 U. S. planes; the 19th parallel, which Washington first claimed it would not cross (because the U. S. was only interested in cutting supply routes) was crossed. March 22 the Pentagon announced that the attacks on North Vietnam were not carefully pre-planned and limited, but that U. S. pilots were "allowed" to fly over roads and attack anything they thought was a military target, which in effect meant anything moving.

In the course of the year, there was only one attempt by the administration to prove its point about North Vietnamese infiltration, and this was in the celebrated State Department White Paper, released Feb. 27, three weeks after the bombing had begun.

The White Paper itself has a significant history which casts more light on the character of U. S. escalation than on the nature of the North Vietnamese infiltration. The paper was written during the 1964 election campaign. Its existence was first mentioned several weeks after the Democratic peace-campaign election victory in the Nov. 18, 1964, *Wall Street Journal*:

"The Johnson Administration," the *Journal* revealed, "is preparing a bulky White Paper detailing ways in which the Red guerrillas of South Vietnam have been

directed and supplied from outside. If it's made public, this document could serve to establish justification for extending the anti-communist war to military targets in North Vietnam, Laos and possibly Cambodia."

The *Journal* was correct in predicting the implications of the White Paper, but was apparently not familiar with its contents. What the White Paper actually showed — and the administration must have counted on few Americans reading it — was that of 15,100 weapons captured from the NLF, 179 were of "Communist" origin. The rest were either home-made weapons or had been captured from the Saigon and U. S. forces. (In the same period, according to Pentagon figures, the NLF captured 27,400 weapons.)

Parallel to the escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam has been the much more deadly escalation of the bombing in South Vietnam. There were signs of this as early as the middle of March. A March 18 *Reuters* dispatch noted that planes from the Danang base bombed the village of Manquang, the day before, killing 37 children and about 10 adults. When the villagers brought the children's bodies to Danang to protest the atrocity, they were driven away by U. S. and Saigon troops.

As the bombing increased, press censorship of its effects was severely tightened. The facts that have leaked through, however, depict a brutal campaign to obliterate the South Vietnamese peasant villages. *New York Times* reporter Jack Langguth, writing from Saigon in the first week of June, stated that "three out of four patients seeking treatment in a Vietnamese hospital afterward for burns from napalm, or jellied gasoline, were village women."

The heaviest bombing, however, began with the first strike of the giant B-52 Guam-based jet bombers, Sept. 1. When these strikes were announced, Pentagon officials assured newsmen that leaflets would give residents of heavily populated areas advance notice of the attack. This method of prior warning was described in a Hearst Headline Service dispatch

from Nha Trang, South Vietnam, Dec. 10.

First an airplane flies overhead blaring out "You are fighting a useless war; we will kill if you don't surrender." Then, according to the Hearst dispatch, the leaflets are dropped. One side shows a B-52 raining a hail of bombs. On the reverse side it states: "This is what you got last night. The next raid will be worse. If you wish to surrender, take this leaflet to the nearest American command post."

For the first 70 or so B-52 strikes, the Defense Department kept a running account of the number of attacks. When B-52's began bombing near Cambodia, however, the count disappeared from the press. Perhaps the best way to find out what the American air attacks on South Vietnamese villages are like is to get in a U. S. bomber and keep your eyes open. This is precisely what Bernard Fall did, and he reported the experience in the December *Ramparts* article cited earlier.

Skyraider Attack

"Our 'skyraider' was loaded with 750-pound napalm bombs," Fall writes, "and 500-pound napalm bombs, plus our four 20-millimeter cannon. Our wing plane carried 7,500 pounds of high explosive anti-personnel bombs . . . As we flew over the target it looked to me very much as any normal village would look: on the edge of a river, sampans and fish nets in the water. It was a peaceful scene.

"Major Carson put our plane into a steep dive. I could see the napalm bombs dropping from the wings. The big bombs first . . . The first pass had a one-two effect. The napalm was expected to force the people — fearing the heat and the burning — out into the open. Then the second plane was to move in with heavy fragmentation bombs to hit whatever — or whomever — had rushed out into the open.

"So our wingman followed us in and dropped heavy explosives. Mushroom-like clouds drifted into the air. We made a second pass and dropped our remaining 500-pound napalm bombs. Our wingman followed. Then we went in a third time and raked over the village with our cannon. We came down low, flying very fast, and I could see some of the villagers trying to head away from the burning shore in their sampans.

"The village was burning fiercely. I will never forget the sight of the fishing nets in flame, covered with burning, jellied gasoline."

Nov. 21, the *New York Times* summarized the accomplishments of the U. S. air war to that date in its lead editorial. "More sorties are now being flown by United States planes than in the Korean war," the *Times* stated, "and the nature of the guerrilla war makes it impossible to avoid killing innocent civilians as well as Vietcong . . ."

Refugee Increases

"By September about 5 percent [400,000] of South Vietnam's rural population had fled into the cities and refugee camps . . . Statistics cannot adequately describe the increasing intensity of American air attacks and the damage they are doing to the South Vietnamese countryside, but they do give some indication.

"The number of strike sorties rose month by month from about 1,000 in January, before American air units were engaged, to about 7,500 in July. In the past month alone, there have been about 12,000 strike sorties — more than all 1964 — and about 11,000 buildings were destroyed or damaged."

Dec. 21, *Times* reporter Charles Mohr, writing from Saigon, gave the number of refugees as over 700,000.

In the arena of the escalation of

U.S. troop commitment to Vietnam, we have already discussed one of its major causes and effects, namely to stabilize the dictatorial regime in Saigon, and to reinforce the military control in the major cities.

It is apparent that even with the great increases in U.S. casualties resulting from several engagements, the vast majority of GI's in Vietnam have not yet seen combat action. Although nearly 200,000 troops have been poured into Vietnam, and to all reports a minimum of 150,000 more are on their way, the decisive step, from preparation to large-scale battle, is yet to be taken.

The most authoritative account of U.S. combat strategy in the press to date, was contained in Hanson Baldwin's dispatch from



Ho Chi Minh

Saigon, June 14. Baldwin's dispatch followed by 10 days the first "official leak" that the U.S. intended to send hundreds of thousands of troops to Vietnam, and that was several months again after Lippmann's revelation quoted earlier.

This leak appeared in Richard Starnes' column in the June 4 *Washington Daily News*. "A completely reliable source," Starnes reported, "who was present at a White House briefing tells me this: 'I saw U.S. senators blanch when Robert McNamara told them they had to prepare to see 300,000 American men sent to Vietnam.'"

According to Baldwin the essential U.S. strategy is first of all to build up a ring of huge bases, air-strips and seaports, allowing a mass U.S. troop occupation — his figure was one million — and, thence to expand areas of U.S. control by careful expansion of the perimeters of these bases. Heavy saturation bombing of the countryside will help the expansion and help drive refugees from their wasted hovels into U.S. controlled areas.

The Iadrang River Valley escapade showed that U.S. troops are not yet ready for the major operations to be launched from these bases. Writing from Saigon, Dec. 12, Charles Mohr reported that GI's have not yet proved adapted to long-range, long-term campaigning in the rain forests and scrub jungle north of Saigon. "The endurance of United States units," he stated, "has been so limited as to require fairly long rest periods between fairly brief campaigns." He noted that the withdrawal from the Pleime area had been necessitated after only three weeks.

The real reasons for McNamara's hasty trip to Vietnam in late November, other than giving

Johnson a pretense for offering the American people the Texas "review" of Vietnamese developments, was to see why things weren't going better and faster. What McNamara discovered, besides the fact that the GI's were "too green" for his plans, was explained, again, by Baldwin. There was a log-jam at the air-strips and seaports where construction wasn't proceeding fast enough to land new troops. Orders went out to build bases and a new harbor in Thailand.

The Next Stage

What McNamara told the public was "North Vietnam has elected to raise the level of conflict." The inescapable conclusion, he said, "it will be a long war."

The fact is, Washington has decided to escalate this war into a major Southeast Asian conflict, in spite of and in the face of overwhelming opposition to this war by the masses of people not only in Southeast Asia, but all over the world.

Furthermore, it is apparent in retrospect that the step-by-step escalation of this war which we have seen in 1965 is only the beginning. The opening of the war into Cambodia, which the *Wall Street Journal* predicted thirteen months ago, began only in the third week of December. The "logic" which Johnson uses to justify the mass-extinction of the Vietnamese peasants is a logic which can be applied in Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam — and China.

Today, tens of thousands of GI's are anxiously waiting out the time between now and when they will be marched out of the bases in South Vietnam to attempt to do the other job which saturation bombing of the villages does not accomplish—the destruction of the revolutionary guerrillas.

It is a long way between the guerrilla-controlled mountains and jungles, the searing heat of jellied napalm gas bombs, the white "Vermont winters" caused by chemical defoliation, in Vietnam, and the United States. But one of Washington's concerns has been the reaction of U.S. public opinion.

Once having decided to crush the revolutionary front in South Vietnam, it has been Washington's problem to prepare the American people for this task, because it is only from the ranks of America's young men that Washington can draw the forces necessary to carry it out.

Each stage of the escalation has been accompanied by the hints and demagoguery necessary to excuse that step and prepare for a next and more drastic one. There is more than the ominous suggestion of greater war in the following *Wall Street Journal* note:

"Look for a somber tone in the State of the Union Message," the *Journal* warns. "It will stress requests for sacrifices by the U.S. public — whether high taxes, lower civilian spending, or both . . . The signs plainly suggest Johnson won't go for the bare minimum among available courses of action, as he did last July . . . Expect a rash of 'leaks' on Johnson's plans, to test public reaction. Some will be contradictory. Some will turn out far from the final truth." (Dec. 17, 1965).

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EARLY SOCIALIST LEADER

Auguste Blanqui: Revolutionist

By Arthur Maglin

Louis Auguste Blanqui personified the turbulent revolutionary movements of nineteenth century France.

He was born into a family whose members had been active participants in the great French Revolution of 1789. Before he was 20, he joined a conspiratorial insurrectionist society. As a member of this organization he participated in the revolution of 1830 against the Bourbon monarchy, which established the Orleanist monarchy.

The Orleanist monarchy began with an award for Blanqui — the "Declaration of July" — and ended with him in prison. The Orleanist regime quickly emerged as a government controlled by a "bourgeois" king that worked in the interests of a financial coterie. As the banker Lafitte described the situation, "From now on the bankers will rule." Laws against the worker's associations grew more oppressive.

Blanqui became the vice president of a revolutionary society and by January, 1832, he faced his first trial for conspiracy. During the trial he revealed himself as one of the first to conceive clearly of the class struggle — Marx was then barely fourteen years old.

"What is your profession?" asked the judge.

"Proletarian," replied Blanqui.

"That is not a profession."

"Not a profession?" retorted Blanqui. "It is the profession of thirty million Frenchmen who live by working and are deprived of all political rights!"

Later Blanqui told the court:

"There is a war between the rich and the poor. The rich have made it so, for they are the aggressors."

Revolutionary Elite

Although Blanqui was acquitted by the jury, the magistrates sentenced him for using seditious language. He was given a year in prison for "arousing the contempt and hatred of the citizenry against several classes of people, which he had variously described as the privileged rich or bourgeoisie."

In 1834 he declared that the abolition of "the sacred right of property" would end man's slavery. This would spell the end of the system of exploitation that could exist only so long as the proletariat lacked possession of the "instruments of their labor" which brought benefit only to the minority who owned them.

Henceforth, Blanqui was committed to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in order to attain equality through a socialism based on the "illegitimacy of capital."

Blanqui conceived of a revolutionary elite corps as a substitute for mass action. The elite corps would be a body of dedicated men, well armed and sworn to secrecy,

who would seize the centers of power at the right strategic moment. This attempt at trying to find a substitute for the action of the masses of the people was Blanqui's most serious short-coming as a revolutionary leader.

Blanqui helped to organize an attempted seizure of power on May 12, 1839 during a period of mass unemployment and parliamentary crisis. He expected that the Paris workers would rise in support of his attempted coup, although no preliminary organizational work had been done among them. He was, of course, mistaken. The workers, having no idea what was going on, fled from Blanqui's armed insurrectionists instead of joining them, and the insurrection failed.

The attempted coup brought the ministerial crisis to a solution. A right-wing cabinet was formed under Marshal Soult, whose first job was to bring the Blanquists to trial.

Historic Role

In January, 1840, Blanqui was tried and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by the King and he was pardoned in 1844 when he was thought to be close to death.

The French bourgeoisie was afraid to take the responsibility for Blanqui's death.

However, his health rallied. In 1848, Blanqui was again involved in a revolution. He was a leader of the Left, forcing the moderate Provisional government to abolish the property qualification for suffrage and to take other measures it was reluctant to institute. In the last stages of 1848 when the reaction set in Blanqui was again in prison.

Nevertheless, Blanqui had made a permanent impression on world history. In an analysis of the events of 1848, Marx said: "The

proletariat rallies more and more around revolutionary socialism, for which the bourgeoisie has itself found the name of Blanqui. This socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the inevitable transit point to the abolition of class differences generally."

After 1848, while some socialists and trade unionists compromised with the regime, Blanqui, who was in prison, almost alone kept alive the concept of its overthrow by revolution.

Continues Struggle

Released in 1859, he was soon thrown back in prison on charges of conspiracy.

In 1865 he escaped to Belgium where, with constant incursions across the border into Paris, he prepared the overthrow of the Second Empire. In 1870, it was the Blanquists, Martin and Grange, who led the Parisians into the Assembly and forced the proclamation of the Republic. A government of middle class liberals was set up. Blanqui continued to agitate for a workers' government.

He was arrested on March 17, one day before the declaration of the Paris Commune. Both sides understood that without him the Commune lacked a head. Blanqui was kept in prison as the first workers' government went down in blood and fire.

After mass agitation, Blanqui was out of prison again in 1879. On Dec. 27, 1880, after speaking at a mass meeting in Paris, he suffered a stroke and died on New Year's day.

Two hundred thousand workers followed his funeral cortege to the Père Lachaise cemetery, where he was interred, symbolically facing the *Mur des Fédérés*, at which the Communards had made their final stand.

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.]

When and how was the Socialist Workers Party Established?

The founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party was held in Chicago on New Year's of 1938. However, the developments that led to the party's formation extend back over a ten year period prior to that.

In 1928 three leading members of the Communist Party — James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern — were expelled for "Trotskyism." They were expelled because they had declared their support of Leon Trotsky in his struggle against the developing bureaucratization of the Soviet Union and against Stalin's moves to scuttle the revolutionary Leninist program of the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist International.

Along with other expelled supporters, Cannon, Shachtman and Abern established the Communist League of America which sought, until 1933, to get the Communist Party back on a Leninist path and to win readmission to it. The Communist League of America was part of the International Communist League, an international left opposition to Stalinism led by Trotsky.

In 1933, after the German Communist and Socialist Parties permitted Hitler to come to power without a struggle, the International Communist League decided it was no longer realistic to work for the reform of the Communist, or Third, International, and began the work of laying the basis for



James P. Cannon

a new Leninist international movement, the Fourth International.

In the U.S., the Communist League turned from its efforts to reform the Communist Party and began the work of building a new revolutionary socialist party.

In 1935, the Communist League merged with the American Workers Party, a leftward moving group led by A. J. Muste. The two groups formed the Workers Party.

In 1936 a youthful, militant left wing developed in the Socialist Party and the Workers Party dissolved and joined the Socialist Party to fuse with this left wing.

In 1937, the Socialist Party leadership bureaucratically expelled the left wing of the organization.

It was this group which then called the 1938 convention, and established the Socialist Workers Party.

The Fourth International was officially launched the same year and the Socialist Workers Party affiliated to it. In 1941, however, the Voorhis law was passed requiring groups affiliated with international organizations to file membership lists, financial records etc. with the government. Rather than submit to this reactionary law, the SWP disaffiliated from the Fourth International. However, it remains in political solidarity with it.

For a fascinating participant's account of this 1928-38 period, read James P. Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism*. (Pioneer Publishers, Five East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003. \$2.75 cloth, \$2 paper.)

—Alex Harte

World Events

French CP Gets Kickback

French Communist Party support to the capitalist politician Francois Mitterand was not entirely popular within the French C.P. A strong current of opposition arose in the past few months among party youth in the Union of Communist Students (UEC). This current has been especially strong in Paris but has also made itself felt in the provincial cities of Caen and Lyon.

The stronghold of the opposition is the *secteur lettres* (liberal arts section) of the UEC at the Sorbonne (University of Paris). As a result of a statement published by this section in September, at the beginning of the presidential campaign, M. Krivine, the secretary of the group, was expelled from the CP. Likewise, several leaders have been expelled in Lyon and Caen for their "oppositional" attitude.

Still, the opposition remained strong even after Mitterand received a large vote on the first ballot Dec. 5. According to the Dec. 19 *Le Monde*, a meeting of Paris militants of the UEC was held the week before the second ballot — the one de Gaulle won — to organize the campaign. The leadership found itself in the minority, and a statement "quite hostile to Mitterand" was adopted, 50-20. In spite of Krivine's expulsion, the *secteur lettres* has published another statement, an open letter to Mitterand criticizing him for not rejecting the endorsement of his candidacy by the anti-Gaullist right wing, including the reactionary Tixier-Vignancourt.

The letter sharply questioned Mitterand on his foreign policy stand, especially on Vietnam and his support of NATO. (The French

CP, in backing Mitterand, got no voice in forming his platform, thus found themselves in the awkward fix of supporting NATO and the Common Market, which they had always denounced.)

The letter also posed a sharp challenge on domestic issues affecting the workers:

"Do you think it is possible to install a political regime representing the workers, in the framework of the present constitution established by the monopolies? ... Do you plan to publicly reject the votes of the reactionary right? What functions do you reserve for the trade unions in your system? Is the aim to give real power to the workers — or just to give them a say in the context of decisions already made for them? Do you accept a coalition government with the Communist Party?"

Le Monde commented that the strength of the opposition to Mitterand had in practice prevented the UEC from playing an active role in the election campaign. Apparently it's getting harder in France, as elsewhere, to put over that grand old strategy of class collaboration — also known as "peaceful coexistence" or "popular front."

Rich Lands Richer

The annual report of the World Bank shows that the industrialized capitalist economies enjoyed progress over the past year. But the underdeveloped (or, more precisely, over-exploited) countries, from whom the industrial ones buy about 85 percent of exports and for whom they provide almost all capital, found that their economic situation continued to worsen.

The report shows that per

capita production in the non-industrial countries grew less than 2 per cent; that is, it failed to keep pace with population growth, which means less goods to go around. Mexico and Venezuela, for example, each had a population growth of almost 3.5 percent for the year.

Cart Before Horse Dep't

"Insufficient and unbalanced feeding is found in large areas of the national territory," observes Brazilian nutritional expert Dr. Yaro Reibeiro Gandra, especially "among those classes of society which have least resources and are the least informed."

To relieve this problem Dr. Reibeiro proposes "nutritional education programs" to create a "nutritional consciousness in the lower, middle, and upper classes." "Obviously," he explains, "knowledge of all the principles of nutrition in their quantitative and qualitative implications is of undeniable importance."

Japan-China Trade

Japan increased its trade with Communist China by 60 percent in the first 10 months of 1965, a survey by the Japanese Federation for Advancement of International Trade has revealed. Total trade was \$401 million — \$307 million worth of Japanese exports and \$194 million worth of goods imported from China. China traditionally had been a major market for Japanese industrial goods, but from the end of World War II until the past few years the influence of the United States kept Japanese economic ties with China to a minimum.

—George Saunders

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Letters From Our Readers

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

Report from Italy

Rome, Italy
Vietnam activity here is once more rising. The great rally of Nov. 28 has stirred a controversy in the pages of the neo-Fascist *Daily American* that is still going on. James Baldwin added a particularly important note by his appearance, but otherwise it was an important demonstration by the Italian intelligentsia about their feelings on the war. The torchlight parade from Piazza di Popolo to Piazza Cavour was awesome.

What little contact I have with various diplomatic circles here has shown me that there is a new awareness in the government about the peace movement. They do not respect its arguments but, for the first time, they seem to realize the peace movement will not go away and will continue bold and unsettling statements of disaffection from U. S. policies.

D.G.

Appeal for Aid

New York, N. Y.
We wish to thank your newspaper for having provided coverage on the burning of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement headquarters by the CIA, FBI & Company.

As you know, we are in a campaign of reconstructing our national headquarters. In light of the heavy losses (about \$30,000) we are asking all our friends to help us financially.

We know that among your readers there are many who would contribute if they knew of our campaign.

All contributions should be sent to:

Movimiento Pro-Independencia
Ponce de León #1122 (altos)
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico
Thank you.

J. A. Gonzales-Gonzales
Permanent Delegate,
Mission to the United Nations
of the Puerto Rican
Pro-Independence Movement

Christmas Gift

Brooklyn, N. Y.
I've sincerely and respectfully enjoyed hearing from you all. I enjoy reading *The Militant* and other mail I get from you.

I'm indeed sorry Malcolm X was cut down in the prime of his life when he had so much to offer. Many need to profit by his experience!

I'm glad your organization is prospering and I sincerely pray that there will be many blessings for each of you throughout the coming year.

I'm enclosing \$20 as a Christmas gift to your organization. This is my way of spreading "The Love of God" in Christ.

J.H.D.

Anxious

Norfolk, Va.
I would like to know if my subscription has reached you. I had my \$3 sent in about two weeks ago, for I did not want to miss a single issue of this fine and human publication.

Please check, I implore you. I did renew my subscription.

C.H.

[We checked. It's on the way without an issue missing. EDITOR.]

Proposes Picket Line

Portland, Oregon
I am writing about as odd a request as I ever dreamed of. I wish you would put an appeal in your paper for some of the peace groups in the Boston area to picket

the offices of the *Christian Science Monitor* at One Norway Street, Boston.

My wife is a wonderful woman and has been a member of the Science Church for over 40 years. She and I have both been horrified that the *Monitor* as a church-owned newspaper should advocate the bombings in Vietnam.

We have written and asked them to cease and the reply is that on Dec. 9th the *Monitor* rebuked the National Council of Churches for proposing a halt to the bombings in North Vietnam and came out for an increased escalation of the war.

In the *Monitor* of Dec. 11 on page 3 is a picture of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek at Wellesley College where she advocated dropping nuclear bombs on North Vietnam. The *Monitor* voices no concern over this, but treats it as casually as though the lady (?) were advocating wiping one's nose.

I have written the *Monitor* editor, Mr. Canham, asking him how he squares his warmongering with the teachings of Jesus Christ who said to love one another. I have received no answer.

The *Monitor* was founded in 1908, I believe by Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of Christian Science. The paper is church owned, operated and housed within the church offices. It is given to people within the church. I am told it is one of three general newspapers in the world owned by a church, the others being the *Desert News* at Salt Lake City, and a paper published by the Vatican at Rome.

Yet the church sees fit to send the *Monitor* to colleges and high schools to show what Christian Science can do. I am afraid the time has come to give some active witness in picketing the place to what others think of that type of garbage. If I lived in the Boston area I would be more than glad to picket the place.

Some time back the editor, Mr. Canham, discussed the Quaker peace proposals — no, that is not quite right. He mentioned that the Quakers said they had never seen a dirtier war which was the opening of the peace proposals, but he skipped the proposals and went on to say that a boy in a bombing plane had to feel his mission was noble.

Thought for the Week

"It is also said these days that the administration will soon seek a formal declaration of war, thus making it treason to oppose the action of the government. In that case, then, the administration had better enlarge its prisons for the thousands like myself who cannot and will never cease to denounce such immoral actions of the government as the spraying of rice crops." — From a letter to the Dec. 27 *New York Times* by Rev. Peter J. Riga, professor of theology at Notre Dame University.

H.R.

Likes Malcolm X Serial

New York, N. Y.
Please send me back copies of *The Militant* with Malcolm X speeches. Enclosed find \$1 to cover cost.

I have been reading your paper for some time and I still look forward to the new issue.

I appreciate your printing the speeches by Fidel, Raul Roa and the letter from "Che" and your coverage on the Deacons.

F.P.

Profits and Missile Lag

Brooklyn, N. Y.
We have all read in the papers and have seen on TV the greatest dramatic achievements in space, i.e., the rendezvous of the two-week flight of Gemini 7.

Now, I have just seen this article in *Missiles and Rockets*, the foremost authority on space, this item, which I quote:

"Metal working firms capable of handling the Manual Orbited Laboratory total system components requirements are rapidly being swamped with business generated by the expanding effort in Vietnam. The commercial boom also is a factor. Lead time stretch out imposed by the Manual Orbited Laboratory budget and technical decision delays could result in an industrial inability to support an M. O. L. effort in the near future.

"Firms now involved with the launch-vehicle hardware components for the M. O. L. booster are fighting to keep their facilities from being shifted to other programs." (*Missiles and Rockets*, Dec. 22, p. 9.)

Scientific curiosity is being replaced by the quest of capitalistic profit motive!

C.R.

It Was Reported in the Press

Getting Soft on 'Kooks'?—When students demonstrated against the Vietnam war at the AFL-CIO convention, George Meany referred to them as "kooks." The reference was deleted from the official transcript of the convention proceedings.

Hopeful — Only two out of 100 people approached at a shopping center near Baltimore were willing to sign a petition which was a reproduction of the Bill of Rights. Most people were simply leary of signing petitions. One grey haired woman commented: "I think this is moving in the right direction. It's going to take some time though. I'll wait and see."

Do You Bank With Brink's? — If you keep your surplus cash in a Brink's vault you better keep an eye on it. The company says its vaults aren't safe. It is suing a burglar alarm company which installed microphones which are supposed to tip off the police if anyone touches the vault. Brink's is upset because burglars blasted open its Syracuse vault with a cannon and they say the microphone didn't work. In a suing mood, the company is also taking court action against the gun dealer who sold the cannon to the burglars.

Let There Be Light — For Xmas, the Long Island Lighting Company sent each of its subscribers a 150 watt bulb.

Tip to Do-It-Yourself Fans — If you're interested in some antique French pine paneling for the basement rumpus room, a New York dealer has a batch of 120 running feet of the stuff from the palace of a dutchess who lives outside Paris. You can have the lot for \$40,000. But keep in mind that it's considered difficult to install.

Relax Everyone — Rep. Sam Gibbons of Tampa, Fla., assures that the Chinese won't enter the Southeast Asian war because "they know the man in the White House is tougher than most people."

Fashion Note — For those, like me, who keep up with such things, it is reliably reported that a Mrs. Charles Revson, whoever she is, is heading for Switzerland and her wardrobe will include, among

other things, a blue chinchilla coat with a matching blue chinchilla baby bonnet and a civet cat cardigan coat with a white mink band down the front and a white mink baby bonnet.

Progress Report — After 16 months in a Florida jail, James S. Gaston has finally gotten a lawyer. Gaston was convicted, without benefit of counsel, on six misdemeanor charges and given six four-month sentences to be served consecutively. His numerous written appeals to various judges were of no avail until one federal judge decided to abide by a recent Supreme Court ruling on the right of indigents to counsel, secured a lawyer for Gaston and ordered a new trial.

An Insult — The St. Petersburg, Fla., *Times*, whose readers include many senior citizens, declared editorially that the loyalty oath clause of the Medicare program is an insult. It asked what happened to the American belief "that a sick person should be healed no matter what his beliefs."

War on Poverty — The government's war on poverty among elderly people is moving at a somewhat slower pace than its

war in Vietnam. There are 5.5 million elderly people living in poverty in this country and so far a grand total of \$5.5 million has been allotted to relieve their plight. Funds are supposed to provide jobs for 1,200 of the 5.5 million but only a fraction of that number have been hired so far.

Note to Lolita — Eugenia Shepard reports in the *New York Herald Tribune*: "Sylvia Pedlar is doing a little collection of lingerie for small girls, age three to ten. Start them early, she believes."

Note to I-A's — A *New York Times* headline disclosed: "Draftees' First Day Is a Harsh Awakening — Fort Dix Mess Hall and Lines a Far Cry from Home." And we'd been under the impression it's like a home away from home.

Fancy That — A survey in Britain established that rich people generally watch the same TV programs as ordinary people.

Wrong Pedigree — Two college girls were turned down on their request to sail to Europe for \$50 in the dog kennel of the superliner *United States*.

—Harry Ring

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Fight at Philadelphia's Girard College

Marathon Anti-Bias Picket Line

PHILADELPHIA — The picketing of all-white Girard College came to an end on Dec. 17, and the fight has been taken into the courts by the local NAACP. The picketing began on May 1, and went on for seven months and 17 days — one of the longest continuous demonstrations of the new civil rights movement.

The force which kept the picket line going was a group of young militants. These young people — some from CORE, NAACP and SNCC — did not know each other before the demonstrations began, but by the time the picketing was called off, they had become well-known as a new group of freedom fighters in Philadelphia.

The object of the battle, Girard College, was established in the will of Stephan Girard in 1830. Girard's will limited applicants to the college to "poor, white male orphans." The struggle has centered on the demand that Negroes be admitted, also.

Besides picketing, there were other tactics used — climbing the wall around the college, sleep-ins and sit-ins. Police violence and harassment, including false arrests, failed to stop the demonstrations.

"On May 3, two days after the NAACP had called the demonstrations," one of the militants recalls, "a number of men, led by Stanley Branche of the Chester Committee for Freedom Now, were arrested scaling the wall around the cesspool of segregation in North Philly. The police decided that 700 cops wasn't enough so they added motorcycles to keep the pickets 'in line.'

"The following Monday night, which was a particularly hot night at the wall, as the crowd had grown to about 200 strong, the police all of a sudden decided the picketing should end. At 9 o'clock they ran their motorcycles through the crowd on the sidewalks, running down a number of innocent

people, including two teenage girls."

The police would follow the pickets around the college walls in jeeps — "brushing" them from time to time. "On June 18, several pickets were arrested for scaling the wall. This group again included some of the young militants, who got to know each other in the jail house, mainly because they spent each weekend there together."

"On June 27, Robert Brasswell, one of the young militants, decided the school should be integrated here and now. With 300 police surrounding the walls and gates, Robert not only got through their lines of defense but over the wall. He was discovered by a cleaning lady, and arrested.

"The following night a near riot broke out in front of the gates, set off by an angry policeman sometimes called 'Indian Joe,' who jumped the barricades, chasing a small boy who made a childish remark. The police surrounded the pickets, cutting them off at both ends of Girard Avenue. As the police began their head whipping, of both men and women, the young militants decided to come to their aid.

"The police department was told to 'bring the pickets down.' George Brower was met head on by six policemen as he began to go to the aid of the pickets. As he was beaten to the ground, Commissioner Howard Leary jumped to shield Brower, and Leary was whipped by his own officers. Debby Mills, 14, was stomped on by the police, and Stanley Vaughn, who came to her assistance, was beaten and arrested. Before the night was over, 19 pickets were arrested and charged with inciting to riot, breach of the peace, and several with assault and battery against police.

"Towards the end of July, the militants held their first sleep-in.

The cops decided to play cowboys. When two shots were heard, an NAACP official who lived a block away jumped out of bed to see what was happening. The police told him that it was just their jeeps backfiring. Later a policeman was rushed to the hospital after being accidentally shot by his fellow officer's jeep which accidentally backfired."

Governor Scranton came to Philadelphia to talk to the board of directors of the college, to see if a settlement could be worked out. But he didn't invite the NAACP to the talks, so "the pickets decided to picket the meeting at the state building in downtown Philadelphia. Deputy Commissioner Rizzo decided to keep the pickets in a secluded area, but several of them decided to picket closer to the meeting. Under the eyes of hundreds of people the police attacked the pickets. As one militant was beaten unconscious, press photographers moved in to take pictures, but the police forced them back.

"Things were quiet until it was announced that Rev. Martin Luther King was to arrive in Philadelphia." Then the police began to get tense again, and to harass the militants with false arrests. King addressed a crowd of 10,000



DEMAND END TO JIM CROW. Pickets at Philadelphia's Girard College demand end to school's "white only" policy.

in front of Girard College and said the walls of Girard must come tumbling down.

Police harassment continued. During one of the sleep-ins, the cops backed their jeeps up to the demonstrators so that the exhaust was directed on them, and one of the militants, Barry Dawson, had to be taken to a hospital.

"With sadness in our eyes and hearts, we went along with the decision of the NAACP to hear it out in court," the militants said of the decision to end the picketing. "But there is a new group in Philadelphia which is here to stay. We think we have proven this through seven months and 17 days."

WORLD PROTEST REGISTERS GAIN

Commute Death Penalty of 2 in Iran

By Fred Halstead

DEC. 29 — Two Iranian youths sentenced to death by a military court because of their opposition to the dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi have had their sentences commuted to life in prison following an international defense campaign sparked by Iranian students studying abroad. The two men, Ahmad Mansouri Moghadam and Ahmad Kamrani, were among 12 youths sentenced Nov. 1. The others got long prison sentences.

The students — five of whom had recently returned to Iran after completing their studies in Britain — were arrested last Spring. They were subject to torture and tried by a military tribunal in the fall. It is common practice in Iran's U. S.-backed regime for such trials to be closed and for prisoners accused of political opposition to disappear. But there are over 20,000 Iranian students abroad, mainly in Western Europe and the U. S., and a campaign begun among them threw a spotlight on the fate of their arrested colleagues. As a result, international observers, including prominent lawyers from Western Europe, were given limited access to the courtroom during the trial.

Three of the convicted youths, including Parvis Nikkhah, who was given a life sentence, were accused of taking part in a plot to assassinate the Shah. The rest were accused simply of belonging to a study group which the government called "communist." Nikkhah, described by the prosecution as the leader of the plot, was also accused of organizing the study group and writing a "thesis" of political opposition. This in itself is a "crime" in the Shah's regime, which came to power by a U. S.-backed military coup in 1953 against the liberal democratic government of Dr. Mossadegh, which had nationalized the Abadan oil industry.

The assassination charge stems from an incident last April 10 when a conscripted soldier, Reza Samsabadi, who was serving with the Imperial Guard, tried to shoot the Shah and was killed before

being questioned.

The only connection between this incident and the students is that Kamrani, a worker, had known the young soldier. According to testimony at the trial, the soldier had told Kamrani of his intention to kill the Shah. Kamrani says he passed this off as idle talk, but that he did tell one of the students about the conversation.

A report on the trial by Amnesty International, a civil liberties organization which has appealed the case to the United Nations, declares:

No Law Violated

"Accepting the prosecution case on the conspiracy charge, the worst that can be said against Nikkhah is that the soldier who fired the shots at the Shah on April 10 mentioned his intention to A who told B who belonged to the same group as Nikkhah. The prosecution failed to produce any other evidence linking Nikkhah with the soldier who fired the shots. The prosecution neither alleged nor cited any Iranian law which makes it an offense not to report to the police another's intention to commit a crime . . . Accepting the prosecution case on the ["communist"] charge . . . the worst that can be said of Nikkhah and his friends is that: a) four of them pooled funds to print Iranian translations of pamphlets in English, no word of which, it was alleged, constituted any offense against Iranian law; b) They discussed the political situation in Iran with peasants when they went on a 20-day mountaineering holiday."

The report continues: "Throughout the trial and in communiques published by the Iranian government and its embassies abroad, it has been alleged that Nikkhah was furthering the aims of Chinese Communism. Parvis Nikkhah was an Honors Graduate in Physics of Manchester University. An objective study of the views which he expressed at the trial and in the documents quoted to the Military Court shows that Nikkhah and his friends were interested in the mixed form of private and public enterprise advocated by

some Western European Socialist parties and now being adopted by certain East European Communist parties."

The report was based on the observations of three West European lawyers who visited the trial in Teheran, Louis Blom-Cooper of England, Luigi Cavalieri of Italy and Dr. Hajo Wahn-schneider of West Germany. Cavalieri also reported that the young men had been subjected to tortures. The London *Economist* of Oct. 24 and Nov. 13 also affirmed the tortures through sources which the highly respected and authoritative journal says it cannot reveal.

Attorney Cavalieri summed up the situation in Iran as follows: "We find ourselves confronted with a grave political 'frame-up' aiming at eliminating certain threatening oppositions, reinforcing the dictatorship of the Shah, and inspiring a major fright in the people, the greater part of whom are illiterate and as yet in the grip of an economic regime of a feudal type, who have lead, under a deep economic depression, an unhappy life in a country ranging among the richest in the world."

In the trial, the military prosecutor stated the real purpose of the prosecution of the students: "There are many youths now studying in high schools and universities . . . if you are punished they will understand that this is the wrong path. They will then go and choose the right path — the path opened before them by the state, the path taken by our society's organizations — the path opened before us by our leaders whom we have to obey. This is the aim."

The death sentences were commuted after a 220-hour hunger strike by Iranian students abroad which ended after UN Secretary U Thant personally intervened. But the convicted students are still in prison and others face persecution when they return home. The students need financial aid to carry on the defense. In the U. S. the address is: Iranian Students Association, Post Office Box 252, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Indiana U Professors Back Indicted Students

Four professors at Indiana University have filed statements against the prosecution of three socialist students under the state "Anti-Communism" Act, Herbert J. Muller, Distinguished Service Professor of English and Government; Wallace E. Williams, Professor of English; Philip D. Appleman, Professor of English and Michael J. Scriven, Professor of Philosophy have filed the statement in support of the students' request for a federal injunction to stop the prosecution.

"It is our belief," the statement begins, "that the indictment and prosecution of the three officers of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University and the publicity connected with these actions, has had an inhibiting effect upon the academic freedom of students at Indiana University. It appears to us that a clear inference on the part of students has been that unpopular ideas are likely to be considered dangerous ideas, and that unpopular organizations will continue to be subject to harassment by officers of the local community. The effect of such inferences, we are convinced, is, and will continue to be, an unwillingness on the part of students to entertain new, different, or unpopular ideas."

The statement continues, "We believe, as the great majority of professors do, that a university must be a community in which all members are free to express their ideas, whether they are popular or not. We believe that the use of

coercion to silence an opposing point of view is alien to the democratic traditions of our country. We believe that the prosecution of the officers of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University is an unconstitutional attempt to abridge the rights of the defendants, and that such prosecution, if successful, may have a seriously adverse effect upon other students as well, upon the basic function of American universities, and, ultimately, upon the constitutional rights of all citizens."

Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan were indicted in 1963 for their socialist beliefs and activities.



Ralph Levitt