

THE MILITANT

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THE MALCOLM X MURDER TRIAL

— See page 2 —

Escalate the Antiwar Movement — Bring the Troops Back Home!

By the Editors

Johnson's decision to resume bombing of north Vietnam marks a new stage in the escalation of the Vietnam war. It demonstrates conclusively that the so-called "peace offensive" was nothing but a maneuver intended to lull antiwar sentiment in the United States and the world. Even during the "peace offensive," the U. S. escalated the war in the south through intensified bombings of villages and homes with jellied gasoline fire bombs, a massive troop buildup, and large-scale troop actions. Johnson now intends to intensify the war still further in both north and south Vietnam, sending ever greater numbers of American boys to kill and be killed in this unjust and counterrevolutionary war.

This new escalation is not only a further violation of the rights and lives of the Vietnamese people, which is horrible and inhuman enough. It is also one more step on the road to a major confrontation with China and the Soviet Union, and to the nuclear destruction of a third world war.

The "peace offensive" and the cynical use Johnson has made of the demand for "negotiations" as a cover for intensified aggression have shown the impotence of this demand as a focus for the antiwar movement. The most effective demand the movement can make is the call for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops, in order to end the war now and allow the Vietnamese to decide their own fate and future.

The day after the bombing of north Vietnam was resumed, a significant protest demonstration was held in New York. We urge everyone who is against this war to speak out and act now to oppose this new escalation. Stop the bombing of north and south Vietnam! Bring the troops home now!

Support Mounts For Julian Bond

The protest generated by the racist expulsion of Julian Bond from his elected seat in the Georgia state legislature reached a significant new point when the chief United Nations delegates from 15 African nations held an unprecedented luncheon in Bond's honor. It was held in a UN dining room Jan. 21 with the press invited. Among the guests were Rev. Martin Luther King and Harry Belafonte.

Belafonte has sparked the organization of the Citizens Committee for Julian Bond. Dr. King joined as co-complainant in Bond's legal action to have the federal judiciary order the Georgia legislature to restore him to the seat to which he was elected last June. The 26-year-old public relations director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was expelled from the legislature Jan. 10 after declaring his agreement with a SNCC policy statement blasting the U.S. war in Vietnam.

At the UN luncheon, Bond declared the U. S. "should get out" of Vietnam without waiting for negotiations.

List of Countries

The countries represented at the luncheon for Bond were Algeria, the Congo (Brazzaville), Ethiopia, Guinea, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Malawi, Mauritania, Nigeria, the Sudan, the United Arab Republic, Tanzania and Zambia.

The hearing in the court action initiated by Bond and Dr. King opened before a three-judge federal panel in Atlanta Jan. 28 and was slated to resume Feb. 3.

The court quickly and piously ruled that there was no evidence that Bond had been ousted because of his race. However, the judges agreed to hear further argument on "the many novel and important issues" in Bond's suit to force the Georgia House of Representatives to take him in.

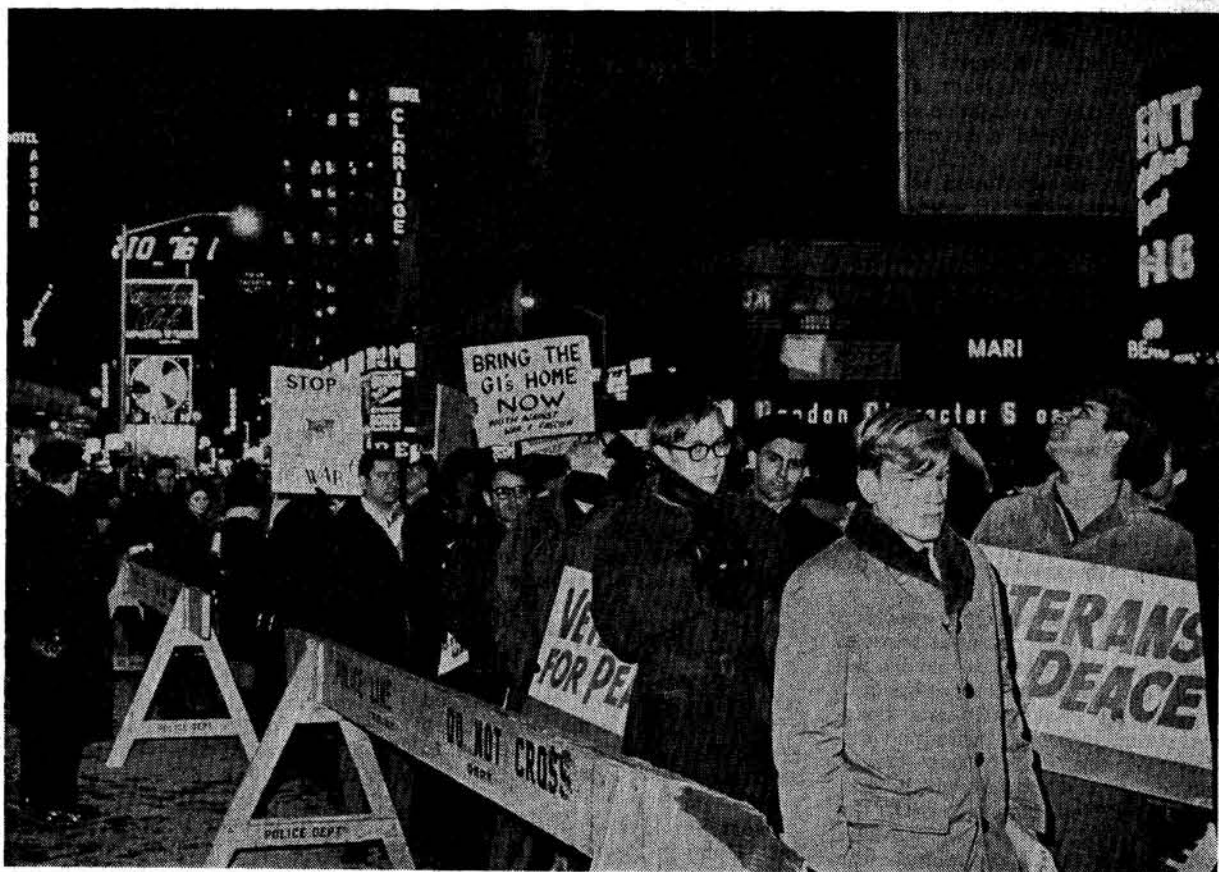
The judges said the case revolved around Bond's constitutionally guaranteed right of free speech but one of the judges was quick to add the assertion that persons do not have the right of free speech when their statements constitute a "clear and present danger" to the country.

Ready to Appeal

If the outcome of the present court action is unfavorable, Bond is expected to appeal it to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile he is prepared to run again for his vacated seat in Atlanta's predominantly Negro 136th District. SNCC has indicated that this time he may run as an independent rather than as a Democrat as he did previously.

The mounting support for Bond's fight was indicated when the Citizens Committee was able to take an advertisement of nearly a full page in the *New York Times* to appeal for aid. The ad included statements of support for Bond by 32 Congressmen and a host of notables in all walks of life.

Contributions to aid in the fight may be sent to the Citizens Committee for Julian Bond, Suite 803, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.



PROTEST ACTION. Scene at New York's Times Square Feb. 1 as more than 1,000 opponents of U.S. war in Vietnam marched to denounce Johnson's escalation of war through renewal of bombing of north Vietnam. The turnout was particularly gratifying in that the action was held on short notice day after the announcement of renewed bombing. Organized by individuals representing a wide range of antiwar and radical organizations, the protesters marched from the United Nations across 42nd St. to demonstration site. Thirty-two were arrested when they sat down in the middle of Broadway stalling traffic for blocks. Earlier, pacifists held a 24-hour peace vigil at the UN.

LBJ's Renewal of Bombing Means Wider, Bloodier War

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 1 — "More men, more planes, more ships, more money, more matériel, more wounded, more dead," the *New York Times* stated editorially in this morning's paper, "—these are the unmentioned but probable sequels to the resumption of the bombing of north Vietnam . . . President Johnson argued that 'if continued immunity' were given to north Vietnam, 'the cost in lives — Vietnamese, Americans and allied — will be greatly increased.'"

"But if 100,000 or even 500,000 more American troops are sent to Vietnam, as is predicted," the *Times* editorial continued, "many more lives are surely going to be lost. What was a morass is becoming a bottomless pit."

This somber note is far from being a journalistic exaggeration. It reflects the fact that the real question which had been decided in Washington was not simply that of resuming the bombing of north Vietnam. *New York Times* associate editor James Reston spelled out the full implications of the bombing resumption in an article from Washington, of the same date:

"There has been considerable talk here in the last few weeks," Reston wrote, "of a tactical switch to an American strategy of concentrating on the consolidation and defense of the United States bases and the protection of wide perimeters around the major south Vietnamese cities."

"The President, however," Reston continued, "is reported to be scoffing at this defensive strategy as 'slow surrender,' though some of the highest officers of the Pentagon have estimated that even this strategy of linking the coastal 'enclaves' and protecting the cities would require a minimum of 500,000 American soldiers and take a minimum of five years to be effective."

"What the President has said in effect," Reston emphasizes, "is that the objective of the American force in Vietnam is to break the fighting will and power of the enemy, and even the most conservative general officers here think the United States will have to go well above half a million if the strategy of searching out and destroying the enemy is even to have a chance, let alone succeed." (Emphasis added)

The argument in favor of a limited war which Reston himself supported was advanced by a significant coalition in Washington. This bloc included at least the following: 29 senators including William Fulbright and Mike Mansfield, the leaders of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 77 congressmen, and Generals James M. Gavin and Matthew Ridgway, former Chief of Staff under the Eisenhower administration and a commander during the Korean War.

A leak to the *New York Times*, Jan. 29, indicated that it included unnamed top officials as well: "President Johnson." Max Frankel wrote from Washington, "is said to have been told by his senior advisers that it would take at least six or seven years of military action to bring about a satisfactory situation in south Vietnam. Even this estimate of protracted conflict depends upon the gradual commitment of many more American troops, it is said — perhaps half a million more."

The viewpoints of these men are not to be taken light-mindedly. Walter Lippmann stated their (Continued on Page 4)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Mike Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union died of a heart attack in New York City on Jan. 28. He had been president of the TWU since the Thirties when he helped found the union and acquired a radical reputation through his association with left wing organizations.

Once, when he was charged with being a communist, he answered, "I would rather be called a Red by a rat than a rat by a Red." At the TWU 1948 convention, however, Quill had a resolution passed that barred left wing radicals and sympathizers from holding union office.

His participation in this purge against union militants at the start of the witch hunt and on the eve of the emergence of McCarthyism marked a breach with his radical past.

Although he continued to make militant statements during union negotiations, he made contract settlements that were increasingly unpopular with the rank and file. As a result of his policies, wages and conditions of New York transit workers fell behind other city employees and it was this inequity that helped trigger the recent transit strike.

Confronted with strong rank and file pressure, Quill defied an anti-strike injunction and was jailed along with eight other leaders. While in jail he suffered a heart attack which led to his death.

During the strike Quill received a reported 1,000 personal threats, many undoubtedly inspired by the vitriolic attack against him and the transit strikers in the boss-controlled press. He remained defiant of the mass news media, the courts, and the boss politicians, and identified himself with the militancy of the transit workers who were solidly behind the strike. This action, the most significant in his later years as a union leader, made a big contribution to the strikers' victory.

A rabid attack against the recent New York transit strike appeared in the San Francisco *Chronicle* written by Jerome Zerbe, a fascist-minded New York society writer. "Of course," he raved, "if we had any guts we'd go down and kill the entire group

of labor gangsters. The French Revolution would not have occurred if any of the aristocrats had any courage."

The phoney 3.2 wage guideline that President Johnson is trying to palm off on American workers while closing his eyes to the fabulous profits of the corporations will receive a severe test in the coming months. Some 30 major union agreements covering 1.2 million workers will expire in 1966.

Gross receipts of the General Motors Corp. in 1965 totaled \$19 billion. This is more than the government revenue of three major capitalist countries: West Germany, \$14 billion; Japan, 12.4 billion; and Canada, \$6.5 billion.

One reason for GM's fabulous income and profits is the increased cost of new cars. 1966 models, for example, will cost some \$70 more than those made in 1965. Despite this fact, the U. S. Labor Department recently credited auto companies with passing the 2.1 percent excise tax cut on to the customers.

The primary source of GM's profits, however, continues to be the super-exploitation of auto workers at the point of production. Conditions in some GM plants are so rotten that several UAW locals have voted to strike against repeated company violations of the union contract. One example is Cleveland Local 45 which recently voted 605 to 102 to go out on strike. The issue is rank and file opposition to increased production standards — speedup — and the company's refusal to resolve some 250 grievances.

Every employe of the Gramercy Park Hotel in New York City participated in a demonstration that was held in the hotel lobby during working hours. Chefs, maids, waiters, maintenance workers and other members of the Hotel and Motel Workers Union were protesting management's plans to eliminate the jobs of eight painters and wall washers.

In the face of this rank and file solidarity hotel bosses were forced to meet with the union and agree to withdraw their plans to fire the eight workers.

Jerry W. Packard, an employe of the Indiana Gear Works in Indianapolis was recently reinstated with full back pay after being fired Nov. 1964 on the charge of posting an anti-company cartoon in the plant.

At the time Packard was expressing the resentment of other plant workers who were angry over a miserly two cent an hour pay increase. The caption on the cartoon read: "I'll tell you where you can stick your two cents an hour."

—Tom Leonard

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Malcolm X Murder Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Feb. 1 — Five eyewitnesses have testified so far in the trial of three men accused of murdering Malcolm X, but not much light has been shed on some of the questions surrounding the case.

The prosecution alleges that Malcolm X was shot by three active members of the Black Muslims on Feb. 21 at the Audubon Ballroom, presumably because of his split from and differences with Elijah Muhammad. Two of the defendants, Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson, are well-known Muslims — according to the press, "enforcers." How could they have even been in the ballroom when Malcolm's followers, who knew them, observed each person entering and checked the auditorium for possible attackers?

Talmage Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagan, the only defendant caught at the scene of the assassination, denies he was ever a Muslim. And he was not publicly known to be a Muslim. He was shot at the scene, allegedly by Reuben Francis, one of Malcolm X's guards. If he was one of the attackers but not a Black Muslim, that opens the question of who organized the assassination. There are other powerful groups besides the Black Muslims who were very anxious to be rid of Malcolm X — including the U. S. ruling class.

Cary Thomas, the first witness, who testified for three and one-half days, was the only one to identify all the defendants in the ballroom and to say he knew them all to be members of the Black Muslims. On Jan. 27 the transcript of the testimony he gave to the grand jury on March 3, 1965 was read into the record. The account of the attack he gave the grand jury was quite different from the one he gave at the trial (see *The Militant* of Jan. 31).

Casts Doubt

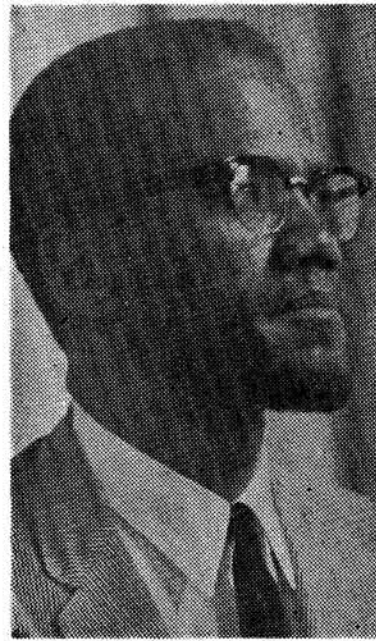
The difference between his two stories, as well as many other discrepancies, throw doubts on the truth of his testimony. He said, for example, that after the shooting started he got up from the booth he was sitting in some 45 feet from the stage and walked forward to within 15 feet, or possibly 7 or 8 feet or even less, from the stage where Butler and Hagan were standing pumping bullets into Malcolm X. He never drew his gun, even though the assassins had their backs toward him, because he was afraid he might hit other people running around. Instead he got down on the floor in one of the booths.

Thomas claimed to see Johnson when he first entered the ballroom, and to recognize him as a Black Muslim. But he did nothing to prevent this presumed enemy from attacking Malcolm X.

The scrutiny the audience was subjected to by Malcolm's followers was reflected in the testimony of George Whitney, the fourth witness. A police report of their questioning of him on March 2, 1965, was read into the record. Whitney told the police that when he noticed a member of the Muslims from Paterson, N. J. in the audience he went and spoke with him. The man said he was there because he was dissatisfied with the Black Muslims. Two guards then went over to him. They had him remove his Black Muslim pin and allowed him to return to his seat, Whitney said. The question of how Muslims in the audience were treated was not probed by any of the attorneys, however.

Whitney testified that he had been a member of Mosque No. 7 for two and one-half years and had known Butler for three years. He said he did not see Butler in the Audubon on Feb. 21 and that he would have recognized him if he had.

Whitney, who lives in the same apartment building as Cary Thomas and had known him for 15 years, testified that he had joined



Malcolm X

both of Malcolm's organizations, the Organization for Afro-American Unity and the Muslim Mosque Incorporated. He seemed to have a much better grasp of what they were about than Cary Thomas. When asked whether Malcolm X had ever said who was interested in gunning him down, Whitney testified that Malcolm said that the power structure and the Black Muslims were both interested in his death.

Hayer was the only one of the defendants Whitney identified. He said, in fact, that he was the first one to catch hold of Hayer as he was fleeing the ballroom. Whitney was walking up the center aisle away from the stage when the shooting started. He saw two figures running back toward him — jumping over chairs and telling people to get out of the way. He got a look at only one of them, and saw him fire twice with a large gun that looked like a .45. Whitney moved toward the man but jumped out of his way when the man fired in his direction. The man passed within only two feet and Whitney pursued him out the entrance and down the stairs. He caught Hayer five or six feet outside the entrance of the building. Others also grabbed him.

Assistant District Attorney Dermody produced an automatic pistol which Whitney said looked like the one he'd seen in Hayer's hand. Whitney testified that he didn't realize Hayer had been shot when he caught him, and that he never saw anyone fire at Hayer. Hayer's attorney has alleged repeatedly that Reuben Francis shot Hayer, and he suggested in a question that Whitney's testimony was motivated by his desire to protect Francis.

Whitney was incarcerated on March 10, 1965 and accused of shooting a man on March 9. He was held in \$50,000 bail, then in no bail, then in \$10,000 bail, and was finally released Nov. 23. He was also accused of shooting a woman, on the same day as the other shooting, it seems, but that charge has been dismissed, he said.

Whitney was not due to appear as a witness, and he never testified before the grand jury. He appeared in court as a spectator on Jan. 24 after Cary Thomas had mentioned his name. Someone informed Peter Sabbatino, Hayer's lawyer, that Whitney was in the courtroom and Sabbatino asked to have him put on the witness stand. The prosecution called him as a witness a few days later.

Two other eyewitnesses who testified proved themselves to be very unreliable observers in the course of cross-examination:

Vernal Temple, 23 years old, had difficulty in hearing and understanding many of the questions. He testified that he knew Johnson as "15X" and had seen him sitting near the back of the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21. The only other time he had seen 15X was at a big Muslim rally he had

attended in Chicago — but could not recall anything else about the trip, the name of the bus line he used, the fare, or the time it took.

Most of his testimony concerned Hayer. He said that he was seated on the right side of the auditorium when a man stood up and said: "Nigger, get out of my pocket." He recognized him to be Hayer, though he pronounced his name as "Hangan" meaning to say "Hagan." Temple said he had seen Hayer on three previous occasions: first, selling *Muhammad Speaks* at Lenox Ave. and 116th St., near Mosque No. 7; second, in the mosque acting as a guard; third, in the Muslim restaurant.

Temple's reliability as a witness was shaken by a question put to him by Dermody after the defense cross-examination was over. Dermody asked Temple for the date on which President Kennedy was assassinated. Temple responded that he wasn't sure of the exact date but he knew it was in 1965.

The fourth eyewitness, Edward DiPina, was a man of 70, black but of Portuguese birth. A very likable old man, he tried to please his questioner and tended to answer "yes" when he was unsure. He had difficulty in understanding many questions and in answering them directly.

Story Differed

He identified Butler and Hayer as being involved in the disturbance, but the rest of the story he told was different from that of the others: Butler and Hayer were in the third row from the front. Butler stood up and fired five shots at Malcolm X on the stage. Then he and Hayer turned around and ran toward the rear of the auditorium, firing behind them.

In DiPina's version, they never ran forward to the stage as the other witnesses testified.

Though there were many things DiPina said which showed his confusion in spite of very positive assertions, one stood out: William Chance, Butler's attorney, asked him about the detective who drove DiPina to Bellevue hospital where he first identified Hayer. Then he pointed to Charles Beavers, one of Johnson's attorneys, requested him to stand up, and asked DiPina if that was the man who took him to the hospital. "Yes, that's the man," responded DiPina.

The fifth eyewitness, who has not yet been cross-examined, is Jasper Davis, a 54-year-old superintendent of an apartment building. He said he was not a member of any of the organizations involved. He identified only Butler, as one of the two involved in the diversion, but he did not see who fired any of the shots.

Liberties Leader Assails Frame-Up Of William Epton

NEW YORK — Dr. Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, in a Jan. 27 public statement denounced the sentencing that day of William Epton on frame-up charges of "conspiring to overthrow" and "advocating the overthrow" of the state government of New York, and of "conspiring to riot." Epton is a vice president of the Progressive Labor Party.

Foreman said, "Conviction of a Negro leader on the archaic charge of criminal anarchy, and conspiracy, is an outrageous answer to William Epton's protest against police brutality. For the first time in the North a Negro protest has led to conviction for subversion."

Although Epton is appealing, he has been denied bail ever since his Dec. 20 conviction and he is still in jail.

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, has urged all partisans of civil liberties to rally to Epton's defense.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Felix McGowan, former priest who visited Cuba in 1963. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307 (One block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

THE DEBATE IN THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT: TWO VIEWS. Speakers, Lew Jones, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance; Prof. David Herreshoff, Detroit Citizens for Peace. Fri., Feb. 11 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETINGS. Part I: Malcolm X's Place in History. Speaker: George Breitman. Also, tape selections from Malcolm X's last speeches. Fri., Feb. 11, 8:30 p.m. Academy Hall, 853 Broadway (at 14th St.).

Part II: Malcolm X and the White Man's War. Speaker: Robert Vernon. Fri., Feb. 18, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.). Both meetings under the auspices of Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

THE FACE OF THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION. Based on Franz Fanon's book. Speaker: Mike Garza. Sat. Feb. 11, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

A CONTRADICTIONARY GATHERING

The Tri-Continental Congress

(World Outlook) — For the capitalist press, the Tricontinental Congress in Havana was above all the arena of a Sino-Soviet contest for influence over the revolutionary movements of the "third world." For the pro-Moscow press, on the other hand, it was a great "demonstration of unity." The pro-Chinese press did not conceal its spite over the attack that Fidel Castro launched against the trading policy of the People's Republic of China towards Cuba on the very eve of the congress. However, it characterized the congress both as proof that the struggle of the people against American imperialism is sharpening and as a manifestation of the "capitulation of Castro to revisionism."

What was it in reality?

The difficulty in judging the objective meaning of the congress resides in the fact that it contained highly contradictory features. Only practice will permit us to judge which of these features will be only superficial and formal, and which, on the contrary, will make their mark on the future of the colonial revolution in practice.

The objective necessity of a congress of the type of the one held in Havana is obvious. American imperialism has intensified its counterrevolutionary actions, from Vietnam to the Congo and from Santo Domingo to Indonesia, including in the circuit North Africa and even Paris (two official denials from the State Department have failed to halt persistent rumors that the CIA had a hand in the kidnaping of Ben Barka). In the face of this ever more insolent aggression, the coordination of the revolutionary movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and, if possible, of these movements with the revolutionary forces of the imperialist countries and the workers' states, offers the only serious possibility to push back the aggressor and to stop the series of defeats which has marked the colonial revolution for several years.

No Exclusion

On condition, of course, that all the truly revolutionary forces, without exception, meet in such a congress.

On condition, also, that they do not seek to bind and domesticate this revolution, under the pretext of "assisting" it. There is no doubt that such was the fundamental aim of the Soviet bureaucracy in the Havana Congress.

Consider the recent history of Indonesia, where Soviet diplomacy addressed itself to the heads of the army and of the most reactionary wing of the clerical Moslems, even above the head of Sukarno, at a time when the massacre of the Communists was already in progress. There is also the example of Algeria, whose chief of state, "comrade" Boumedienne, was received fraternally in Moscow when he was sending Ben Bella, the "Hero of the Soviet Union," to rot in prison, to say

nothing of what happened to the leaders of the Communist Party of Algeria.

Of course the Soviet bureaucracy has no interest in smothering or destroying the colonial revolution; to the contrary it seeks to turn it into coin for its own use. The colonial revolution must exist in order for the Kremlin to use it to its advantage in its "global" deals with Washington. But to this same end, it is necessary that this colonial revolution be controlled (that is, that it remain under the control of bourgeois or petit bourgeois forces, themselves inclined to the same deals); and it is also necessary that it be limited.

When this control and these limits are broken, as was notably the case in Cuba after 1959, the Soviet bureaucracy is doubly frightened. First of all, its fundamental conservatism recoils in the face of the risk of an "uninterrupted revolution" reverberating on a continental scale; secondly, Washington loses interest considerably in "global accords" from the moment the Kremlin can no longer guarantee the halting of a revolutionary struggle, wherever it might be in the world.

Moscow-Peking

The Sino-Soviet conflict has exacerbated these contradictions which characterize the attitude of the Kremlin toward the colonial revolution; it has not fundamentally changed them. The Vietnam war in particular has brought these contradictions out clearly.

For the Soviet bureaucracy, the Havana Congress was therefore above all an occasion for an attempt to establish control over forces which have largely escaped it for six years. It attempts to do this under the pretext of "unity of action" and while increasing (somewhat) its aid, otherwise the operation is condemned to failure in advance. But it wants to establish control nonetheless, and in a fundamental way.

At the beginning of the congress, it could have appeared that the Kremlin was winning the game.

It soon became apparent that it had rigorously sifted and picked the delegations, going to the point of deliberately dividing revolutionary movements engaged in armed struggle (as in Guatemala), in the attempt to eliminate those who were suspect of "Trotskyism." This sifting attained its goal. Aside from the Asian delegations, largely dominated by the Chinese, there were almost no non-conformist forces in the congress. In addition, the Khrushchevites did not even hesitate to submit a resolution to the congress — whose purpose was to coordinate the armed struggle — on "the place of the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the work for peaceful coexistence." They managed to gather a large number of votes for this absurd resolution.

However, at the end of the congress, observers were struck by two facts.

First, the Soviet plan to establish the headquarters of the organization issuing from the Tricontinental Congress in Cairo fell flat. The headquarters was established, for the time being, at Havana. While throughout the congress it seemed that there was a Soviet-Cuban bloc, on this question there was a congruence of the Chinese and Cuban positions. The Chinese were opposed to the transfer of the Tricontinental headquarters to Cairo, because they feared that this transfer would imply the dissolution of the organization of Afro-Asian solidarity, in which their influence is still great. The Cubans were opposed to a transfer to Cairo, because they want to utilize the Tricontinental headquarters to coordinate the armed struggle in Latin America.

Secondly, the adjournment speech of Fidel Castro was, at least partially, marked by a tone completely opposed to that of the Khrushchevite parties. His words must have embarrassed the bureaucrats from East Europe, as Niedergang underlined in the Paris daily, *Le Monde*. One can understand why from the following passage from Fidel's speech:

"In many other nations of America there are ample conditions for armed revolutionary struggle. This struggle has been underway, for some time now, in Venezuela, in Peru, in Colombia, and in Guatemala.

"In Latin America there should not be just one, or two, or three peoples struggling alone against imperialism. The correlation of forces of the imperialists on this continent, the proximity of its metropolitan territory, the zeal with which they will try to defend their dominions in this part of the world, require a common strategy on this continent, more than anywhere else: a common and simultaneous struggle.

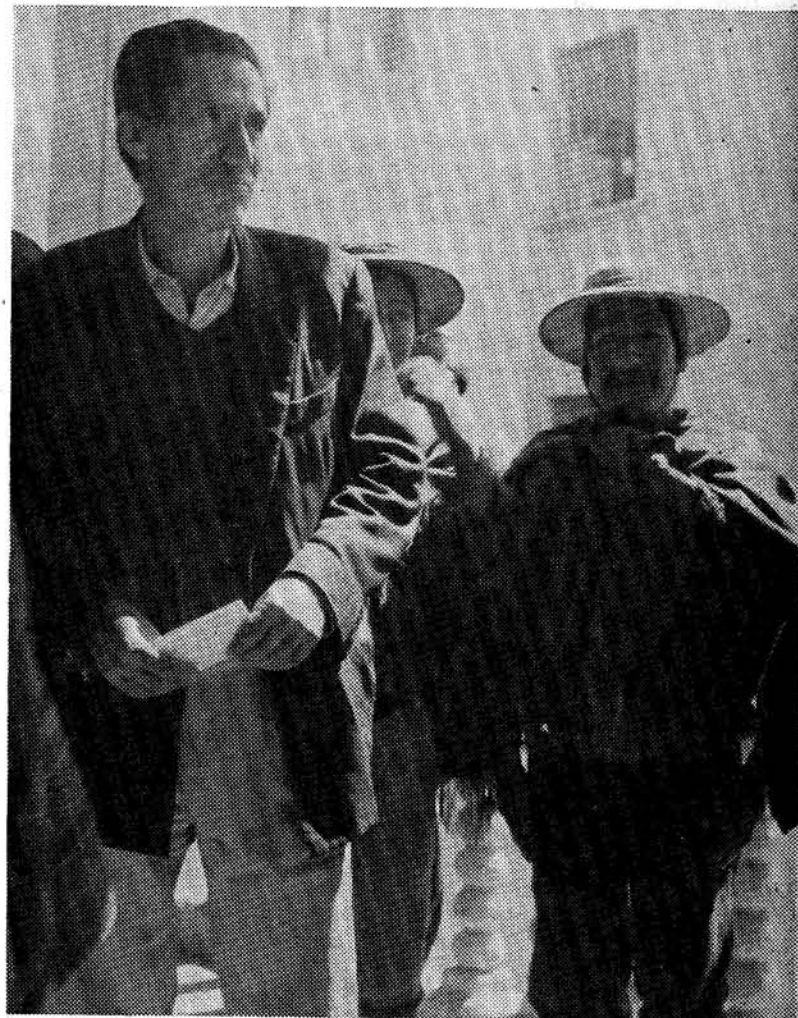
"If the imperialists have to face not just the Dominican people alone, or the Guatemalan people alone, or the Venezuelan people alone, or the Colombian people alone, or the Peruvian people alone; if they must also fight — at the same time as in each of these countries — against other oppressed peoples, such as those of Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, Argentina and other peoples of Central America; if the struggle is carried out on a broad scale, if each one of these peoples, if each one of the revolutionaries of this continent fulfills his duty — and the duty of every revolutionary, as stated in the Declaration of Havana, is to carry out the revolution, but to carry it out not with words but with deeds . . . then the hour of liberation of this continent will be nearer . . .

Not CP Talk

"We believe that on this continent, in all or almost all countries, the struggle will assume more violent forms."

This is not exactly the language that the CP's of Chile, Argentina, Brazil and even that of Colombia are speaking today. This is not the language that the majority of the CP's of Latin America are speaking.

This part of Fidel's speech was reflected in numerous resolutions of the congress, including the one to convoke a congress of solidarity of Latin American peoples for 1967. From this aspect of the speech, one would conclude that there are only two possibilities: either the CP's will align themselves for better or worse in accordance with the Fidelista line, or else the decisions of Havana will remain a dead letter for the CP's. In the first case, Fidel emerged the great victor of the Havana Congress, obtaining from the Kremlin, in exchange for the diplomatic support he accorded it, all Latin America as a zone in which the struggle of the CP's will be henceforward coordinated



LATIN AMERICAN FERMENT. Peasant organizer in Peru, a land that, like all Latin America, is wracked by social crisis which feeds revolutionary potential.

from Havana and not from Moscow. In the second case, as in the past, the Fidelista current will develop independently of the Communist parties and more and more fall out of step with them.

But there are important questions about the other part of Fidel's speech, his violent anti-Trotskyist attack. He made slanderous accusations of the Stalinist type against the Fourth International, by means of quotes and implications, the dishonest amalgam character of which he cannot fail to know.

Irresponsible Remarks

It is quite possible that irresponsible remarks spread by ultra-left Posadista grouplets irritated the leader of the Cuban Revolution. It is equally possible that he saw in such remarks an identity with the deliberate attempts of imperialism to discredit the Cuban Revolution and to isolate it from the insurgent masses of Latin America. But he is sufficiently informed to know that these grouplets do not represent the Fourth International and constitute only a minute part of those who call themselves Trotskyists today anywhere in the world.

He is sufficiently informed to know that Italian Trotskyism is not represented by the little obscure paper that he cites, but by *Bandiera Rossa*, thousands of copies of which are widely circulated and read among the cadres of the workers' movement, including those of the Communist Party. He is sufficiently informed to know that if a shady individual in Mexico claimed that Che Guevara was assassinated in Cuba, the official Trotskyist press gave an entirely different version of the departure of Che from Cuba, highly responsible, highly inspired by the will to defend the Cuban Revolution. He knows very well that the Trotskyists have been in the vanguard of the fight for the defense of the Cuban Revolution in every country in the world and that they have often organized this defense in spite of the passivity if not the sabotage of the official Communist parties.

And if in spite of all this he permits himself to state that "Trotskyism has become a commonplace instrument of imperialism and of reaction," and this after the revelations of the Twenty-second Congress of the CPUSSR have not left intact a single stone of the miserable edifice of lies and slanders that

Stalin erected with such care and so many corpses against the Fourth International, then this cannot fail to have a political import.

What is it?

Is it an unprincipled political concession to the Kremlin made in return for placing leadership over the Latin American Communist movement in the hands of the Cubans? This is possible, but not certain.

Is it an unprincipled way of delimiting the Castroist movement from Trotskyism? Both Moscow and Peking periodically attack the world Trotskyist movement, even accusing each other of playing into the hands of Trotskyism. But it is perfectly evident that on many issues the Cubans come close to Trotskyist positions. In dealings with both Moscow and Peking, Havana may consider this to be a source of political embarrassment.

An additional consideration is that the prestige of the Trotskyists is very high in many countries in Latin America, they are growing in size, and this offers an implicit challenge to monolithic control over the Latin American revolutionary movement, since the Trotskyists adhere to the principles of democratic centralism and stress the building of revolutionary socialist parties controlled by the rank and file. This alternative is likewise possible.

Still another possibility is that the revolutionary language at the Tricontinental Congress was phrasemongering deliberately aimed at covering up a fundamental turn in a less revolutionary direction so far as actual practice is concerned. This possibility cannot be excluded a priori, but it must be recognized that up to now there are no tangible facts to indicate that this is the real alternative chosen by Castro.

To make a definitive judgment on the true meaning of the Tricontinental Congress. It is therefore necessary to wait for further evidence. This will be provided by the real development of the Latin American revolution and the role that Fidel Castro and his friends aim at playing in it.

However it turns out, the Tricontinental Congress is certain to mark an important turning point in the history of the revolutionary movement in Latin America, a movement to which the fate of the Cuban Revolution is more closely bound than ever.

Ben Barka and the Havana Conference

In seeking a motive for the kidnaping (and most likely murder) of Mehdi Ben Barka in Paris Oct. 29, the bourgeois press has persistently advanced the hypothesis that the revolutionary leader was preparing to make his peace with Morocco's tyrant King Hassan II and that ultraright political forces sought to block this. The press is completely silent about a different possible motive.

Ben Barka was president of the International Preparatory Committee for the Tricontinental Conference recently held in Havana. With Boumedienne's seizure of power in Algeria through a coup d'état last June, Ben Barka's position as a leading North African revolutionist assumed new importance. He would undoubtedly have played a big role at the Tricontinental Conference. To remove Ben Barka from the scene thus signified a blow against the Havana meeting, a blow which a number of reactionary forces, including the CIA, would most certainly favor.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, February 7, 1966

...Renewal of Bombing

(Continued from Page 1)

argument in a single sentence in his nationally syndicated column "Today and Tomorrow," Jan. 25: "The Mansfield report shows that Mr. Rusk's objective — the rule of Gen. Ky or his successor over the whole of south Vietnam — is unattainable no matter how much the war is escalated."

The fact of the matter is that even in the face of this authoritative opinion, and in opposition to the overwhelming antiwar sentiments of peoples the world over, the Johnson administration has chosen the course of an all-out war, a war which is going to cost tens of thousands of American lives and millions of lives of the Vietnamese people. Johnson has decided to ravage — that was the word he used in his State of the Union message — Vietnam.

It was therefore not surprising to read that Senator George Aiken, one of the leaders of the senatorial coalition which opposed bombing resumption, took the Senate floor as the first speaker the day the bombing resumed, and threw in the towel. The *New York Times*, Feb. 1, reported his statement:

"Mr. Aiken said that 'since we now seem to have passed the point of 'no return,' we should take a good hard look at the situation' and the sacrifices that will be necessary if the conflict ultimately grows to 'unprecedented and unlimited proportions.' There may be a chance that a 'world nuclear war' and a 'general land war in Asia' can be avoided, Mr. Aiken said, 'but we cannot proceed on the hope for miracles.'

"The United States 'must be prepared for the worst — and without delay,' the *Times* reports Aiken as continuing. "Senator Aiken said an expanded war would require 'universal conscription,' and he urged the President to ask Congress for repeal of the tax-reduction act and to ask the adoption of whatever new taxes were necessary. . . . Furthermore, he said, the people must be pre-

pared for price and wage controls."

The first steps towards this new stage of escalation had already been taken well before the renewed bombing of north Vietnam, under the cover of the "peace offensive" itself. The largest ground battle of the war has been going on for eight days in Binh Dinh Province, 300 miles northeast of Saigon, and it gives one some idea of what American GI's will face in the so-called search and destroy operations that confront them in the future.

More than 6,000 members of the First Cavalry Division — the same troops which were used in the Iadrang River Valley battle last year — are involved in this battle, code-named "Operation Masher." One report from the battle lines described a company which was trapped on an island by the NLF under heavy fire, and then was shelled by Saigon troops coming up from the rear. This devastating cross-fire, however accidental, lasted all afternoon. A platoon which had begun with 40 men had lost 23 dead by 3:00 p.m.; the total casualties were not listed.

Saturation Bombing

Meanwhile, the saturation bombing of the south Vietnamese countryside is continuing on an increasing scale. On Jan. 26, *Times* correspondent Neil Sheehan wrote from Saigon, "American pilots estimated they had destroyed 340 structures, most of them peasants' sapling-and-thatch huts, and had damaged 250 others." The following day, Charles Mohr reported 450 combat sorties destroying 3,530 "structures" and damaging more than 500 others.

James Reston reported in the article cited above that the new stage of escalation would lead to a doubling or trebling of the bombing raids in the coming year. The Selective Service headquarters in Washington announced Jan. 28 that tests and class standing would be restored as criteria for the draft deferment of college students, making it evident that for the first time since the Korean War, substantial numbers of college and post-graduate students would be drafted.

In the light of the actual steps to escalate the war which have already been taken, and the unmistakable evidence that the Johnson administration plans to speed ahead towards a massive troop involvement in south Vietnam, it is clear that the forthcoming debates in the U.S. Congress and the United Nations will have little bearing on the future course of the Vietnamese war.

Their purpose, however, is to maintain the facade of a peace-offensive, to give the Democratic administration a cover against criticism from the antiwar movement; and for this purpose, it is likely they will continue for the present. Senators Morse and Gruening have introduced bills, respectively, to allow the Congress to repeal the 1964 "carte blanche" backing Johnson's war plans, and to allow Congress to prohibit the assignment of draftees to Vietnam unless they are willing to serve.

These bills will certainly give congressmen a chance to make the record, and those who face constituencies in the year-end elections who oppose the war, will be able to recite their stands on the Morse and Gruening resolutions.

Malcolm X Speaks

One of Malcolm X's roles was teacher of his people. On Dec. 20, 1964, shortly after his return from Africa, he gave an educational talk about that continent at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Harlem. Following are some of the points he touched on before discussing Africa itself.

Installment 15

WHEN YOU WRITE THE SCRIPT YOURSELF

Several persons have asked me recently, since I've been back, "What is your program?" I purposely, to this day, have not in any way mentioned what our program is, because there will come a time when we will unveil it so that everybody will understand it. Policies change, and programs change, according to time. But objective never changes.

You might change your method of achieving the objective, but the objective never changes. Our objective is complete freedom, complete justice, complete equality, by any means necessary. That never changes. I don't care what you belong to — you still want that, recognition and respect as a human being. But you have changed your methods from time to time on how you go about getting it. The reason you change your method is that you have to change your method according to time and conditions that prevail. And one of the conditions that prevails on this earth right now, that we know too little about, is our relationship with the freedom struggle of people all over the world.

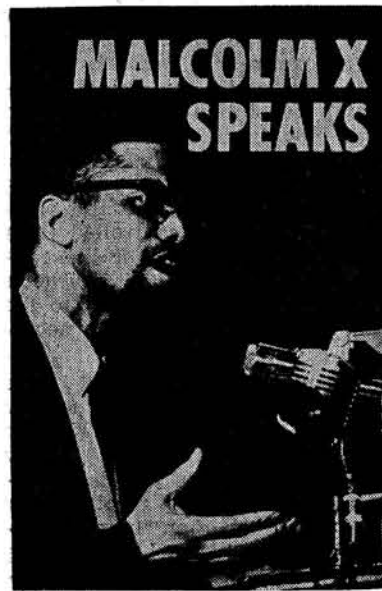
Here in America, we have always thought that we were struggling by ourselves, and most Afro-Americans will tell you just that — that we're a minority. By thinking we're a minority, we struggle like a minority. We struggle like we're an underdog. We struggle like all of the odds are against us. This type of struggle takes place only because we don't yet know where we fit in the scheme of things. We've been maneuvered out of a position where we could rightly know and understand where we fit into the scheme of things.

It's impossible for you and me to know where we stand until we look around on this entire earth. Not just look around in Harlem or New York, or Mississippi, or America — we have got to look all around this earth. We don't know where we stand until we know where America stands. You don't know where you stand in America until you know where America stands in the world. We don't know where you and I stand in this context, known to us as America, until we know where America stands in the world context.

Not Invincible

When you and I are inside of America and look at America, she looks big and bad and invincible. Oh, yes, and when we approach her in that context, we approach her as beggars, with our hat in our hands. As Toms, actually, only in the twentieth-century sense, but still as Toms. While if we understand what's going on on this earth and what's going on in the world today, and fit America into that context, we find out she's not so bad, after all; she's not very invincible. And when you find out she's not invincible, you don't approach her like you're dealing with someone who's invincible.

As a rule, up to now, the strategy of America has been to tuck all of our leaders up into her dress, and besiege them with



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.

money, with prestige, with praise, and make them jump, and tell them what to tell us. And they always tell us we're the underdog, and that we don't have a chance, and that we should do it non-violently and carefully; otherwise, we'll get hurt or we'll get wasted. We don't buy that.

So you can see the importance of these meetings on Sunday nights during the past two or three weeks, and for a couple more weeks. It is not so much to spell out any program; you can't give a people a program until they realize they need one, and until they realize that all existing programs aren't programs that are going to produce productive results. So what we would like to do on Sunday nights is to go into our problem, and just analyze and analyze and analyze; and question things that you don't understand, so we can at least try and get a better picture of what faces us.

Will Create Program

I, for one, believe that if you give people a thorough understanding of what it is that confronts them, and the basic causes that produce it, they'll create their own program; and when the people create a program, you get action. When these "leaders" create programs, you get no action. The only time you see them is when the people are exploding. Then the leaders are shot into the situation and told to control things. You can't show me a leader that has set off an explosion. No, they come and contain the explosion. They say, "Don't get rough, you know, do the smart thing." This is their role — they're there just to restrain you and me, to restrain the struggle, to keep it in a certain groove, and not let it get out of control. Whereas you and I don't want anybody to keep us from getting out of control. We want to get out of control. We want to smash anything that gets in our way that doesn't belong there.

Listen to the last part of what I said: I didn't just say we want to smash anything that gets in our way. I said we want to smash anything that gets in our way that doesn't belong there. You see, I had to give you the whole thing, because when you read it, you'll hear we're going to smash up everybody. No, I didn't say that. I said we'll smash up anything that gets in the way that doesn't belong there. I mean that. If it doesn't belong there, it's worthy to be smashed. This coun-

try practices that — power. This country smashes anything that gets in its way. It crushes anything that gets in its way. And since we're Americans, they tell us, well, we'll do it the American way. We'll smash anything that gets in our way.

This is the type of philosophy that we want to express among our people. We don't need to give them a program, not yet. First, give them something to think about.

Almost every one of the African and Asian countries that has gotten independence has devised some kind of socialistic system, and this is no accident. This is another reason why I say that you and I here in America — who are looking for a job, who are looking for better housing, looking for a better education — before you start trying to be incorporated, or integrated, or disintegrated, into this capitalistic system, should look over there and find out what are the people who have gotten their freedom adopting to provide themselves with better housing and better education and better food and better clothing.

Vulture System

None of them are adopting the capitalistic system because they realize they can't. You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker. He cannot be anything but a bloodsucker if he's going to be a capitalist. He's got to get it from somewhere other than himself, and that's where he gets it — from somewhere or someone other than himself. So, when we look at the African continent, when we look at the trouble that's going on between East and West, we find that the nations in Africa are developing socialistic systems to solve their problems.

There's one thing that Martin Luther King mentioned at the Army the other night, which I thought was most significant. I hope he really understood what he was saying. He mentioned that while he was in some of those Scandinavian countries he saw no poverty. There was no unemployment, no poverty. Everyone was getting education, everyone had decent housing, decent whatever they-needed to exist. But why did he mention those countries on his list as different?

Look Into It

This is the richest country on earth and there's poverty, there's bad housing, there's slums, there's inferior education. And this is the richest country on earth. Now, you know, if those countries that are poor can come up with a solution to their problems so that there's no unemployment, then instead of you running downtown picketing city hall, you should stop and find out what they do over there to solve their problems.

This is why the man doesn't want you and me to look beyond Harlem or beyond the shores of America. As long as you don't know what's happening on the outside, you'll be all messed up dealing with this man on the inside. I mean what they use to solve the problem is not capitalism. What they are using to solve their problem in Africa and Asia is not capitalism. So what you and I should do is find out what they are using to get rid of poverty and all the other characteristics of a rundown society.

Next week: Story, parable and suggestion.

N.Y. Meeting to Honor Memory of Malcolm X

NEW YORK — The Militant Labor Forum will hold two meetings commemorating the first anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X.

The first meeting will hear George Breitman, author of *Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas*. Breitman will also play a taped compilation he has prepared of "The Wit and Wisdom of Malcolm X." This meeting will be held on Friday, Feb. 11, 8:30 p.m. It will not be held at the Forum hall but at Academy Hall, 853 Broadway at 14th St.

The second meeting on Friday evening, Feb. 18, will hear Robert Vernon, author of *The Black Ghetto*. He will also play taped selections from Malcolm's speeches. This meeting will be held at the Militant Labor Forum Hall, 873 Broadway at 18th St.

Dissemination of H-Weapons

Spain Gets Nuclear Gift

One of the proclaimed aims of the Johnson administration, as of the preceding administrations since the time of Harry Truman, is to block the further dissemination of nuclear arms. The Pentagon has a surfeit of them. Enough, according to scientists who have gone into the problem, to wipe out mankind 50 to 75 times over.

The White House can't do anything about the Soviet stockpile, which was accumulated without permission from Washington. Great Britain has a few of the devices and de Gaulle is busily accumulating his own *force de frappe*. But no more powers ought to have them, Johnson maintains (except Canada which has been given a supply and West Germany which has been made into a nuclear warehouse). Johnson is particularly irked about China following the Soviet example and going into nuclear production without permission from the Pentagon. He would like a rollback there; and so Washington has stepped up the propaganda about no more dissemination.

On Jan. 17, however, Spain unexpectedly received a supply of nuclear weapons — four according to the first rumors. A B-52 of the Strategic Air Command collided with a KC-135 aerial tanker while taking on fuel over Almeria, the two planes crashing near Cuevas del Almanzora, a town of 10,000 inhabitants.

The B-52 was part of the big fleet, armed with H-bombs, kept constantly in the air by the Pentagon to guard the "free world" from the "threat of Communism," a threat that is particularly grave in such bastions of freedom as the one ruled by the fascist dictator Franco.

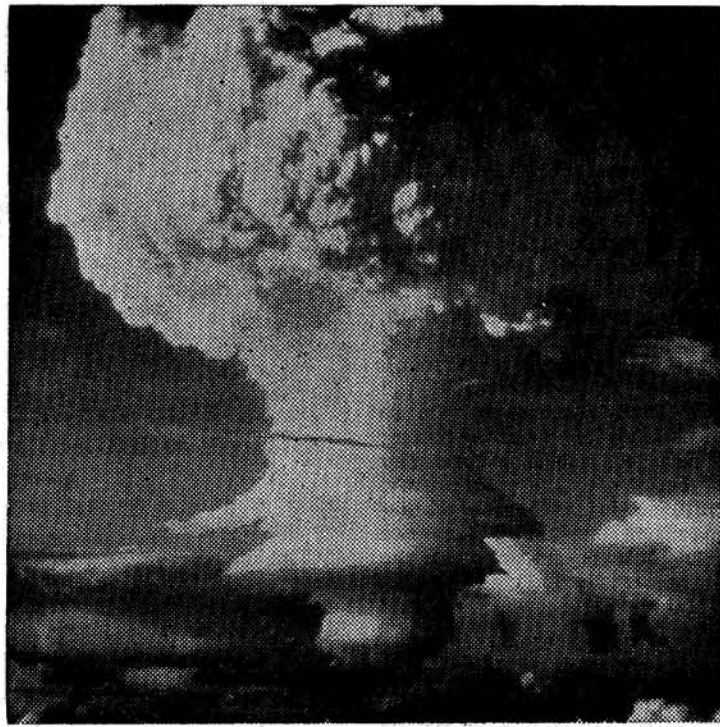
More than 1,000 American military personnel and Spanish soldiers immediately went into action in accordance with Johnson's principle of doing everything possible to block further dissemination of nuclear arms. They combed the countryside while navy vessels swept the nearby Mediterranean.

Spokesmen of the Pentagon had only "no comment" to inquiries about whether four bombs had actually been disseminated in the crash. They admitted only that the B-52 had been carrying "nuclear armament." They added reassuringly that a "radiological study" had shown there was "no danger whatsoever to the public health and safety."

This was good to hear in view of the fact that B-52's are said to be able to carry nine tons of thermonuclear bombs, two of the devices reaching 25 megatons capacity each. (One megaton equals 1,000,000 tons of dynamite. By way of comparison, the bomb that Truman ordered dropped on Hiroshima was equivalent to 20,000 tons of dynamite.)

Rumor had it that three bombs were recovered from the Mediterranean by frogmen. What about the fourth bomb? There was some mystery to this. Military personnel were deployed over the countryside with geiger counters. Peasants were warned not to eat any of their ripening vegetables or other crops, particularly not to drink milk from their cows.

The Spanish authorities announced Jan. 21 that all the in-



habitants of the three towns of Garrucha, Vera and Cuevas del Almanzora were being submitted to medical examination. Already, they reported, two civil guards had been found showing traces of radioactivity.

The editor of the Paris daily *Le Monde* (Jan. 23-24) observed:

"Despite the assurances given last Thursday by the American army air staff in Spain, according to which there is no risk of contamination whatsoever, it can be assumed that the protective shield of one of the bombs cracked open when it came down, permitting some material to escape."

In brief, the shell of one of the nuclear eggs couldn't take the impact, and the area was doused with the radioactive charge.

Still another version was provided by unnamed "official Spanish spokesmen." According to the January 27 *Le Monde*, they revealed that only two 25 megaton nuclear bombs were on board the B-52. "When the collision occurred with the tanker plane, the B-52 pilot ejected the two bombs before parachuting down himself. The bombs presumably came down slowly on their parachutes and sank into the sea near two Spanish fishing boats, who rescued the pilot and two other members of the crew."

The two H-bombs, according to

this version, are now lying in water 900 to 1,200 feet deep. "Some maritime experts are of the opinion that only a bathyscaphe will be able to reach this depth, but this solution appears at the moment to still face some technical difficulties."

As for the radioactive contamination in the area of the three Spanish towns, the unnamed authorities said nothing. *Le Monde* reports that only attachments belonging to the two 25 megaton bombs were found in the 1,000-man search that went on for ten days. These, *Le Monde* deduces, could have belonged to the "atomic detonators."

The detonator of an H-bomb, it should be noted, is not a mere mechanical device like the trigger of a Colt six-shooter. It is an atom bomb of the size used over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The dissemination of the materials in the two 25 megaton H-bomb detonators would thus explain the measures taken in the affected area to seal off radioactive contamination.

In Cuevas del Almanzora, as the mass medical examination proceeded, some fifty persons, braving the frowns of the Caudillo and his ally Johnson, marched in a picket line, shouting, "Down with the Americans and their bombs!"

Reporter Says Some U.S. Pilots Balk at Committing Slaughter

The following excerpt from the book, *Americans Facing the Vietcong*, by Swiss journalist Fernand Gigon, was printed in the Jan. 10 I. F. Stone's Weekly.

In the army itself, officer pilots begin to desert their mission for moral reasons. They thought they were to make war, that is to drown troops with napalm and fire, risking flak in accordance with a conventional scheme of attack and counter-strike into which no moral considerations entered. But they found themselves being used to burn villages, to set rice harvests afire, to destroy forests and to reduce to ashes everything living, human or animal, in ever greater areas. There is something vile in the gratuitousness of attacks by the Strategic Air Command which orders up to 310 raids in a single day or sends 50 B-52s at a time against defenseless objectives. This clay pigeon shoot, inhuman, demented, would perhaps have some justification if it hastened the end of the conflict. But we're nowhere near in sight. Every now and then a conscience awakens. "It is no longer war," officers with qualms of conscience say, "it is genocide." Mounting moral confusion and religious conviction often lead them to the threshold of revolt; they ask to be relieved . . .

The General Staff makes these conscientious objectors sign a new declaration in which the pilots promise on their return to the United States to reveal neither the reasons for their desertion nor the scenes to which they have been witness. Without publicity, the officer is for the time being reduced in rank and his military privileges are taken from him. He returns to his country more solitary than if in a desert. Some find themselves in psychiatric clinics.

Ben Barka Case Crisis For De Gaulle Regime

By George Saunders

Continuing sensational revelations in the Ben Barka case and the very suspicious death of a key witness, Georges Figon, have blown up a crisis of major proportions for the de Gaulle government. The scandal promises to rank with the Dreyfus affair in its revelations of complicity in high places. And it recalls the Stavisky affair in the 1930's — a scandal involving government corruption that shook France and became one of the preludes to a big leftward shift in the political arena.

The extent of the pressure on de Gaulle can be seen in his issuing of international warrants for the arrest of Moroccan Interior Minister Gen. Mohammed Oufkir and two of Oufkir's aides. France has recalled its ambassador and threatens to apply economic and financial sanctions if Morocco does not submit these officials to judgment by the French criminal courts.

De Gaulle has gone to great lengths in a transparent attempt to shift the onus of this major scandal onto Morocco and get the heat off his own government. Undoubtedly, the sinister Oufkir, who is said to work closely with the CIA, played a key role in the kidnapping and apparent murder of the Moroccan socialist leader. But the evidence indicates that very high officials in the French government played an equally important part.

Agencies Linked

Recent testimony has linked a number of French agencies or officials to the crime:

A Major Le Roy was fired from his post as a secret service officer in the Department of Alien Documentation and Counterespionage for not reporting to his superiors on the kidnapping. Le Roy then testified that the head of another department knew even more about the kidnapping than he did. He referred to the General Information Bureau (BGI), which is directly responsible to de Gaulle's interior minister, Roger Frey.

A subordinate of Le Roy's in the Department of Alien Documentation and Counterespionage, Antoine Lopez, was one of the kidnappers. He testified that Jacques Foccart, one of de Gaulle's closest aides, was kept informed of the plans for the kidnapping. Foccart is de Gaulle's presidential staff secretary; he also advises de Gaulle on — African affairs!

The weekly news magazine *L'Express* printed an "eyewitness account" of the crime by Georges Figon. Figon was in position to give an authentic account as he was one of the kidnappers. *L'Express* printed a second statement by Figon in its January 24 issue. This statement was said to have been made by Figon three hours before his death from a bullet wound said by the police to have been self-inflicted.

Deputy Accused

Figon charged that a Gaullist deputy, Pierre Lemarchand, was involved in the crime. Lemarchand and Jean Caille, head of the political department of the Paris police, heard a report by Figon immediately after the kidnapping, according to the kidnapper.

Figon intimated that Lemarchand and Caille might have been inspirers of the crime. Both men had served earlier in a Gaullist underground organization, the "Barbouzes." Lemarchand is a close friend of de Gaulle's interior minister, Roger Frey, who at one time headed the "Barbouzes."

Figon's untimely death is being investigated. It is the center of



De Gaulle

furor in the press. For two months after the kidnapping, Figon roamed Paris freely although a warrant was out for his arrest in connection with the investigation of Ben Barka's disappearance. Reporters interviewed Figon and took photographs of him; the police, strangely, couldn't find him. At least that is what they claimed.

Then when they finally did locate the fugitive, they were again disappointed. Figon shot himself just as they entered his apartment. At least that is what they reported.

To make the case all the more mysterious, the fingerprints on the death weapon were ruled "not usable" for identification. No one doubts the fact, however, that Figon was killed by a gun held at close range.

Mass Starvation Spreads in India

A government spokesman in New Delhi revealed Jan. 21 that 12,000,000 persons in India are living "in great distress" because of hunger. The government spokesman added that they are "threatened" with famine. In India, it appears, "famine" has only an absolute meaning — at least as viewed through the eyes of a government bureaucrat.

Those who are experiencing "great distress" because of the lightness of their diet are to be assembled in "rescue camps" and given emergency rations.

Besides the 12,000,000 in "great distress," another 100,000,000 are suffering from "undernourishment," according to the same official source. The spokesman failed to indicate how the line between "great distress" and "undernourishment" is determined. In any case, there appear to be no plans to assemble the 100,000,000 persons into "rescue camps" where emergency rations can be handed out.

It is reported that the U.S. government has agreed to release some of its mountainous reserves of surplus food for use in India. The shipments, however, may well turn out to be too little and too late.

After all, Johnson's main concern at the moment is not the plight of India's teeming millions, who are all safely enclosed in the "free world." He is "agonizing" over how to get \$12,300,000,000 from Congress to step up the mass slaughter of Asians in and around Vietnam who have somehow got the strange idea that maybe communism is preferable to capitalism.

The Origins Of Materialism
By George Novack
300 pp. \$6.95
MERIT PUBLISHERS
5 East Third Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

A TRULY HEROIC FIGURE

Mother Jones: Battler for Labor

By Hedda Garza

When she was alive they had to tell the public about her. How could they ignore her when Presidents, mayors, and governors were forced to give her an audience; when miners, railway workers, steel workers, and trolley drivers organized, kept their strikes going, faced thugs and scabs and even machine-gunners because she was there to face it with them; when the workers all over the country called for Mother Jones whenever the fighting got too rough — called for that little old lady in her sixties, then seventies, eighties and nineties. Yes, the newspapers and magazines had to talk about her.

But now they have their revenge. Mother Jones is almost forgotten. They have expurgated her name from their reference books and twisted labor histories and replaced it instead with the names of the "labor leaders" she fought.

Who was Mother Jones, and what did she do? In her own *Autobiography of Mother Jones*, this phenomenal saint of American labor begins her story in the 1870's, when she was 37, and devotes only a page or two to her personal life before that period. Mother Jones must have recognized that her true life was lived in those years after 1870, the

years that she devoted to the cause of the working people.

Born in Cork, Ireland in 1830, her father was a railroad construction laborer who came to America for work. He migrated for several years to Canada, and it was there that his daughter Mary Harris was educated. She tells us that she taught a bit, became a seamstress, married an iron worker named Jones, and bore him four children. Then the yellow fever epidemic hit Memphis in 1867, and Mary Jones watched her husband and her children die. She nursed her sick neighbors and turned to sewing for her living, but her shop was destroyed in the great Chicago fire four years later.

One book that gives her mention, *The Dictionary of American Biography*, tells us that "in the confusion that followed [the fire] she began attending meetings of the newly organized Knights of Labor . . ." Her own words prove how deeply class conscious she had long been:

[After the fire] ". . . we stayed all night and the next day without food on the lake front . . . Nearby in an old, tumbled down, fire scorched building the Knights of Labor held their meetings. I used to spend my evenings at their meetings . . . Those were the days of sacrifice for the cause of labor . . . I became more and

more engrossed in the labor struggle and I decided to take an active part in the efforts of the working people to better the conditions under which they lived and worked . . ."

Mother Jones began organizing in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, and no one could convince a meeting of striking miners to stick it out the way she could. Letters and phone calls began to pour in from all over the country: "Oh, Mother, come over quick and help us, the boys are that despondent. They are going back Monday . . ." They evicted any miner who so much as gave her a cup of coffee; they arrested her from one end of the country to the other; threw her into rat-infested holes to discourage her organizing for once she got out to the men in the fields, her words changed the picture and the strike was on again!

Miners' Wives

In West Virginia, Arizona, Denver, the companies sent preachers to threaten hellfire and brimstone if the workers joined the union, and the workers fled the church to go to the fields where Mother Jones told them that they were fighting for a "little bit of Heaven" here on earth. The company goons shot the miners' tents full of holes, killing their wives and children, and Mother Jones had them arm themselves to defend their families.

When the mine owners brought in scabs, Mother Jones was there with armies of miners' wives. "Stay home and mind the babies," she told the men, knowing that if the men did that day's work they would be killed. So instead she took her armies of housekeepers into the fields with mops, brooms, and pails of sudsy water. When the scabs and the mules came around, the women drove them off with terrifying screaming and brandishing of their cleaning tools.

Child labor always roused Mother Jones to great heights of fury. In the spring of 1903 she took a group of mill children through the East Coast states, holding mass meetings in all the major cities. The children were tiny and malnourished, with missing limbs torn by the machinery and sunken chests and eyes. She took them everywhere, expounding the fight against child labor.

Name the bloodiest spots in labor history and likely she was there: Haymarket, Cripple Creek, and when she was almost ninety, the big steel strikes of 1919. Rockefeller had her put in his Arizona prisons, and she told her young guards "The great Standard Oil is certainly afraid of an old woman." And no wonder! She stood up to machine-gunners, talking them out of shooting or threatening them out of it: "Up there in the mountains I have 500 miners. They are marching armed to the meeting I am going to address. If you start shooting, they will finish the game." It was a lie. She had only a handful of unarmed miners, but the trick worked and the meeting was held.

Fought Fakery

It was not only the bosses and their henchmen that Mother Jones took on. Many a time when she came to organize a group of miners, they told her that the president of the union, John Mitchell, and the labor board "told us to educate and agitate but not to organize . . . that was to come later." But there was no "later" for the aging woman. She would swear them into the union then and there, often incurring the wrath of the union heads.

Another time she fought the union leadership when, under the flattery of President Theodore Roosevelt, Mitchell allowed an arbitration board to speak for the



MOTHER JONES heading procession of strikers in Denver.

union, winning a victory "through the back door."

"The operators could have been made to deal with the unions if Mr. Mitchell had stood firm," said Mother Jones. She knew that a direct union victory would have meant much more than any handed-down concessions.

Mother Jones' big fight with Mitchell caused her to leave the ranks of the United Mine Workers for several years. Northern and Southern miners were together in a strike. John Mitchell again succumbed to flattery and pressure and was about to settle for the North, leaving the Southern miners, by far the worst off of the two, desperately isolated.

Mother Jones was working as an itinerant peddler, secretly organizing, when the call came.

"Oh, for God's sake, Mother, come to us — come to us." The caller told her a Louisville convention was assembling to call off the Northern strike.

"That's treachery," said Mother Jones, and she left at once.

When she arrived, a hack from the labor board told her "You must not block the settlement of the Northern miners because John Mitchell wants it, and he pays you."

"Are you through?" came the answer. "Then I am going to tell you that if God Almighty wants this strike called off for his benefit and not for the miners, I am going to raise my voice against it. As to President John paying me — he never payed me a penny in his life. It is the hard earned nickels and dimes of the miners that pay me, and it is their interests that I am going to serve."

"Plead Guilty"

But the Northern strike was voted off, and they turned on Mother Jones and charged her with working for the Western Federation of Miners. "I plead guilty," she answered, "I know no East or West, North or South when it comes to my class fighting the battle for justice. If it is my fortune to live to see the industrial chain broken from every working man's child in America, and if then there is one black child in Africa in bondage, there I shall go."

In 1904-1905, at the age of 75, Mother Jones went to work in the cotton mills of the South, in North Carolina, Georgia, and Selma, Alabama. Again she saw child labor at first hand, the "docile child labor" that management loved to use because "it doesn't strike." And in 1906 she could be found addressing meetings to raise funds for the defense of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone; in 1910, helping to free some Mexican revolutionists against Diaz who were jailed in the States. Mother Jones was a witness on the Mexican question before Congress. Her speeches on these occasions were the model of international solidarity — she never faltered or watered down her line for the "big boys" of the system.

In her eighties and nineties they were still railroading her out of town, and the train conductors were still risking their jobs to smuggle her back in; she was arrested in 1911, when she was

again a UMW organizer in West Virginia, and they sentenced her to twenty years in a military court set up by state militia. But the furor was so great that they had to let her go. She appeared like magic in the midst of the Ludlow massacre and wherever else workingmen were winning or losing.

They tried to turn middle-class women against her by stressing her strong language and by saying she was against suffrage, but she made her real feelings clear one time when she addressed some women who were strong for the vote: she told them they should stand "for free speech in the streets."

"How can we," the women asked, "when we haven't a vote?"

"I have never had a vote," Mother Jones replied, "and I have raised hell all over this country!"

Splendid Landmark

Mother Jones went on to tell the women that she "did not believe in women's rights or men's rights but in human rights . . . Politics is only the servant of industry. The plutocrats have organized their women. They keep them busy with suffrage, and prohibition and charity."

In May 1930, on her 100th birthday, Mother Jones made a militant speech for the new "talking-picture cameras." Congratulations poured in from all over the country, including from John Rockefeller Jr., whom Mother Jones had once met and of whom she had said: "He could not possibly understand the aspirations of the working class. He was as alien as is one species from another; as alien as is stone from wheat."

Six months later, on Nov. 30, 1930, Mother Jones died. She was buried in the United Mine Workers' cemetery in Mount Olive, Ill.

They have tried to obliterate her name, but the historical record remains for the future. Leon Trotsky, in his *Diary*, devoted two days' entries to discussing her and her book. He says he read it with "delight," that "Jones is a heroic American proletarian . . . always sets herself the most moderate aims: more pay and less hours . . . and tries to achieve them by bold and revolutionary means . . . Jones represents a splendid landmark in the history of her class."

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.]

Do socialists consider economic democracy more important than political democracy?

Marxists consider economic and political democracy an indivisible unit. You can't really have one without the other.

Some opponents of socialism try to twist the Marxist materialist outlook into a simple concern with economic well-being without concern for political freedom. They assert that Marxists feel that it is not too important if masses of people suffer a curb on their liberties provided there is an improvement in their standard of living.

In making this false argument, they get an assist from Stalinist-type "theoreticians" who do use a variation of this theme to justify the absence of workers' democracy in the USSR, China and other non-capitalist countries.

Such people falsely assert that while it may be true that the workers in the "socialist" countries do not enjoy some of the liberties permitted under capitalist democracy — free elections, multi-party system, etc. — they still have more freedom than the workers in the capitalist countries because they enjoy "economic democracy."

This is false reasoning. It is true that the people of the Soviet Union, China, etc., have enjoyed an improvement in their standard of living as a result of the abolition of capitalism. This is proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, but it isn't economic democracy.

Economic democracy means the absence of bureaucratic power and bureaucratic privilege. It means that the products of society — be they available in a greater or lesser degree — are produced on the basis of democratic planning and are distributed under democratic control which will en-

sure that there will not be privileges for some and inequities for others.

In sum, to have genuine economic democracy there must also be political democracy, that is, workers' control of production and distribution. Such control can be exercised only through active control of the state apparatus by means of such political organs as workers' councils, political parties, unions, etc.

Under capitalist democracy, an even more far-reaching change is required. To give genuine substance to the very limited and largely fraudulent political democracy, it is necessary to establish economic democracy.

Social Revolution

Apart from the limitations on political democracy in all capitalist countries, the hard fact is that people who work for a living have no economic democracy in the sense of having a decisive voice in their place or condition of employment or in control and distribution of the wealth they produce. (In relation to employment, the only qualifying factor is the degree to which unions are able to impose some curbs on the control of the capitalists.)

So, in summary, to make democracy meaningful and durable in the capitalist countries a social revolution is necessary — that is, a transformation in the ownership, control and method of using the basic means of production.

Meanwhile, in the countries where capitalism has been abolished the great task is to eliminate bureaucratic control of the economy and state and to establish the structured workers' control which will ensure that the great economic advantages of socialist production can provide the basis for an undreamed-of flourishing of freedom: economic, political and — above all — individual.

—Harry Ring

Letters From Our Readers

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

Transport Union History

Bronx, N. Y.

There is no doubt that Mike Quill's fatal heart attack was affected by his militant leadership and example during the recent transit strike. Whether that trade union militancy was a return on his part to his early left-wing days or was a result of TWU rank and

file pressure is debatable. But what is the real story about Mike Quill and what is the real history of the Transport Workers Union? The Worker seems reluctant to tell us about the entire union career of Quill.

There are still some of us left who were early members of TWU and it is our duty to let the younger generation know what really happened so that they can be guided accordingly.

The Transport Workers Union, CIO, was not "founded" by Mike Quill, neither was he one of the six legendary original members as the press claims. The TWU was organized as an independent union by six or more members of the Harlem branch of the Communist Party about 1934. Its first concentration was the 145th Street IRT repair shop in Harlem. At that time, Quill worked as a "ticket agent" or railroad clerk while the first members of the union from the industry came from the IRT shop in Harlem.

Mike Quill was certainly not the first president of TWU. A man named Tom Shea was the first president of TWU. Shea later testified about the origin of the union before the House Un-American Activities Committee. As the union began to grow slowly, Mike Quill joined it and because of his outstanding ability and working class militancy at that time, he soon replaced Shea as president. In 1937 the TWU got a charter from the CIO and overnight became a mass union, under the leadership of Quill and some others who were Communists.

Writing about Quill, Jan. 30, the *New York Journal American* states: "At one time he was called 'Red Mike' because of his close association with the Communists but he ultimately forced Communists from his union. He never was a Communist himself."

I leave it to anybody who was active in Marxist politics in New York City in the 30's to answer correctly whether Quill was ever actually a member of the Communist Party.

Quill broke with many of his early associates in 1948 and expelled many of them from the union on the grounds they were Communists. What happened to Quill himself after that? At his death, he was making \$27,000 with expenses, lived in a high rent apartment in an area where no TWU member could afford to live and owned a summer place in the Caribbean. The TWU became his personal property. He was deified in its newspaper. He never led a subway strike until this year when the unity of the strikers gained them twice the increases they had received previously.

On the same day that the *New York Times* printed Quill's obituary, Jan. 29, it also printed a statement of Joseph O'Grady, retiring Chairman of the Transit Authority. He stated: "However, in the ten years that I have been with the Authority, Mike (Quill) and the union he heads, have been very realistic and cooperative in solving many of our problems and effectuating an economical and efficient operation." O'Grady might have added that the "economical" and "efficient operation" that Quill cooperated in came out of the sweat and hard labor of the subway workers of the TWU.

Without going into the background of the factional fight that split the left wing in the TWU in 1948, one can still make certain observations from experiences that took place.

1) The salary of a union official

should be limited to the top salary of the highest paid worker in the industry. Proper expenses can be paid. Only when a union official lives like a worker will he continue to think and act like one.

2) To prevent "pie-cardism," the Wobblies advocated rotating the leadership. This is not always good as you do need some experienced leadership. A union official should be limited to two terms of office like the President of the United States. This will keep the union led by collective leadership and not a cult of personality.

3) Some union officials have access to large sums of money from the union to make necessary "deals" for the good of the union sometimes. Many become "wheeler dealers" primarily and lose their radical idealism and perspective.

4) Even the best of Marxists can become corrupted by too much power. It was a mistake for the Communist Party to dissolve its trade union branches and transfer the rank and file party members to neighborhood branches. This took the heat off the officials who soon acted independently of the party and the rank and file.

5) One of the major weaknesses of the American Marxist movement since its inception, is its failure to build itself among the key Catholic working class. The

Communist Party managed to build a good cadre in TWU but it never became a larger one. No union official or union member was known as an "open" Communist. Communist union officials prevented the sale of the *Daily Worker* outside TWU meetings. The successful lessons in the TWU of organizing some Catholic workers in the CP did not become the common property of the party leadership and membership generally.

6) A leading TWU Communist should have been detached and assigned to inner party work in other fields.

7) Because the CP cadre was so small, it was "afraid" of the membership. The Transport Workers Union elects its international officers by the delegate system, not by the direct voting system where the rank and file votes itself for the high official jobs. It has been that way since the beginning. Quill used that gimmick to eliminate his old associates in 1948.

What happens to the TWU now? Mike Quill saw to it that his choice of successor would take over if anything happened to him by having the union Constitution changed so the secretary-treasurer would become president. The new president will be Matt Guinan who would be the first to deny he was a "founder" of TWU. He came from the old Third Avenue

Railway Line, when it was the hotbed of the Coughlinites and Christian Front and the most difficult company for the union to organize. Guinan became a paid TWU official in 1943, not 1937 when the CIO was launched. It is significant that Quill chose Guinan as his successor instead of some of the other TWU officials who were once radicals.

Guinan is faced with the threat of the fast growing "Air Transport" division of the union which almost equals the membership of the subway and bus drivers (Guinan's base), and wants more representation in the top leadership and its own union newspaper.

Negroes now make up about one-third of TWU's New York membership but they are not represented anywhere near that percentage at any level of the leadership.

When I look back at the real history of Mike Quill and the TWU, I think of what might have been. But I am comforted by the thought that the rank and file is on the march forward.

X.C.P.

P.S. I am sorry I can't sign my name.

[Because we feel the information and views contained in this letter are of special interest we have made an exception to the rules of brevity regulating this column.—EDITOR.]

10 Years Ago In The Militant

WESTINGHOUSE STRIKE NEEDS ALL-OUT HELP — The Westinghouse strike has entered its sixteenth week with no sign of a break on either side. This giant corporation has set its course toward a humiliating defeat for the electrical workers unions. Big Business generally views this as an extremely important probing operation against the newly-merged labor movement. Standing as the first line of defense are 55,000 Westinghouse workers who have withstood everything this corporation has thrown at them and have become all the more militant and determined.

The principle issue of the strike is the demand of the company to have unreserved right to speed-up and rationalize its production without regard to its effect upon the workers involved.

To other mass production industries busily introducing automation or on the verge of doing so this issue is of paramount interest and concern. That is why Westinghouse is getting wide cooperation and aid in its war against the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers and the independent United Electrical Workers.—Feb. 6, 1956.

20 Years Ago

WHY GIs IN CHINA REFUSE TO BACK CHIANG'S REGIME — GIs in the Far East are demanding immediate return home. One of the reasons they give is opposition to being used as tools in bolstering up the dictatorial regime of Chiang Kai-shek in China. These GIs speak from first-hand experience. What they have observed about Chiang's rule can be judged from the following report by Edward Rorbaught of the United Press:

"While a representative of Chiang Kai-shek conferred with Communist (Stalinist) delegates in Chungking, his planes strafed farmers, boatmen and townspeople in and near this city well above the Yangtze in New Fourth Army territory. I saw a P-47 bearing a Kuomintang star blast a cottage by the grand canal, half a mile ahead of me on the outskirts of the city.

"The people had seen American fighter planes before; they had seen these planes in the air fighting Japs. But never had American guns been directed against them, and they stood in the canal road, motionless, unconscious of the fact that those guns carried death for them. Their brown faces were steeped in bewilderment and incredulity, and their helplessness against American-made power in the air was the helplessness of Ethiopians against Mussolini's feats."—Feb. 9, 1946.

It Was Reported in the Press

Southern View — The Associated Press recently reported that a Soviet youth publication had printed Lenin's letter to Stalin of March 25, 1923 demanding that he apologize for an act of rudeness to Lenin's wife, Natasha Krupskaya. The AP dispatch was published by the Greenville, S.C., *News* under this headline: "Claim Stalin, Lenin Fussed Over Woman."

Science vs. Theology — The controversial "God is dead" theory currently being advanced by some theologians was blasted by the College of Bishops of the South-eastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. They declared that the theory was not only unsound from a religious viewpoint, but also "pure fantasy, unsupported by any scientific knowledge."

Note to Parents — If you've been irritated by the hard sell the TV hucksters direct at junior, be advised that you probably haven't seen anything yet. The Madison Avenue giant, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, has formed a new unit devoted to marketing to children. B.B.D.&O. President Dillon said: "We believe that the children's market, encompassing some 40 million youngsters from four to 12 years of age, has been considerably neglected from a marketing point of view."

Kentucky Feud Settled — A Miss Oopie Renau of Celina, Tenn., has agreed to let the sheriff keep the local jail until he gets a new one built. She bought it at public action for \$35. She intends to salvage the brick and use the cell bars for fence gates. She had threatened to tear the lock off the jail and release its four prisoners if it weren't turned over to her within 60 days as stipulated when she bought it. But the sheriff persuaded her to give him an extension. The sheriff said of the 96-year-old jail, "If it's not the worst jail in America,

I don't know where you'll find the other one."

Dissents on Alcoholic Training — We recently reported the view of a Harvard psychiatrist that children should be taught to drink in school so that they could better hold their liquor as adults. In fairness we should also report the contrary thinking of an Ohio medical official who says children should be lectured on the evils of the demon rum from an early age because, he says, most alcoholics begin drinking when they're young.

Ignores Guideline — Pennsylvania's Governor Scranton apparently hasn't heard of President Johnson's 3.2 percent wage guideline. He just signed a bill to give a \$5,000-a-year wage hike to the state's 243 judges. The increases range near the 20 percent bracket.

No Chicken Feed — According to the Montgomery, Ala., *Advertiser*, a "Shorty" and Delores Rice are planning to run for the offices

of U. S. Senator and Governor respectively. Price opined that anyone with \$500,000 or more on hand could purchase the governor's chair. Therefore, he declared, "Delores and I have decided that we will not accept anything less than a \$10 bill as a campaign contribution. We are too busy to be picking up nickels and dimes."

Cultivated Too — In case you've been wondering whatever happened to Douglas Dillon, you'll be glad to know that the former Secretary of the Treasury is now a director of the Chase Manhattan Bank, an outfit that deals in the kind of money he's accustomed to. (Assets, \$15.3 billion.) He also heads up the investment banking house founded by his dad. Under Eisenhower, Dillon was ambassador to France and while there apparently soaked up some local culture. The *New York Times* reports that his several residences include a chateau in France and that he's a connoisseur of wine.

—Harry Ring

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"When more and more people are thrown out of work, unemployment results." — Calvin Coolidge

Socialist Party Divides on Vietnam

Negotiations vs. Withdrawal Issue

By Harry Ring

The Vietnam war and the discussion within the antiwar movement has led to a division within the Socialist Party. Along with SANE and the Communist Party, the Socialist Party stands in the right wing of the antiwar movement, refusing to support the demand to bring the U. S. troops home at once. The SP leadership insists on counterposing a call for negotiations to the demand for immediate U. S. withdrawal. This position has now provoked an opposition within the party.

The issue will be resolved by a membership referendum, according to a report in the Dec. 18 issue of the party paper, *New America*. Two motions are being presented to the membership — one for negotiations, the other for immediate withdrawal. The negotiations motion is being presented by Norman Thomas and has already been adopted as official policy by the party's national committee.

The motion favoring immediate withdrawal is described as the "Oppenheimer resolution" as "updated and rewritten by NC members Saul Mendelson and Debbie Meier."

The party position, as presented in the Thomas motion, makes clear that while the party leaders would like to see an end to the war, they don't want to see it end in a way that would be a defeat for the Johnson administration which Thomas and most of the SP leaders support as part of their "coalition" policy of working in the Democratic Party.

The resolution states: "The Socialist Party calls for an end to the war in Vietnam. We urge the



Norman Thomas

president and the U. S. government to propose an immediate cease-fire and a prompt beginning of negotiations convened by the Geneva nations of 1954 or by the United Nations, in which all parties concerned, including the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong, take part."

In an accompanying statement to the motion, Thomas explains why he is against U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam. "A simple withdrawal of American forces," he declares, "would almost certainly mean a Communist military victory..."

"We have to recognize the existence of the Vietcong and the reason for its existence," he adds, "but we are not Communists and we are aware of Vietcong's type

of terrorism. We do not want to go out of our way to add strength to a Chinese imperial communism (or to a Russian) in Southeast Asia and that would be the effect of simple withdrawal."

The withdrawal motion is based on two considerations: 1) The negotiations position does not square with the principle of self-determination for all nations. 2) Prosecution of wars such as the one the U. S. is waging in Vietnam is not the way to defeat Communism.

The resolution proposes: "The Socialist Party unequivocally condemns the present policy of the U. S. government in Vietnam... we favor an orderly and unconditional withdrawal of American men and materials of war from the Vietnam area, beginning immediately."

The resolution adds: "Our policy has served to resolidify the support of both the Soviet Union and Communist China for North Vietnam and has played directly into the hands of extreme elements of the Communist side."

U. S. policy, it says, "can increase popular support for the Vietcong and the National Liberation Front. It can increase North Vietnam and the NLF's dependence upon Communist China. It can generally solidify the Communist bloc."

Finally it asserts: "Communism cannot be contained by military might and by U. S. support for self-styled 'anti-Communist' despots around the world, or by the U. S. in effect substituting itself for any viable domestic south Vietnamese alternative to the totalitarianism."

Discussion in the pages of *New America* indicates some degree of support for the withdrawal position on the basis of respecting the principle of self-determination, although there is no public indication that anyone in the party supports the struggle of the south Vietnamese masses for freedom as expressed in the National Liberation Front guerrilla movement.

Striking St. John's Teachers Stick Tough, Rally Support

By Stephen Hillary

NEW YORK, Feb. 1 — The strike at St. John's University is now in its second month with no sign of settlement in sight. The administration has not only refused to discuss reinstatement of the 31 fired faculty but has taken the additional step of threatening the jobs of those teachers who have supported the strike by their refusal to return to class until their colleagues are reinstated.

On Jan. 28, the picket lines were swelled by more than 200 students who responded to the call of the National Student Association, (NSA) protesting the lack of academic freedom at St. Johns. In addition to supporting the faculty demands for academic freedom, an NSA resolution noted the restrictions imposed by the University on the political activities of students. The university maintains strict control over student clubs as well as all speakers invited to the campus.

The striking teachers have received considerable support from trade unionists in the New York area. More than 20 members of the recently formed taxi-drivers union (AFL-CIO) were on the line as well as workers from local 1199 of the Hospital Workers Union, the Transport Workers Union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the United Federation of Teachers (UFT).

Douglas MacMahon, International Vice President of the TWU, marched with members of his union and told this reporter that his local had contributed \$500 to the strikers and would give more if needed. Rudy Abt, president of TWU Local 101 also marched and indicated that his local had also contributed to the strike fund.

Taxicab driver William Craig

said, "It's part of our fight because we are in the labor movement and when it comes to a union, there's no difference between cabdrivers and teachers."

Dr. Israel Kugler, president of the United Federation of College Teachers, when asked about the prospects for winning the strike, said, "We plan to win, but if we don't, the university will go down the drain." He also discussed four resolutions passed at a Delegate Assembly of the UFT on Jan. 26 at the Statler Hilton hotel. They include:

- \$25,000 in interest-free loans to fired teachers repayable Oct. 1966.

- Systematic weekly collection aiming at \$10,000 per week for the teachers.

- UFT members will not cooperate with any student-teacher from the St. John's student-teacher program.

- No UFT member will take any course at St. Johns.

In addition Kugler told this reporter: "The union has urged the fired teachers to take part-time jobs only and it would provide \$75 per week in strike benefits plus \$15 for each dependent."

Some of the fired faculty are still receiving their salary for the duration of their contracts although they are not permitted to teach. Two such people, preferring to remain unknown, said that they were giving all their salary, as well as any money they earned on part-time jobs, to the strike fund and would only take the \$75.00 per week in strike benefits. One of these people commented, "As long as I'm in this thing I don't see why I should receive more than anyone else."

Joseph Johnson on Tour To Fight Deportation

By Paul Eidsvik

MINNEAPOLIS — The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson has announced plans to expand nationally and to send Johnson on a national tour to explain his case. Johnson, a native-born American and a socialist, has been ordered deported by the Immigration Service.

The tour, which will start in Denver, Colo., on Feb. 6, will cover most of the major cities in the United States. Johnson will travel from Denver to the West Coast and from there will swing through the South, the East Coast, and back through the Midwest.

Cities Slated

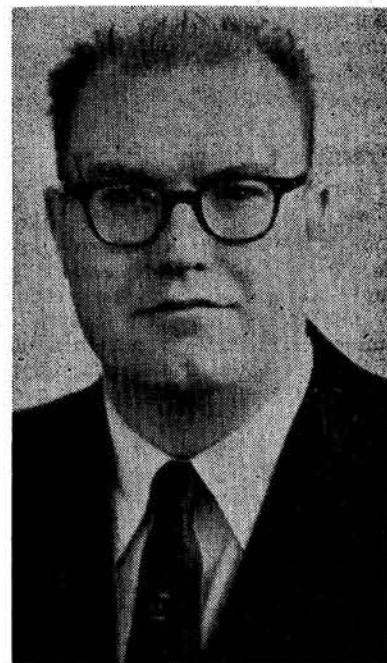
The itinerary so far includes Denver, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Tucson, Albuquerque, Austin, Houston, New Orleans, Tallahassee, Atlanta, Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Newark, Boston, Syracuse, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, and Des Moines.

Johnson, the Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, has been declared "stateless" and ordered deported by the U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service for having allegedly participated in Canadian elections as a young man. He is one of the first "stateless" persons in American history and one of the few native Americans ever threatened with deportation.

The case against him began in May, 1964. There have been four hearings by the Immigration Service. The last hearing resulted in the Jan. 11 deportation order. This decision was immediately appealed and the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C. will hear the appeal probably sometime in the late spring.

Many Issues

Since there are many moral and constitutional issues involved in the case, the defense intends, if this decision is unfavorable, to



Joseph Johnson

appeal the deportation order into the federal courts, and if necessary to the U.S. Supreme Court. The defense holds that Johnson is being persecuted for his socialist political beliefs, and further, that this attempt to deport a native born American and make him a "stateless" person is unconstitutional.

Labor Attorney

Johnson is being defended by Douglas Hall, a well known Minneapolis labor attorney, and by Leonard Boudin, the eminent constitutional authority provided for the case by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson urgently needs funds. If you would like to help arrange meetings for Johnson on his tour in your city, or would like to join the committee, write the committee at P.O. Box 8731, North Star Build., Minneapolis, Minn. 55402.

Morse Rips 'Outlaw' War

During a nationwide CBS television debate with four colleagues, Democratic Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon made a blistering attack Jan. 30 on administration foreign policy that is bound to reverberate through the country at this critical turn in the Vietnam war. Morse declared that the American people were being denied the facts about the war as the German people were denied the facts under Hitler. He said that the U.S. is "the major aggressor" and an "international outlaw" without "a scintilla of international right" in conducting its "unilateral war."

He challenged Johnson to make public a series of documents on the Southeast Asian situation locked in the safe of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"Let the administration tell us what they've been doing in Thailand," he went on. Thailand is the site of bases from which air strikes on north Vietnam have been launched.

Briefed in Hong Kong

Morse disclosed that the senatorial delegation he headed was briefed in Hong Kong and told that further escalation would leave China no alternative but to come into the conflict. He intimated that this would be welcomed by some "preventive warriors" in the Pentagon.

He stated that no major country in Asia supported the U.S. war and that other nations merely

gave lip service to it. He pointed to the secret Mansfield report which concluded that if the United States did not settle the affair by negotiation, the alternative prospect was "a continuation of the conflict in the direction of a general war on the Asian mainland."

The President ought to request Congress for a declaration of war, Morse said, "if he wants to take hundreds of thousands of Ameri-

can boys to their death." The administration refuses to make this request, Morse explained, because it knows that the U.S. couldn't enforce a declaration of war. Its own allies, for example, would not discontinue shipments to north Vietnam. Furthermore, if bombs were dropped on Hanoi and Haiphong, Russians might be killed and Russian ships sunk which would bring the USSR directly into the conflict.

Checked Soviet Reaction

Morse reported that he was among a group of congressmen who visited the Russian ambassador. Morse asked what the reaction of the Soviet Union would be if the United States should bomb the nuclear installations of the Chinese. The Russian ambassador responded, said Morse, by asking him if he could give the date when this would occur. The implication, from the context in which Morse put it, was that if the United States attacks China, the Soviet Union would have no choice but to back its Chinese ally to the hilt. This would signify the beginning of World War III.

Morse agreed with his fellow senators that the U.S. can't get out of Vietnam. He wants to halt the projected escalation and bring other nations in by referring the issue to the UN Security Council for "arbitration." He would prefer to have Asia policed by an international force rather than by the United States alone.



Lies like Hitler?