

Corporations Rake In Record-High Profits

Meanwhile Vietnam War Toll Mounts

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 15 — As the war in Vietnam continues to grow, there are three things which are going to grow along with it: casualties, prices and profits. In January, total American casualties including dead, wounded and missing was over 1,200, bringing the total number of deaths for the whole war over the 2,000 mark; the wholesale price index made the largest jump in the course of the war; and U. S. corporations marked all-time record profits.

The January casualty figures do not include the losses in the largest American ground troop operation of the war, which was just beginning Jan. 25. This is the battle of Anlao Valley, variously dubbed "Operation Masher" and "Operation White Wing," 285 miles northeast of Saigon, where 20,000 U. S. and allied troops are engaged. First reports of U. S. casualties in this operation show 91 Americans killed in the past week alone.

The jump in the wholesale price index in January was the third jump in the last three months, and is considered by most economists to be the most accurate indication of inflationary pressures in the economy.

Huge Profits

Wholesale prices of farm products and processed foods, particularly meat prices, rose considerably from December to January, and are now nine percent higher than a year ago, according to the Feb. 14 *New York Times*. Wholesale egg prices have risen 25 percent in the last year.

There is a lag between increases in wholesale prices and increases in consumer prices, but it is certain that retail food prices will rise sharply in the near future as a result of the increasing wholesale prices. While the wholesale price of food climbed one percent from December to January, for instance, the retail price of food, beginning to catch up with it, rose .8 percent. Anything like a nine percent increase in food prices to consumers, would totally wipe out the effects of wage increases for the last year.

A study of 20 cities taken in 1959, as an example, which is published in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1963*, shows that about 30 percent of the income of city workers' families is spent on food. This means that an increase of nine percent in retail food prices would cause roughly a three percent increase in the amount of their income city workers would have to spend on food.

But average weekly earnings of workers in manufacturing industries only climbed three percent in the last year.

If the city worker continued to



Photo by Jean Simon

THE LITTLEST PICKET. Young man joins in Cleveland protest against the escalation of the Vietnam war.

buy the same amount of food he had bought the previous year, and there was a nine percent increase in food prices, it would leave him with no increase at all in the real value of his income; and that's not to take into consideration increases in other prices which are already rising, like cars, rents, and so forth.

But the Johnson administration has not done a single thing to prevent this inflation of consumer prices; in fact the main thing Johnson has said about inflationary dangers, is that workers have to stick to the 3.2 percent wage guideline — a guideline that is intended to keep their wages under the inflationary increases in prices.

At the very same time, Johnson and his business friends have boasted about the record-breaking corporation profits.

One example that they cite over and over again, is the profits of the largest American corporation, General Motors — which jumped a whopping 23 percent in 1965, and netted GM the grand total profit of over \$2.1 billion. General Motors is no exception.

In his State of the Union message, Johnson crowed over the glutted profits the big capitalists accrued last year, profits which he said averaged 20 percent higher than in 1964.

The war in Vietnam is good for big business. But the ordinary American is going to pay the costs of the war. Inflation will cut into the workers' standard of living, and their sons will be the ones to die in the rice paddies of Vietnam. You would think Johnson would be ashamed to admit what a boon his war is for his capitalist friends.

SUPPORT SOUTHERN ACTION

1,000 New Yorkers Protest War

NEW YORK — About a thousand people attended a rally against the war in Vietnam held on Feb. 12 at the St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie Church at Second Avenue and 10th St. Demonstrations against the war to be held in the South on Feb. 12, Lincoln's Birthday, were first decided on at the Thanksgiving antiwar conference in Washington. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was the main force in organizing these in the South, as well as in organizing this supporting demonstration here.

About half of the demonstrators, mainly high school and college students, marched from Bryant Park at Sixth Ave. and 42nd St. to the church. They carried signs saying: "Get Out of Vietnam," and chanted: "Hey! Hey! LBJ! How many kids did you kill today?"

Julian Bond, the SNCC leader who was refused his seat in the Georgia legislature because of his

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Behind Mississippi's Barracks Move-In

By David Prince

GREENVILLE, Miss., Feb. 4 — The widely-publicized occupation of the Greenville Air Base on Jan. 31 and Feb. 1 grew out of a poor people's conference held in Mt. Benlah, Miss. Jan. 28-30.

The conference was called by the Freedom Democratic Party and the Freedom Labor Union and the Delta Ministry. Seven hundred people attended, 50 of whom had left the plantations permanently.

Hunger, and seeking direct action to obtain food, was the main issue of the conference. Two people have died of starvation this year. There are children bloated from hunger and young men and women emaciated and sick from malnutrition.

In Mississippi, the median income for Negroes in the Delta is \$456 a year. A Negro baby's chances of dying in its first year are twice those of a white baby's. While \$1.5 million in anti-poverty funds were given to the state to distribute \$24 million worth of surplus commodities in a six-month program, none have been distributed.

The conference discussed tactics for getting food. One was to go to Washington. But the poor had no money to go to Washington and nothing had been gained from other trips to Washington. A second tactic was to demonstrate where there was food stored and break in if necessary. Dealing with local welfare had been tried and failed.

"Operation Help"

It was resolved to have an advance guard break into and occupy the Greenville Air Force Base and for others to go back to their counties and organize to bring people to Greenville during the week.

The Air Force base was formerly a jet training area. It has not been used by the air force in a year. It includes 30 apartments,

which a local news story says will be deeded to the state.

Sixty people rushed the base, broke in, and occupied a building. They placed a sign on the door: "This is our home — knock before entering." Others came before the confrontation with the U.S. military.

The Poor People's Conference at the base demanded food, jobs, job training, income, and land. They wanted "Operation Help," the state welfare project, to be stopped, because "we don't want the Mississippi county board of supervisors to have another chance to decide whether poor people should get food."

Kicked Out

Instead of food, 150 Air Force police were flown in from as far away as Denver to evict the Negroes. The only reason the Air Force gave for the eviction was that there was no running water or fire protection — houses all over Mississippi can be described like that.

"We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration," said Mrs. Ida Mac Lawrence of Rosedale, chairman of her local Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. "But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things [surplus commodities] be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we were asking that the poor people be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we were asking, we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."

A Tent City was set up in Tribbett. "Because of the fact that we were refused by the federal government and evicted, it's important that we start planning our own government," said Mr. Isaac Foster of Tribbett, a leader of last spring's strike of plantation workers, at a press conference on the

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Pickets to Greet LBJ in New York

NEW YORK — There will be a massive anti-Vietnam war demonstration here Feb. 23 when President Johnson appears in New York to receive a "freedom award" at a Freedom House dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria.

The award to be given Johnson is inscribed: "Lyndon B. Johnson — Freedom at home was never more widely shared nor aggression more wisely resisted than under his leadership."

Picketing will begin at 6:30 p.m. Wed., Feb. 23 at the Waldorf, 49th St. and Park Avenue. A rally will follow nearby at which a freedom award will be given to Julian Bond. The demonstration is sponsored by the Feb. 23 Demonstration Committee, A. J. Muste, chairman, 5 Beekman St., N. Y., telephone BA 7-6960.

Alony, Rev. Vincent Hawkinson, James Beck, Asst. Prof. of Physiology, and Larry Siegle, chairman of the Committee. Siegle called for the immediate withdrawal of all American troops.

"Some people have become concerned," he said, "that the withdrawal will not be carried out in an 'orderly' manner. We don't usually get involved in military questions, but it seems to me that the withdrawal of troops has the potential of being the most successful American operation of the entire war."

CLEVELAND — The Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a demonstration in front of Public Auditorium, where Vice-President Hubert Humphrey was speaking to the 50th annual convention of the National Association of Secondary School Principals on Feb. 7. It was supported by a group from Jomo "Freedom"

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Speakers at the rally were: Zev

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

General Secretary-Treasurer Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, is one of the tiny handful of union leaders opposing the pro-war stand adopted at the recent national AFL-CIO convention.

Rosenblum stated his opposition at the 25th anniversary banquet of the ACWA Central States Joint Board in Detroit. Before an audience of 450 he declared, "We are faced with total destruction because there can be no more winners in a war in the classical sense."

"Peace is the paramount issue today," he continued, "and the courage of Labor's early days needs to be rekindled if we are to achieve it. The important thing today is to take our stand for peace and challenge the forces of reaction."

Rosenblum praised active opponents of the war in Vietnam, and commented, "The students of this country are doing an excellent job, but they don't have enough support. The AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco did not give them the support I am expressing now."

Meanwhile, the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), has launched a campaign to popularize and support the dirty war in Vietnam. Union leaders are asking the rank and file to contribute a dollar a month to a special fund to aid refugees of the war in South Vietnam.

It would be a far better thing for these labor fakers to raise money for the union's strike fund instead of for a phoney union foreign aid program. Some 125,000 IUE workers face the possibility of a strike later this year

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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BOSTON

WHICH WAY FOR THE NEW LEFT. Panel discussion: Prof. Howard Zinn of Boston University; Hal Beninson of Harvard SDS; Judy White of the YSA. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING. Speakers: Milton Henry, on Malcolm X's Meaning to Black People; George Breitman on Malcolm X's Place in History; Chairman: O. Lee Molette. Plus The Wit and Wisdom of Malcolm X, taped selections of speeches by Malcolm X. Fri., Feb. 25 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

PROTEST THE DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS AGAINST JOSEPH JOHNSON! Hear Joseph Johnson, American-born "man without a country." Fri., Feb. 25, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St., Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Tues., March 1, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., March 2, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

WHAT MAKES HUMAN NATURE? Speaker: Evelyn Reed, socialist writer on anthropology. Fri., Feb. 25, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

INVITATION TO AN INQUEST: A Review of the Book on the Rosenberg-Sobell Case. Speaker: Paul Eidsvik. Fri., Feb. 25, 8:30 p.m. Rm. 240, 704 Hennepin Ave., Mpls. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

when contracts with General Electric and Westinghouse expire.

Another pro-war union leader, Thomas Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association recently returned from Vietnam. He left behind several ILA leaders who will attempt to organize a speed-up campaign against Saigon dock workers who are handling the mountains of war materials flowing into the port city.

Gleason's role of lackey for the military brass in Vietnam is just a continuation of his function as a stooge for American stevedoring companies. An example is his current attempt to victimize Baltimore longshoremen who are opposing company efforts to eliminate jobs.

On Jan. 28, 1,000 members of Baltimore Local 829 went on a 12-day wildcat strike which was authorized by local president Joseph Cain. One of the strikers' demands was that they be given the same guarantee of 1,600 hours work a year that New York dockers are supposed to receive. Another demand was for larger work gangs to handle the unloading of pig iron at Sparrows Point, Md.

Gleason responded to these demands by placing Local 829 under trusteeship and suspending Joseph Cain.

Although the strike is now over, pro-war, pro-boss Gleason is continuing his investigation of phoney charges against strike leaders which could result in their being permanently driven off the waterfront.

Wage increases won by New York City transit workers in their recent strike have been ruled "illegal" by New York State Supreme Court Judge Irving H. Saypol. The decision was based on a suit filed by George Weinstein, a Queens attorney, which charged violation of the Condon-Wadlin Act.

Anti-labor Judge Saypol attacked the Transport Workers Union and the Amalgamated Transit Union and complained that the New York Transit Authority "submitted to illegally extorted demands," in the January strike.

The court ruling against the settlement came at the same time that the two unions announced rank and file workers had voted 15,683 to 2,170 in favor of the contract. Some 40,000 transit workers were involved in the strike.

A new strike threat against the country's railroads is in the offing when a two year compulsory arbitration law passed by Congress two years ago expires on March 30.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (BLFE) has already served contract notices with the railroad industry, which includes over 170 companies.

The anti-labor compulsory arbitration award has been a boon to profiteering railroads. Its primary provisions allowed the companies to eliminate the jobs of some 17,000 firemen on phony featherbedding charges. In addition, thousands of other workers suffered pay and seniority losses.

At issue in current negotiations are thousands of more jobs. Six of the country's railroads, for example, still employ nearly 15,000 firemen whose jobs are at stake.

BLFE President H. E. Gilbert said the union is prepared to do "whatever is necessary to do, including the calling of a strike," if an agreement with the railroads is not reached by March 31.

—Tom Leonard

POLICE GIVE TESTIMONY

Malcolm X Murder Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — A series of detectives and technical witnesses have testified during the past week in the trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm X. The most important piece of evidence to emerge from all this testimony is the identification of a fingerprint of Talmadge Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagan, one of the defendants, on a crude device set aflame in the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the shooting.

Roland B. Wallace, a 38-year-old member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, testified on Feb. 10 that he had just reentered the ballroom at the rear when shots rang out. Then his attention was attracted to a burning "smoke bomb." It was near a window at the rear on the right side facing the stage. Someone poured water on it and put it out.

Detective John J. Keeley testified that he found the wet device, a man's sock stuffed with matches and other material, later in the afternoon of Feb. 21, 1965 near where Wallace had seen it. He turned it over to Detective Edward Meagher who examined it for finger prints and other evidence.

Meagher took the witness stand next and said he found a usable fingerprint on a piece of unraveled film that was in the sock. He found no usable fingerprints on the shotgun or .45 caliber automatic that have been entered into evidence thus far in the trial.

Detective Robert Meyer testified on Feb. 11 that the fingerprint on the film and one taken

Slate N.Y. Memorial For Malcolm X

A memorial meeting for Malcolm X will be held on the first anniversary of his death, Monday evening, February 21, from 7 to 10 p.m. at P.S. 175, 178 W. 135th St. (between Seventh and Lenox Avenues) in New York City. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Malcolm X Memorial Committee, c/o Sylvester Leaks, 410 W. 110 St. The sponsors of the committee include such figures as James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, and John Lewis.

from the left thumb of Hayer were "one and the same."

Dr. Milton Helpert, the city's chief medical examiner, took the stand the same day and described the results of the autopsy he had performed on the body of Malcolm X. The cause of death was multiple gunshot and bullet wounds in the chest, heart and aorta, he said. Malcolm X was hit by eight shotgun slugs and nine bullets from .45 caliber and 9 mm guns. The evidence indicated he was hit by the shotgun slugs while standing and by bullets from the other weapons while prone.

On Feb. 14 Detective James A. Scaringe, a ballistics expert, described a great many slugs and shells found at the scene of the assassination. Aside from the

... Move-In in Mississippi

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evening of Feb. 1. "From nothing we must start building a new country, with our own laws, our own enforcement . . . Our goal is leading away from depending on the system for anything."

Mrs. Lawrence said, "See, you can only accept poor people by being poor and really knowing

what being poor is like. And all that stuff about poverty programs and federal funds. That's out for poor people."

"We will be sending telegrams to other nations, including African nations, for support," said Mrs. Unita Blackwell of Mayersville, a member of the FDP executive committee.

The first challenge to the Tent City came on Feb. 3 at 8 p.m. when three shots were fired at the city. The citizens took up arms and searched for the culprits, but they had escaped. At 1 a.m. the same night two white men tried to draw a young girl away. They were captured by the people and questioned, but when nothing was found they were released.

The Greenville Air Force base occupation revealed and inspired the militancy which exists here. Another interesting thing is that a deep anti-Vietnam-war sentiment exists. The people feel it is a white man's war. It is not uncommon to hear talk of the boy down the block who was killed in Vietnam last week. The statements by SNCC and Julian Bond against the war and for struggle at home have increased this sentiment.

Contributions may be sent to the Poor Peoples Fund, P.O. Box 457, Greenville, Miss.

N.Y. Vietnam Forum To Hear Chas. Howard

NEW YORK — Joseph Kay, chairman of the New York Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now, announced Feb. 11 that the committee will hold a panel discussion on "Why We Should Get Out of Vietnam," Friday, Feb. 18, at 8 p.m. in the Century Ballroom of the Woodstock Hotel, 127 W. 43 St. Speakers will include: William Hall, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Charles P. Howard, distinguished journalist; Jane McManus, of the National Guardian; and Felix McGowan, member of the Organizing Committee.

The Organizing Committee is a group of independent committees and individuals who feel that a nation-wide movement must be built to demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. It is one of many similar groups across the country whose work is co-ordinated through the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter. For further information write to the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now, Box 387, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

Announce Queens Antiwar Rally

NEW YORK — The Queens Committee to End the War in Vietnam will hold a demonstration and rally on Saturday, Feb. 19. Beginning at 1 p.m. they will picket the draft board at 41-25 Kissena Blvd., Flushing. At 3 o'clock, following the picketing, the committee will sponsor a rally at John Browne High School, 63-25 Main St., Flushing.

three types mentioned above, three .32 caliber bullets were found near the ballroom office door.

On the morning of Feb. 9 the second "secret" witness of the trial gave his testimony. The court was cleared of spectators and reporters before he appeared. Reportedly this witness is an FBI agent who was given the .45 caliber automatic that Hayer is alleged to have used by the first "secret" witness.

According to reliable sources the first "secret" witness testified on Feb. 3 that he picked up the .45 at the Audubon ballroom and turned it over to the FBI. He identified Norman (3X) Butler and at least one of the two other defendants.

Detective Ferdinand Cavallaro, who was originally in charge of the investigation, was questioned at length about a list of 119 names of the people questioned concerning the case when he testified on Feb. 9.

During his cross-examination by Hayer's attorney, Cavallaro mentioned that Reuben Francis, who was indicted for shooting Hayer but later disappeared, had been rearrested on Feb. 2, 1966 in Assistant District Attorney Dermody's office.

A spokesman for the district attorney's office said that Francis had been picked up by the FBI. He had forfeited \$10,000 bail; and was now being held on \$25,000 bail. A spokesman for the FBI denied any knowledge of Francis.

The number of spectators at the trial has dwindled over the weeks. Spectators are still being subjected to the practice of being frisked each time they enter the courtroom.

... Protests

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Kenyatta House, the Youngstown and Kent CEWVs and others.

The demonstrators, 150 strong, carried signs reading "Bring the Troops Home Now," "Support the GI's, Bring Them Home," and "Principals, Where Are Your Principles." Next to the demonstrators marched a counter-picket of 23 Young Americans For Freedom.

Cleveland Mounted Police refused to protect the CCEWV demonstrators or arrest the YAF's or principals when they tore picket signs, ripped leaflets, and punched, pushed, and shoved the demonstrators. One person was even trampled by a police horse.

The behavior of the principals was even worse. They spit at the demonstrators, called them "sluts," "filthy pigs," and "Commies." When one principal attacked a student who was distributing leaflets the police held the student for questioning while they spirited away the principal — no doubt to help him avoid any "unwarranted" publicity.

KENT, Ohio — The Kent Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a demonstration at Kent State University here on Feb. 3 protesting the renewed bombing of North Vietnam. More than 30 students and members of the faculty participated in the demonstration.

Signs carried by the demonstrators read: "Stop the War in Vietnam Now," "Bring the Troops Home Now" and "Fight Your Own War, Johnson, McNamara and Company."

The KCEWV held a similar demonstration in the community in front of the post office on Feb. 5. There were about 45 people on the picket line, including some members of the Cleveland and Youngstown CEWVs. Demonstrators were aided by townspeople who used the mail box in front of the post office. After dropping their letters in the mailbox some of them joined the pickets briefly.

Malcolm X: Recollections of a Visit

By Jack Barnes

Robert Penn Warren interviewed a man named Malcolm X in June 1964, and I helped to interview a man with the same name in January 1965. I phrase it that way because, after reading Warren's account, I almost wondered if we had interviewed the same man. Of course, the difference was really in the interviewers, in their attitudes and assumptions.

Warren was born and raised in the South and, as a young man, believed in segregation. He has spent much of his life in the North as a writer and teacher, and is now against segregation. Stirred by the Negro upsurge, he wanted to find out more about what Negroes think. So he set out

to interview many of them for his book, *Who Speaks for the Negro?* (Random House, 1965).

His approach is that of a liberal. One of his favorite questions of the people he interviewed was did they think that it would have been a good idea to have compensated the Confederate slaveholders for the slaves emancipated; he seemed to hit it off best with those who said it would have been a good idea. He evidently was smart enough to omit this question with Malcolm, or at least he doesn't mention it.

Warren goes to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem for his interview with Malcolm. "I am admitted by a strong-looking young Negro man, dressed impeccably . . . ; he is silent but watchful, smooth-faced, impassive, of ominous dig-

nity." (Not being a poet, as is Warren, I find it hard to conceive a dignity that is "ominous.") Malcolm shakes Warren's hand, "with the slightest hint of a smile." Warren looks him over:

"The most striking thing, at first, about that face is a sort of stoniness, a rigidity, as though beyond all feeling. When the lips move to speak you experience a faint hint of surprise. When — as I discover later — he scores a point and the face suddenly breaks into his characteristic wide, leering, merciless smile, with the powerful even teeth gleaming beyond the very pale pink lips, the effect is, to say the least, startling. But beyond the horn-rimmed glasses always the eyes are watching, pale brown or hazel, some tint of yellow. You cannot well imagine them closed in sleep."

Felt Dismissed

"After the handshake, he turns to his aide . . . I am, for the moment, dismissed, and wander across the room, inspecting it." . . . as he stands there across the expanse of bare, ill-swept floor, conferring with the ominous attendant . . . I am watching him, and he knows I am watching him, but he gives no sign." Malcolm's failure to give a sign that he knows Warren is watching him is clearly as sinister as the "attendant" has now become.

"Finally" Malcolm beckons Warren into the tiny room used as his office. "Malcolm X tells me that he has only a few minutes, that he has found that you waste a lot of time with reporters and then you don't get much space." And so the interview begins.

It seemed somewhat different when Barry Sheppard and I interviewed Malcolm in the same office on Jan. 18, 1965, a month before his assassination. Our interview was taped for the *Young Socialist* (March-April, 1965; also in the pamphlet, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, Young Socialist Pamphlet, 1965.)

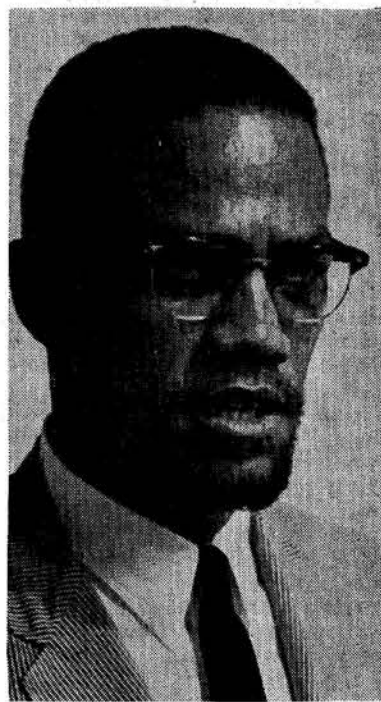
The thing that struck us first was how tired Malcolm looked. (In the *Autobiography*, Alex Haley describes the 18-hour schedule he followed.) At one point toward the end of the interview, a yawn can be heard on the tape, followed by the apology, "Excuse my tired mind." We were a little uncomfortable at first, feeling that Malcolm might need rest more urgently than we needed an interview and, because this was the first time we had met, there was some over-politeness on both sides. Malcolm sent out for coffee for the three of us, making his familiar joke about his preference for light coffee, and after that the atmosphere warmed up.

After the formal interview, we offered to type it up and bring it back, edited to fit our space requirements, for his final check and corrections. We also asked him if he would like the Young Socialist Alliance to organize a national speaking tour of campuses for him later in the year. He expressed interest in this, but did not commit himself, saying he would discuss it the next time we got together.

Trap Falls

Let us return to poor Warren. He tries to catch Malcolm in a contradiction, but Malcolm deftly avoids the trap and makes his own point. Warren's reaction:

"I discovered that that pale, dull yellowish face that had seemed so veiled, so stony, as though beyond all feeling, had flashed into its merciless, leering life — the sudden wolfish grin, the pale pink lips drawn hard back to show the strong teeth, the unveiled glitter of the eyes beyond the lenses, giving the sense that the lenses were only part of a clever disguise, that the eyes needed no help, that they suddenly see everything." Malcolm had ruined, his eyes



Malcolm X

Militant, and how often he had seen it abroad.

I told him I might be going to Algeria for the World Youth Festival (then scheduled for the spring of 1965) and might be able to meet some of his contacts there. He said, "Great, that would be a good experience; they have a hard time believing that revolutionists exist in the United States." We arranged that he would give me the list after the *Young Socialist* came off the press.

Campus Tour

I reminded him about our proposal for a national campus tour. This time he responded very favorably; he must have thought about it further and may have discussed it with some of his co-workers. He said he had learned from much experience of speaking on campus that students were in general the only whites that seemed to be open-minded. He said he was sure that the government would try to buy off the white students who were radical, that this was their main problem. He said they should "get in a closet" — away from the professors and the job offers from government and business — and think out their ideas more thoroughly and basically. They could travel the road before them in one of two ways, he said, "— as missionaries or as revolutionaries."

He asked a lot of questions about the Young Socialist Alliance — how many locals, where, what campuses? He wanted to know how long the tour would last; he said he could not make it until after his return from another trip abroad that he was committed to make, but that would be the best time. I said I was sure that on most campuses we would be able to get broader sponsorship than the YSA for his speeches, and he said he didn't care how broad or how narrow the sponsorship would be.

He asked me if I read French and then gave me a magazine from Paris with a story about his talk there in November 1964. He said he thought it was a communist magazine, and that "things are very different in Europe and Africa. There are communists and socialists all over, and no one makes a big deal out of it. They can't imagine how narrow-minded this country is."

View of Imperialism

Malcolm also spoke at some length about imperialism, along what Marxists might call Luxemburgian lines — how the West is in a real bind because the colonial revolution is cutting off places where imperialism can expand.

I felt completely at ease with Malcolm throughout this discussion, which lasted quite a while at his initiative. He grew quite excited at the thought of his African youth contacts getting the *Young Socialist* interview and at the possibility of my meeting them. I had no sense of "taking" his valuable time — he was giving it voluntarily, and not out of mere politeness.

It is inconceivable that he would be like that with a liberal. There would be no common points of departure, no common projects of any kind, for him to discuss with a liberal who felt, as Warren did, that he was accomplishing his mission when he got Malcolm to "admit" that he didn't "see in the American system the possibility of self-regeneration."

reading by poor light at night while he was in prison, and says in the *Autobiography* that he had astigmatism. Never mind the facts — Warren senses "that the lenses were only part of a clever disguise" (an elaborate scheme for fooling liberals somehow). Warren didn't really need to look into Malcolm's eyes — he came to the interview convinced that Malcolm was racist, demagogic and opportunist ("He may end at the barricades, or in Congress. Or he might even end on the board of a bank"), and that is what he went away with.

True to Form

Malcolm knew the white liberal type very well, and he must have had to grin ("leer") when he saw how closely Warren was conforming to the type. And when Warren asks Malcolm "if he believes in political assassination" (!), it is not hard to see why Malcolm might "turn the hard, impassive face and veiled eyes" upon Warren and say, "I wouldn't know anything about that."

I returned to Malcolm's office less than a week after our interview, bearing the edited transcript Barry had made from the tape. (If we had known this would be the last thing we would get from him, we of course would not have shortened the transcript, even slightly.) Malcolm was talking to a young man in his inner office. While I waited, for about 10 minutes, one of Malcolm's co-workers, the only other person in the outer office, dozed at a reception desk. A small stack of *Militants* lay on the desk with a couple of dimes on top.

As Malcolm read the transcript, he began to grin. When he came to the question about capitalism and the statement, "It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely," he said, "This is the farthest I've ever gone. They will go wild over this." I asked if he wanted to tone it down and, without hesitation, he answered no.

He said he felt the editing had sharpened up what he had originally said; that he had been tired when he gave the interview. He made very few changes and I said that would be the final copy, just as he had left it. He said, "Make any additional changes you want — it's fine. This is the kind of editing it's a pleasure to read."

Malcolm then began to talk about young revolutionaries he had met and been impressed by in Africa and Europe. He said he had a long list of them — he called them "contacts" — and would give me a copy so we could send them the issue of the *Young Socialist* that contained his interview. He also spoke about *The*

THE MILITANT

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Monday, February 21, 1966

Bloodshed in Santo Domingo

The recent gunning down of students on the streets of Santo Domingo was a cruel reminder that that country is still suffering the full consequences of U.S. military occupation. The Santo Domingo military killed three students and wounded 32 others, in an attempt to break up a demonstration demanding the resignation of the Trujillist generals who remain in command of the Dominican army.

According to a decree issued Jan. 5 by the "neutralist" president, Hector Garcia-Godoy, the military commanders of both the right-wing army and the constitutionalists who led the April revolution, were supposed to leave the country. Until last week's rioting, however, only the constitutionalists had followed the decree. Since then, one of the army leaders, Commodore Rivera Caminero has agreed to go, but the remainder of the army leadership is still in command.

The fact is that the Trujillist generals are still around in Santo Domingo only because of the powerful intervention of the U.S. Marines. It is well known that the resistance of the old-guard military had totally collapsed by the fourth day after the April uprising, suffering a defeat at the hands of the armed civilian masses.

It took well over two weeks for the American military to suppress the civilian uprising throughout most of the city, and force the revolutionaries into a besieged area, where they remained in command until a long series of compromises brought about the present Garcia-Godoy government.

The continued presence of U.S. troops can only lead to further suppression of the Dominican people. They should be withdrawn immediately, allowing the Dominicans to decide their own form of government.

India and China — A Contrast

A three-day meeting at the University of Chicago of a panel of international experts on China presented a picture of giant economic strides in the face of China's huge population and low level of economic development. "Probably never before in history," stated James S. Duncan, former chairman of the Canadian International Chamber of Commerce, "has so much progress been made so rapidly by a country that's newly emerging from internal strife and foreign invasion."

Dick Wilson, former editor of the Far Eastern Economic Review, said that China's "modest" goal of an 11 percent increase in industrial production in 1965 had probably been surpassed, and stated that the rice harvest had been the best since the bumper years of 1957 and 1958.

This record stands in glaring contrast to the record of India since that country gained its political independence from England. Today India, suffering under the bonds of world capitalism, is faced with horrendous famine.

China and India were roughly at the same level of backwardness at the end of the second world war, and faced similar problems. The Chinese revolution, by taking the path of the establishment of a workers state, was able to unify the country and begin to rebuild on the basis of a nationalized and planned economy. The sharp contrast between China's progress and India's stagnation demonstrates the power of socialist methods and their superiority to capitalist ones. The new China's successes are all the more impressive in light of the military and economy pressure placed upon her by the United States, and the brakes placed on her economy by the existence of a privileged bureaucracy.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Merit Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003

The Catholic Church an

By Felix McGowan

[The following are excerpts from a talk given by Father Felix McGowan at the Militant Labor Forum on Jan. 14. Felix McGowan was a Maryknoll Missionary priest who was sent to Bolivia where he worked for ten years. Later he visited Cuba and became a supporter of its revolution. As a result he was silenced, then sent to Tanganyika where he became interested in African socialism. He was given a release from the priesthood in June 1965.]

* * *

In 1950 I was ordained a Catholic priest with the Maryknoll Foreign Mission Society. I was then sent to South America where I spent ten years in Bolivia. Later I went to Cuba where I saw many great things brought about through their revolution. But I was silenced after I came back from Cuba.

Why? Why was I sent to Africa to make the world safe for the bishops of the Catholic Church here in the United States? What is it in the words and actions of one man, Castro, that they are so afraid of? Here is where we begin to get at some key problems. Today too many people are being silenced in one way or another.

You folks who have been reading *The Militant* for years know how it has spoken out in defense of the Cuban revolution. It is also the only newspaper which published my story. I didn't see it myself until I was at the *New York Times*, asking why they didn't publish my story about being silenced. They took out a copy of *The Militant* and asked, "Did you see this?" I said, "No." They said, "Well, *The Militant* has printed the interview you gave over Radio Havana." Sure enough, there it was, the whole interview I had given in Spanish and English, trying to tell some truths to the folks south of Cuba, in Latin America. *The Militant* followed up again when I was sent to Africa. They were the only ones. I have a bit of a debt to repay tonight to *The Militant*.

Happy to Speak

I consider it an honor to be one of the first speakers at the new Militant Labor Forum Hall. It's really great for me to have this opportunity to speak out a bit. As the Cuban newspaper, *El Mundo*, so correctly pointed out: "Words were given not to cover up the truth but to speak it."

I think that's where we really have been hung up here in the U.S.; we hear words and words and words but not with the goal of searching out the truth and finding it. I am very sensitive to this and anything I say tonight I will present honestly. Here I feel free to speak even though I am more of a fighter than a talker. When there's a job to be done I will be there to help get it done.

I welcome the opportunity to talk after being silenced for a few years. I hope my talk will wake up a few more people and get them to speak out, to get out in the streets and stay out until they get the job done.

We must also speak out against travel bans. When I went to Havana the first time and met Robert Williams, he said: "Mack, when is the U.S. ever going to learn? You Catholics should know that even if you put a wall up around hell, you couldn't keep people out. In fact, more people would want to find out what's going on behind the wall." So I imagine you people are asking: "Who is this Catholic priest and what credentials do I have that made them afraid?" What made them say, "this fellow can't speak and write about Cuba?" That's what we will go over a bit now.

Sent to Bolivia

After I was ordained, I was sent to Bolivia where I spent ten years, up to 1960. In 1950 Patino, Aramayo and Rothschild still ruled Bolivia. But in 1952 there came the Bolivian revolution and Paz Estenssoro. I saw a great revolution take place and I guess I was a participant in it because I was working with the poorer people who were fighting for the revolution. I became aware of what a great social change can or should be. But I also saw along with the rise, the fall of the revolution. This is sad to talk about because I still have a soft spot for Bolivia and all the wonderful people I met and worked with. Let's hope they can rise again in the near future.

In 1950 I was sent to a spot two thousand miles up the Amazon — all jungle territory, with no cities or towns or roads — just jungle land and rivers. The people there tapped rubber trees for a living. So, being a priest, I started to travel the rivers. They gave me a little dugout with an outboard motor and said, "Just go out and visit the different haciendas" or barracas, as they are called there, "and say mass for the people and baptize the babies and marry the folks who want to get married, and pass out the holy cards." They were Christians already; it's just that they needed some priest to give them spiritual attention.

The first year that's what I did. I'd be out five and six months at a time, traveling the river. It would take four and a half months to go up the river — but only a month and a half to come down with the swift current. I got along great with everybody. The patrónes or landowners always welcomed me aboard. "Oh, it's great to see a padre again; we haven't seen a padre in several years. People have been asking that we bring in a padre who can talk to them and make them happy." It was great; I always slept in the patrón's house and ate at his table. But after about a year I began to ask myself some questions. What's going on here and what am I doing?

Starts Schools

The second year I decided that I couldn't just go along passing out holy cards. So I made up my mind to try to start some schools. There wasn't a school the whole length and breadth of the river. So I signed up a few lads in the trading towns to come with me up the river, and I would leave them off as school teachers for the youngsters during the day and for the older folks at night.

When I hit the first hacienda, all enthused and my lads with me, I proposed starting a school to the patrónes. I said we would build a little shack, bring the kids out of the woods and give them a place to sleep and eat and study. When



Photo by Finer

Felix McGowan

I finished my little talk, the patrón said, "Oh, no! Not here! Not here, padre. You're not going to teach the people to talk back to me! You'd better go tell your story elsewhere. We won't have any communists around here educating people."

That was the first time I had bumped heads with anybody and, frankly, I didn't quite understand it. I was a young lad myself at that time. So we went farther up river, maybe four or five hours away. Sure enough, this patrón had sent word to the next fellow to guard against "those communists who want to educate the people." At the next place, and the next, I'm told: "No longer welcome!" So I decided — I'll get a place of my own.

Buys Property

What they call a place of your own down there is — you buy a piece of property. So I bought a piece of property — 120,000 acres. I got \$4,000 from a friend here in New York. If anybody is interested in cheap real estate, for \$4,000 you can get 120,000 acres, which means about ten miles along the river front and about twenty miles into the woods. It will handle about 100-150 rubber-cutters and maybe another 200 people for harvesting brazil nuts. That's what I got, virgin jungle.

Then I began going into the backwoods to talk to some of the workers who wanted to run away from their landowners and told them to come on down and join a cooperative we were going to set up. The first year we had about fifteen fellows, the bravest of the brave, who came with their mamas, their families and some grandparents; altogether a good seventy or eighty people. That's the way it started. We opened up the trails, chopped down the jungle, planted rice and corn and opened up the rubber routes — and off we went. We never had it too easy. Years later we used to laugh about the early years.

But every year more and more people showed up and we began to get along pretty well. We had to give up on school for the kids because there was so much to be done for the adults. They had school every night and sometimes stayed up all night those first years.

What these folks wanted most of all was to learn how to handle numbers. They had been cheated left and right. They had an idea they were being cheated but they didn't know how, or how you stopped it. The scales had been rigged where the owners weighed the rubber and the poor Indian fellow didn't know how to read the numbers anyway. Everything was cut down, cut down for the workers. Then the owners would

take a percentage off for the rubber and the poor fellow didn't even know what a percentage was.

The same thing in the company stores. Mama goes in and says, "I want two kilos of sugar," and the store owner says, "Fine, mama, one kilo is nine pesos, two kilos is twenty-seven pesos." Poor mama doesn't know that nine and nine are 18. So, working together, they learned not only numbers, but how to run their own cooperative.

The revolution came in then with its agrarian reform and the government said you're not allowed to own that much land. I went to talk to Paz Estenssoro and he said, "Oh, I feel very sorry for those poor savages down in the woods." That got me mad. I said, "They're less savages than you folks who run the government." He was surprised. "Why do you talk like that, padre?" I answered, "You'd better come down there and get to know your own people. I live with them and they are not savages. All they want is ten years tenure on this piece of property to see if they can't get a cooperative going." He said, "O.K., padre, whatever you say. I should get down there but we have to deal with too many tigers here. You take care of it."

Dominican Republic

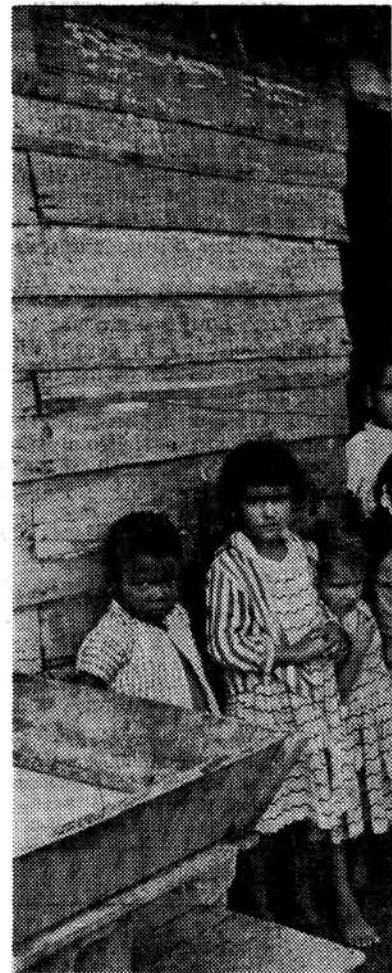
At the time I had a month to wait for title to the property so Maryknoll sent me to the Dominican Republic to study credit unions and cooperatives. That was in 1953 and I spent three months there, studying their federation of credit unions. They had the best in Latin America under, believe it or not, Trujillo and a Canadian priest. Then another month or so in Puerto Rico to pick up the best literature in Spanish, mostly picture literature. Then a couple of weeks in the Island of Trinidad, two weeks in British Guiana where Cheddi Jagan was just beginning to organize the sugar-cane cutters and rice planters and then, on the way back, a couple of weeks in Brazil.

After a few years we had a couple of hundred families in the cooperative. This was too much for the landowners, so they began to put the squeeze on. They would come in with their whips and guns and try to haul the people off. By this time my lads figured they had to fight back. Every time a patrón came in some young lad would stand up and say, "I'd rather be dead than go back to work for you." The landlords would take out their bull-whips and whip them so the others would learn a lesson.

Whippings and Killings

They had been through enough whippings and killings, and I am afraid we had to bury some of our fellows in the struggles that went on. But they were willing to fight and die for what they believed in, to determine their own way of living and working. In the cooperative they were getting 33 cents a pound for rubber that they used to get only eight cents for.

It got rougher and rougher. I didn't mind losing a few rounds of the war in the beginning because I felt that we would win in the long run. But the bishop who was behind me got more and more sensitive to the conflict, especially in the local trading town where he was living with the men who ran the commercial houses and all the wealthier people, who were also Catholics. So finally we had a bit of a "misunderstanding" session. He said, "Every time you come to town they put you in jail — why is that?" I said, "Because they consider it a crime to accept a runaway worker and I won't send him back to the patrón and I won't pay what he owes. So I



BEFORE REVOLUTION. Typical countryside before revolution

go to jail and the local folks make a big hubbub."

He said, "You have to stop this. We're Christians on a mission and we're here not to fight but to love everybody."

I said, "Well, the people now have guns and they have decided to defend themselves on their own cooperative property. Nobody can tell them to go away or take them away."

So he said, "You tell them that their bishop wants them to lay down their arms; no more shooting, no more fighting, no more going to jail. Tell them we'll go at this gradually."

I said, "I can tell them what you said, but they'll resolve what they are going to do."

"What do you mean?" he said. I told him we had agreed to form this cooperative and everyone had a voice and a vote; one man, one vote. I told him that all decisions were arrived at in this way. "Oh, no, no, no," he said. "You have to tell them that I am the bishop and I'm telling them what to do."

I said I was sorry but he would have to tell them that. "They will listen," I said, "but then they will resolve what they are going to do."

Then he said, "Well, if that is the kind of operation you are running, we'll have to get rid of you." So I ended up back in the States. But I had learned an awful lot over those years, living and working with those poor people.

When I went to Bolivia, over 80 percent of the people were illiterate. They didn't have any medicines or doctors. When people got sick they died. If somebody broke a leg he was lame for the rest of his life. If somebody had an eye infection, he became blind for the rest of his life. They had nothing. There was one thing that got them mad — they saw American movies once a year. When they took the rubber down they would sit there and watch the movie. When they realized that this wasn't from a space ship or somewhere in moon country, but that this was the United States of America, that's when they got real mad. How can some people live like that — and they live the way they do?

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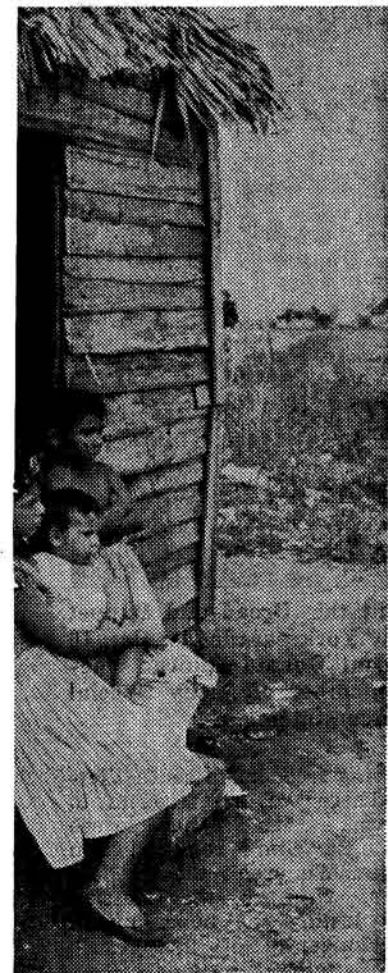
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and Cuba: An Inside View



scene in impoverished Cuban land and work for peasants.

three-month leave of absence to visit Latin America." (Later they reneged and said that Cuba wasn't a part of Latin America). Anyway, I was legally visiting Cuba both from the standpoint of the State Department and Maryknoll.

Arriving in Cuba, I was on my own. I lived in the old section among the poor people, but visited the ministries and agencies under the new revolutionary set-up. What I saw amazed me so much that I don't think I slept that first month. They told me I wouldn't be able to take any of their literature back to the U.S. So I would walk all day and read all night — trying to assimilate all this that was so different and to me so great.

We had dreamed of social changes like this but never really thought they were possible; that people could make basic, structural changes within a few years. Instead of patching up the old ship, the people said, "No! We will build a new ship from scratch, just using the people we have." And they built a new ship.

At first, as I said, Robert Williams was down on me thinking, "You priests have nothing to offer any more." He had been thrown out of North Carolina and he never saw any priest stand up for him or come around Monroe to help the Negroes. But finally, one day he came over and took me to see Padre Sardiñas.

Padre Sardiñas was older than I; he had been ordained about 1929. Afterward he worked for eight years in Cuba and then the Cardinal sent him to Rome to study for four years, where he got a special degree in theology. When he got back to Cuba the Cardinal sent him to the University of Havana to study civil law. That was where he met up with Fidel and the others, so that among the first to go to the hills with Castro's band was this Padre Sardiñas. He spent two years in the hills with Fidel and he told me many great stories of those days.

Welcomed Priest

The band was very glad to have the padre with them because they were living among mountain folk who didn't understand this revolutionary movement too well. But they liked the men who, after fighting by day, would come at night and teach the kids or if they found people sick would send runners out to get medicines and bring it back up to them. They would talk to the people about the big social changes to come if they were successful.

When Fidel and his group came down out of the Sierra Maestre and took over Cuba, this Padre Sardiñas was officially named "Comandante" of the Rebel Army. He had the same rank as Fidel; there were only two ranks at that time, the Comandantes and the soldiers. So this man was Chaplain Commander of the Rebel Army. He came down with his beard and an olive-green hassock. And he was welcomed by everybody; by the priests, the cardinals, the bishops, everybody. People were happy that the bloody Batista regime had come to an end and that it had taken only about ten days' fighting to make the successful revolution.

Sardiñas stuck with Fidel over the years, even up to 1963 when the revolution was no longer so popular with the church or with the Cardinal. He died about a year after I left Cuba. But he did teach me a lot and tell me many things and took me everywhere. Sometimes the workers would stop to chat with him and say, "Who is the *tovarich* you are walking with?" And he would say, "This is a Yank." They would say, "Hah! What are you doing with him? Ba!" It became a sensation —

Sardiñas traveling with a Yankee Catholic priest.

I met another good priest, a Basque Franciscan, publisher of a Catholic semi-monthly magazine that was probably the most popular under the Batista regime. He, too, welcomed the revolution and the social changes it brought to help the poor. He wrote a column every week for the newspapers even up to 1963, as well as his own special pamphlets. But when he requested permission to republish his former magazine, the bishop said, "No, we will not cooperate with these communists; we will not publish a Catholic magazine in this country." Of all the priests I met he was the most Christian. He would say, "Ser comunista, es ser Cristiano." (To be a communist is to be a Christian). But he, too, has since died, also about a year after I left.

Religious Freedom

When I first went to Cuba I visited churches, talked freely to priests, also protestant ministers and other religions. I had the impression that the revolutionists were not fighting for the suppression of the church at all, but for the suppression of privileges. What some fear most of all is not the death of the work of Christ, but of the old middle-class which has strangled social change and at the same time has subtly fashioned the church into its own horrendous image. Who will free us except Christians who are free?

You probably recall that one of the U.S. students who had defied the travel ban and went to Cuba accidentally drowned. This created a big furor. And in the U.S. there was talk of going to war against Cuba. The students asked me to accompany the body back to the States. This created innumerable difficulties under the conditions of that time. But I agreed. When I landed in Florida there was indignation that I should be accompanying the body of a "traitor to his country." Finally I got the body back to Brooklyn, where a funeral service was held with his folks.

When the newspapers began to talk about "a Maryknoll priest from Cuba and he has strange things to say," my bosses panicked. They said, "He can't do this; he's suspended." You're not allowed to like the Cuban people; you're not allowed to tell the truth about them. I could see the walls closing in. The fellows who had put me on the plane had said, "If you can make it, we'd like to have you back again with us; you can come back as a guest of the Cuban Student Federation." So I took off that night for Mexico City and then back to Havana.

Travelled Island

That's when it became even more interesting because, as an invited guest, I didn't have to worry about my pesos and I had a chance to travel the whole island and meet everybody and see all the conditions of life around the island. I also had a chance to talk with Fidel. He said, "Hey, Mack, you're not a bad guy at all. How did you get into all this?" We talked back and forth and he said, "Let's hope the day comes soon when the walls will be taken down, and when Americans and also priests like you can come to Cuba."

While I was in Cuba we decided upon a plan to invite a Cardinal from the U.S. to visit Cuba. Because of all the lies by Catholic Cubans coming out to Miami, we felt some representative of the Catholic hierarchy should be invited to go to Cuba to see for himself and report the truth. I am sorry to say this never came off, mostly because I was blackballed at this time. They were firing up rockets in the States about Father

McGowan who was in Cuba, doing this and that. But the Papal Nuncio in Havana was interested and still is. If any bishop or cardinal wants to go to Cuba, the Nuncio will work it out and then he can see for himself and let his honesty be his guide upon his return.

When I came back from Cuba, I was told, "You have to be silenced." So, thinking I would be able to fight another day, I accepted the penance. They sent me out to a monastery in Indiana, but after two months I said, "How long?" They said, "Well, you have been very good; now you have to accept another assignment. You are going to Tanganyika." I said, "South America, no?" They said, "No!" So off I went to Africa.

I was still under a silence ban — I couldn't speak and I couldn't write. But after about two years in Tanganyika, they found out that I was getting interested in African socialism, so they hauled me back to New York. "You'll never learn your lesson," they told me. I said that as I learn the language I feel that I should also learn what the aspirations of the people are. They said, "No, those people out there are just pagans, barbarians. All they have to do is learn Western ways and we'll teach them."

That's when I said, "Look, we've been banging heads too often. Let's just separate. I'm wasting time just fighting you fellows when there's so much to be done." They agreed that that was not a bad idea at all. So I applied to be laicized, which means being in a "special state." If I wish to re-apply for my priesthood I must do so within three years.

Mexican Trip

After being laicized, I thought well, now, I can really go to work. So I went to Mexico where I met up with revolutionary buddies there from all over; exiles from Bolivia, exiles from Brazil, exiles from Argentina, exiles from Peru; Cubans from both sides, Americans from both sides. I spent a few days with Cedric Belgrave, to see what we could do about getting the story of Cuba to other countries in Latin America. He said, "Mack, the best help you could be right now is to go back to the U.S. Try to educate the people there to less militarism and tell them to get off this anti-communism kick."

That's what I decided to do. I am now with the *Catholic Worker*, the only group willing to explore Christian Marxism and the whole socialist way of living. I think I can work on this basis.

I have great hopes for South America. If the U.S. keeps making more mistakes it will become easier for the rebels. About 80 priests have just been thrown out of Brazil. The Christians turn their own priests into the central government to have them deported because they were getting too interested in helping the poor. So the fires are raging there in South America even if you don't get much about it here in the press. In not too many years all of South America is going to have its freedom so they can do things their own way.

I would like to finish with a word or two about Christianity. On the one hand you have Bolivia, which is a Catholic country by constitution, and then you have Cuba which is a communist country by constitution. Let's be honest; which is more Christian? We have to admit it is Cuba. It is more Christian than any Catholic country I have seen.

People Misinformed

I don't really blame the American people because it is all a matter of misinformation. They have believed what they have read about Cuba. How can you expect them to think or know otherwise? That's why I believe in fighting for honesty and truth. That's why I am opposed to the travel ban to Cuba. Let's have more Americans see it for themselves; as a country, as a people, as friends. The travel ban is your form of being silenced.

It's a terrifying thing when we are sucked into baptizing decisions that have nothing to do with either God or man but that merely bless jingoism and puts the church forward as a catafalque covering the corpse of something sacred but defunct. As one lad in Cuba put it, "I think one has to be content to live dangerously in the church in an age when freedom is still very much a distant good." Adult people have to be willing in the meantime to act and speak up courageously. People must find out the truth for themselves.

So I would say to all Christians. Today we have so little to offer that we had better learn about a socialist system and how we can help in bringing social justice. There is so little time now that we must cooperate with the socialists and learn. And if we have anything to offer they will know and we will know. But first we have to learn. Our superiors need the kind of pressure that will make them realize that to be a man of truth in a church of truth is the highest service one can perform.

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SLASHING VIETNAM EXPOSE

A Green Beret's Story

By Harry Ring

A devastating new indictment of the U.S. role in Vietnam has been made by a man who is well qualified to speak on the question because he saw it from right up front. Master Sergeant Donald Duncan left the U.S. Army last September after ten years of service including six in the Army's Special Services — the highly touted "green berets." A veteran of 18 months of active combat duty in Vietnam, he offers a gripping account of his experience in the February issue of the crusading magazine, *Ramparts*. His story is entitled, "The Whole Thing Was a Lie!"

His conclusions carry particular weight because they fly in the face of his background and previous thinking.

While on duty in Vietnam he received the South Vietnamese Silver Star, the Combat Infantry Badge, the Bronze Star and the United States Army Air Medal. He was nominated for the American Silver Star and was the first enlisted man in Vietnam to be nominated for the Legion of Merit, nominations that are still pending (and

are not likely to be speeded up by his revelations). He participated in many combat missions behind guerrilla lines and was offered a field commission with the rank of captain. He took an honorable discharge instead.

Ideologically, Duncan was up to Special Forces standards when he joined up. "When I was drafted into the army ten years ago," he writes, "I was a militant anti-Communist . . . the depths of my aversion to this ideology was, I suppose, due in part to my being Roman Catholic, in part to the stories in the news media about communism, and in part to the fact that my stepfather was born in Budapest, Hungary."

While he still doesn't buy communism, he is now convinced that "anti-communism is a lousy substitute for democracy."

He adds that he doesn't think Vietnam "will be better off under Ho's brand of communism. But it's not for me or my government to decide. That decision is for the Vietnamese."

From the outset of his training in the Special Forces, Duncan was given many reasons for doubts.

He recalls how they were taught

to ignore the rules of warfare to which the U.S. officially subscribes. It was emphasized that guerrillas (which is what the Special Forces were fancifully depicted as) can't take prisoners and that they were continuously told "You don't have to kill them yourselves — let your indigenous counterpart do that." He was later to witness the atrocities that took place when they turned prisoners over to the Saigon forces.

In a course entitled, "Countermeasures to Hostile Interrogation" they were taught what was depicted as Soviet Security methods of torture to extract information. It was a crudely obvious means, he says, to teach them such methods of obtaining information from a prisoner as "lowering a man's testicles into a jewelers vise."

Big Joke

When the men asked directly if they were to use such methods, they were answered wittily, "We can't tell you that. The Mothers of America wouldn't approve." This evoked great laughter.

In discussing the barbarous aspect of the war, Duncan makes a point worth considering by those who may be influenced by the argument that the guerrillas commit atrocities too.

"To back up the terror theory," says Duncan, "the killings of village chiefs and their families were pointed out to me. Those that were quick to point at these murders ignored certain facts. Province, district, village and hamlet chiefs are appointed, not elected. Too often petty officials are not even people from the area . . . Those that are from the area are thought of as being quislings because they have gone against their own by cooperating with Saigon. Guerrillas or partisans who killed quislings in World War II were made heroes in American movies. Those who look upon the Viet Cong killings of these people with horror . . . don't realize that our own military consider such actions good strategy when the tables are turned."

The questions began spinning even faster in Duncan's head when he actually got to Vietnam. He was shocked at the U.S. denigration of the south Vietnamese. "There was a continual putdown of Saigon officials, the Saigon Government, ARVN (Army Republic of Vietnam) the LLDB (Luc Luong Dac Biet — Vietnamese Special Forces) and the Vietnamese man-in-the-street. The government was rotten, the officials corrupt, ARVN cowardly, the LLDB all three, and the man-in-the-street, an ignorant thief."

"It occurred to me," Duncan explains, "that if the people on 'our side' were all of these things, why were we then supporting them...?"

"Anti-Communist"

The answer, he says, "was always the same: 'They are anti-Communists,' and this was supposed to explain everything."

The south Vietnamese, in turn, take a dim view of the Americans. "Arrogance, disrespect, rudeness, prejudice and our own special brand of ignorance," Duncan observes, "are not designed to win friends."

"This resentment," he continues, "runs all the way from stiff politeness to obvious hatred. It is so common that if a Vietnamese working with or for Americans is found to be sincerely cooperative . . . it automatically makes him suspect as a Viet Cong agent."

Perhaps the most decisive experience in opening Duncan's eyes to the reality of the U.S. role in Vietnam came in 1964 when he participated in a special, classified operation, Project Delta, which was to train teams of Americans and Vietnamese to penetrate into Laos to gather information about the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail, troop traffic on it from the north, etc.



UNDULY HARSH? Some people thought this Bread and Puppet Theater depiction of Vietnam war in New York parade last Oct. 16 was a bit strong. Former Master Sergeant Donald Duncan's account of what he saw in Vietnam as member of Army Special Forces suggests it may have been an understatement.

At the last minute, word came that the U.S. men were not to participate. When they asked why, they were told that it was an election year and "it would cause great embarrassment if Americans were captured in Laos. Anything of that nature would have to wait until after the elections."

No Moral Issue

The men were angered and disappointed. "This was the one thing," Duncan says, "if I had to single out, that made me really start questioning our role in Vietnam. It suddenly occurred to me that the denial of American participation was not based on whether it was right or wrong for us to be going to Laos. The primary concern was the possible embarrassment to President Johnson during an election campaign . . . It became apparent that we weren't interested in the welfare of the Vietnamese but, rather, how we could promote our own interests."

Equally informative: "As it turned out, the mission found damned little. Most teams didn't last long enough to report what, if anything, they saw. The six survivors came completely through the areas and observed no troop movements, and little vehicle traffic, day or night . . ."

"To many in Vietnam this confirmed that the Ho Chi Minh Trail, so-called, and the traffic on it, was grossly exaggerated, and that the Viet Cong were getting the bulk of their weapons from ARVN and by sea."

"It also was one more piece of evidence that the Viet Cong were primarily south Vietnamese, not imported troops from the north."

These and many other facts that he cites had a deep impact on Duncan. "Little by little," he explains, "these facts made their impact on me. I had to accept the fact that, Communist or not, the vast majority of the people were pro-Viet Cong and anti-Saigon. I had to accept also that the position, 'We are in Vietnam because we are in sympathy with the aspirations and desires of the Vietnamese people,' was a lie."

Describing the sharp contrast in the fighting capacities of the guerrillas and the Saigon forces, Duncan writes: "It became obvious that motivation is the prime factor in this problem. The Viet Cong soldier believes in his cause. He believes he is fighting for national independence . . . [The Saigon soldier's] only motivation is the knowledge that he is fighting only to perpetuate a system that has kept him uneducated and in poverty."

"The whole thing," declares Duncan, "was a lie. We weren't

preserving freedom in south Vietnam. There was no freedom to preserve . . . It's all there to see once the Red film is removed from the eyes. We aren't the freedom fighters. We are the Russian tanks blasting the hopes of an Asian Hungary."

Duncan offers a ringing commendation of the antiwar movement. He writes:

"When I returned from Vietnam I was asked, 'Do you resent young people who have never been in Vietnam, or in any war, protesting it?' On the contrary, I am relieved. I think they should be commended. I had to wait until I was 35 years old, after spending ten years in the Army and 18 months personally witnessing the stupidity of the war, before I could figure it out."

"That these young people were able to figure it out quickly and so accurately is not only a credit to their intelligence but a great personal triumph over a lifetime of conditioning and indoctrination . . . Those people protesting the war in Vietnam are not against our boys in Vietnam. On the contrary. What they are against is our boys being in Vietnam. They are not unpatriotic. Again the opposite is true. They are opposed to people, our own and others, dying for a lie, thereby corrupting the very word democracy."

REVIEWS and REPORTS

AMERICAN ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM by Eric Norden in the February Liberation. Available in pamphlet form from Liberation, 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038; 25¢ each; 7 for \$1.50; over 100, 10¢ each.

This article by Eric Norden is based upon reputable reports in the press and in books generally available, about the horrifying and brutal nature of the U. S. aggression against the Vietnamese people.

One aspect of this brutality is the systematic torture practiced by both the Saigon puppet regime and the U. S. forces, indicated by the following two quotations from the article:

"Other techniques, usually designed to force onlooking prisoners to talk, involve cutting off the fingers, ears, fingernails or sexual organs of another prisoner. Sometimes a string of ears decorates the wall of a government military installation. One American installation has a Viet Cong ear preserved in alcohol." (New York *Herald Tribune* Saigon correspondent Beverly Deepe.)

"Wilfred Burchett," Norden relates, "the only Western correspondent to travel behind Vietcong lines in south Vietnam, interviewed a young girl . . . who had made the mistake of delivering a petition for free elections to the office of the International Control Commission . . . She was observed by Government agents and arrested . . ."

"According to Burchett's account, substantiated by the ICC investigative team, the girl was tortured for months after her arrest. She had 'soapy water and urine forced down her mouth and nostrils; electricity applied to vagina and breast nipples; flesh torn from the breasts, thighs, and shoulders by red hot pincers . . ."

Many prisoners are summarily murdered. Norden quotes David Halberstam's *Making of a Quagmire*: "The enemy were very cocky and started shouting anti-American slogans and Vietnamese

curse at their captors. The Marines . . . simply lined up the 17 guerrillas and shot them down in cold blood . . ."

The torture and shooting of prisoners is only one side of the brutality. The U. S. is engaged in a genocidal war against the Vietnamese, on the ground and from the air.

"After surrounding the village," Norden quotes CBS newsman Morley Safer, "the Marines poured in 3.5 rocket fire, 79 grenade launchers, and heavy and light machine gun fire. The Marines then moved in, proceeding first with cigarette lighters, then with flame throwers, to burn down an estimated 150 dwellings . . . I subsequently learned that a Marine platoon on the right flank wounded three women and killed one child in a rocket barrage. The day's operations netted about four prisoners — old men."

Stephen G. Cary, of the American Friends Service Committee, entered a village after an American air strike: "I could take everything but the dead kids. As a matter of fact I found only two persons alive — a boy of ten and his eight-year-old sister. They were sitting quietly on the ruins of their house, surrounded by the bodies of their mother and father and several other children."

Eric Norden's article is shocking. The events it describes add up to a revelation of the conscious policy of genocide the U. S. government is undertaking in Vietnam. Much of what Norden documents is gruesome in detail, but these sordid realities, occurring every day, on a mass scale, perpetrated by Washington, must be faced and repudiated. Not the least of the problems the Vietnam war presents the American people is the moral problem: are we to sit back mute while the government parallels Nazi Germany's crimes against humanity?

This is an important article for the antiwar movement to use in spreading the truth about the war in Vietnam and organizing opposition to it.

—Barry Sheppard

Labor's Giant Step

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By Art Preis

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Letters From Our Readers

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

Germ Warfare Report

London, England

In the November 15th issue of your paper you state that the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam "has produced a 13-page pamphlet documenting its case against the Institute of Cooperative Research."

I wonder if it is possible for you to send me a copy of this pamphlet as you don't give any address of PACEWV to write to. If you will let me know how much the pamphlet costs I shall be happy to send you the money. With best wishes,

**Douglas Kepper, Editor
Socialist Leader**

[The pamphlet may be obtained by writing to the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam at 228 S. Buckingham Place, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. There is no price on the pamphlet but the committee welcomes contributions to help continue its work.—EDITOR.]

Dissents on Transit Strike

Tel Aviv, Israel

I have a couple of comments on *The Militant* of Jan. 24. First off, it is complete hogwash for Tom Leonard to write that the transit strike was a gain for all labor. It is utter rot. Not only is labor in a lousy position with the public in general and blamed for all the terrible losses in pay, money,

work and business and whatnot, but everyone will soon get an increase in subway fares and there will be a general excuse for price hikes all over the place. I think that this sort of strike is ridiculous and for labor to continue to plunk for and support them is outdated. The losses in morale and living for ten million people are so tremendous that the small hikes for 35,000 people are not worth it. And the consequent inflation that will result anyway.

It no longer involves a worker and his boss — a union and a shop; these strikes involve whole cities — whole peoples who have nothing to gain or lose by the issues involved for a few thousand. Life has become so complex that a strike of this nature loses all the old meanings. And the radicals and *The Militant* continue to plod along in the old rut, bragging how great such an action is, how it has to be supported as a great gain for labor, etc.

Worst of all is the reasoning in the last paragraph of the piece. It states that it was a great victory for militant labor and helped point out the need to build a left wing in the unions and kick out the Meanys, etc. How ridiculous can you get? This strike does nothing of the kind — and never has. And the last sentence — a piece of such wish-fulfillment that it makes me ill — "First and foremost among the demands of these opponents to labor misleaders is the need to break with the strike-breaking boss parties and organize a genuine independent labor party."

What rot. Who among the 35,000 transit workers raised that cry? And who will battle against the "misleaders" there? Why the

hell is Leonard kidding himself and everybody else with these old slogans that have lost all meaning? He is still mumbling about getting a labor party going as a result of this strike. It is wild nonsense. Let's get down to earth and face realities. How sectarian can you get when you see pink elephants where there is nothing?

Anyway, so much for carping. I enjoy receiving *The Militant* and keeping posted, however. Harry Ring's piece on the Chinese-Cuban trade agreement was great — I saw nothing like it anywhere. Reading about Joseph Johnson's deportation order was ghastly. I had forgotten about such things — and that I went through that mill myself.

L.S.

[There are so many terribly wrong things in this letter that it would take more space than we have available to refute them point by point. So we will simply briefly restate why the transit strike was a gain for all labor. In addition to the elementary fact that the transit workers had just grievances and deserved all-out support in their fight, the strike was a significant blow at Johnson's pro-capitalist wage-price "guidelines." Prices are mounting steadily and the workers have to fight for wage increases to avoid reduced living standards. The transit workers set an important example and prece-

dent for the rest of labor in this regard.

Also, if such militant actions spread in the labor movement it will inevitably bring the union ranks into collision with their reactionary-minded officials and help to crystallize the left-wing formations so urgently needed to revitalize the union movement.

Precisely because the issues are so big and so generalized, they demand political solutions. That is why we are confident that the next upsurge of labor militancy will lead in the direction of independent labor political action. We don't think, and Tom Leonard didn't say, that this is going to happen tomorrow morning. But the transit strike was the kind of action that helps pave the way. EDITOR.]

Saigon Puppets

Munhall, Pa.

I have been receiving *The Militant* on a weekly basis since the beginning of the year. Each issue is well received and I hope that the excellent work you are doing will continue for many years to come.

The enclosed is from a letter I recently wrote to President Johnson which may be of interest to you. Please feel free to use the letter and my name as you see fit, if the need arises.

* * *

"There is the well known saying 'You can fool some of the

people some of the time, but not all of the people all of the time.' This is very true of your Vietnam policies."

"There have been many changes in the personnel of the Saigon regime since the fall of Diem. None of these resulted in democratic reforms; on the contrary, with each coup a small clique of military officers have seized tighter control. Their current spokesman, General Ky, told the British press: 'People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one— Adolf Hitler.' In a recent CBC television interview this champion of the free world discounted the possibility of a government coming into office in Saigon which might ask the Americans to withdraw. General Maxwell Taylor agreed with this, and pointed out that even if this did take place, the generals would quickly suppress such a government. General Taylor neglected to add that these generals have been on the payroll of the United States since 1954; and that they are being kept in power, not by any popular support, but through a massive American military invasion of their country."

Let's face it. There is a puppet government in Saigon and the strings are being pulled in Washington.

Ernest J. Baker

It Was Reported in the Press

Antiwar GI — Army Counter Intelligence in Denver is investigating Pfc. Vernon G. Sendlback. A city cop turned the GI over to military police after he got into an argument with a group of people who were heckling demonstrators against the Vietnam war. Sendlback hadn't participated in the demonstration but did indicate he was against U.S. policy there.

Secret Weapon — A Feb. 7 AP dispatch lifted the lid on this win-the-war formula: "Bombs won't defeat north Vietnam, says Rep. Craig Hosmer (R-Calif.), but the trick might be turned by showering them with symbols that they consider bad luck and dread. These include pictures of women, aces of spades and hooting owls. The Congressman also suggested dyeing north Vietnamese rice green and making it stink . . . He said cheap plastic cutouts in the shape of women, dogs and aces of spades could be dumped by air over the land. And since the north Vietnamese have an intense dislike for the Chinese, he added, the dogs could be made to look like Mao Tse-tung."

College Editors Split on Vietnam — When Senator Robert Kennedy appeared at the banquet of the Conference of College Editors at Columbia University Feb. 6 he was plied with questions about Vietnam. He then asked for a show of hands of the 250 present to indicate their stand on the war. According to the AP: "The response showed a slight edge in favor of the Johnson administration's present policy."

Freedom Fighter — Anselo Barrios, former minister of transportation under Batista, was arrested in New York as a numbers bookie. When cops told him they had to take \$500 they found in his car along with policy slips, he said: "What am I supposed to do, cry? When I left Cuba I lost \$250,000." Queried on how he had saved up \$250,000 on a salary of \$19,000, he explained: "I sold permits and so forth." He said he was in the numbers racket to raise funds to bring freedom back to Cuba.

New York Hospitality — The entire 39th floor of New York's Hotel Pierre is being torn apart and put together again for the March 14-17 visit of Prince Philip of Britain. The interior decorator assigned to the project says it will be a fast, low-budget job. "We can't go all out and spend millions," he said, "but we are going all out to make it attractive." The hotel manager said his entire staff of 600 would help to look after the royal visitor and that none of them would be allowed to ask for his autograph.

Unimpressed — Some people on the island of Jamaica apparently aren't as impressed with visiting smoke regulations. The judge sternly declared: "We're not dealing with dollars and cents but with life." He fined Con Ed \$100.

on the island, told the *New York Times*, "We've been asked to lend our home to Prince Philip, but I don't think we will." She said they already have a houseful of guests. Besides everyone seems to be real busy there. The Littles have 24 servants, one of whom works full time keeping the brass in the staircase properly polished.

Municipal Crackdown — New York Judge Michael Saytanides really laid it on the Con Edison Corp. He found the giant utility corporation, which has been described as a "chronic air-pollution offender," guilty of violating smoke regulations. The judge sternly declared: "We're not dealing with dollars and cents but with life." He fined Con Ed \$100.

Thought for the Week

"A livable world cannot exist in which two-thirds of human beings never get enough to eat, and the remaining third are overfed." — Dr. Roger Revel of Harvard testifying before the House of Representatives Agriculture Committee Feb. 14 on mass starvation in India.

READ

STAUGHTON LYND

WHAT SHOULD THE U.S. DO IN VIETNAM?

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A GLEAM IN THE ELEPHANT'S EYE

GOP 'Peace' Campaign in '66?

By Joseph Hansen

The day after the 1964 presidential election, political cartoonists in the United States outdid each other on the theme of the Republican elephant, bruised and battered, on crutches and obviously out of the running for a long time to come. Today some of the cartoonists are showing the elephant perking up; the rogue animal even has a gleam in his eye.

What has given hope to the Republicans is Johnson's continued escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. Republican strategists are recalling how the American people reacted after Truman plunged the country into the Korean conflict and how the Republican Party capitalized on it in 1952. Some Republican aspirants are even sending up trial balloons labeled "Peace Candidate."

A good example is John V. Lindsay, Republican winner of the November mayoralty contest in New York City, a Democratic Party stronghold. The photogenic mayor was quoted in the Jan. 30 *New York Times* on the situation in Vietnam: "The most unwanted war" in American history.

This was his first statement on foreign policy since last April when he expressed doubt about the advisability of bombing north Vietnam.

"I've never thought these long-range bombings should be the solution at all," he added. "I never thought they would necessarily improve the situation."

Not to get too far in front of the crowd, Lindsay told the *Times* that he was opposed to withdrawal from Vietnam. "You can't pack your bags up and sneak out. We're committed too deeply." His proposed solution is "solid diplomacy" — whatever that means.

The wheels clicking in Lindsay's ambitious mind are almost audible. "I have absolutely no interest whatsoever in running for President . . . none at all," he assured the reporter of the most influential newspaper in the country.

This is the conventional opener made by all prospective candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties when they set their sights on the White House.

That even the right wing of the Republican Party — notorious in recent years for its warmongering — is willing to back a "peace candidate" has been indicated by no one less than Vice President Richard Nixon himself. Lindsay, said Nixon on Jan. 29, will be "a national political figure in 1968 or 1972, whether he likes it or not."

Professional View

Nixon, the hero of the Republican machine politicians, who lost to Kennedy only by a hair-line vote in 1960, offered his considered judgment of Lindsay: "He's a winner."

The congressional strategists of the Republican Party, who voice the party's public positions most authoritatively in the years when it does not hold the White House, are thinking along similar lines. Tom Wicker, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* reported Feb. 2 that they believe "divisions within the Democratic Party and the prospect of an expanding land war in Vietnam may be giving them a winning political issue against President Johnson."

Looking forward hopefully, they calculate that the country may turn against a president "whose party does not fully support him and whose war policy may produce long casualty lists without military victory or a negotiated settlement." Political as well as constitutional responsibility for



Ex-Peace Candidate

the war will then lie "squarely" on Johnson.

"By 1968, they believe, Mr. Johnson may be in political trouble as a result of bearing that responsibility and the country may be ready to turn to a Republican, just as it turned to General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 during the Korean War.

"In that event, some Republican strategists do not rule out the possibility that their party might run a Presidential candidate who would promise to end the war by negotiations, as did General Eisenhower."

But how could the party that ran the "bomb-them-now" Goldwater switch to a "peace candidate"? The cynicism of the machine politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties is perhaps even greater than their contempt for the American voter — which is close to bottomless. The right wing will be blamed for the ill-starred Goldwater and the liberal wing will be pushed to the fore, "peace" banners flying.

It was with such a contingency in mind that figures like Lindsay remained aloof from Goldwater and even avoided using the name of their party as the Arizona senator campaigned for escalating the war in Vietnam.

The liberal Republicans, moreover, are capable of marshaling plausible arguments. Whatever Goldwater said, it was Johnson, after all, who carried out Goldwater's platform, they can contend; and they are against "Goldwaterism" no matter where it raises its ugly head. Johnson ran as a "peace candidate" but proved to be a warmonger. That is completely in the tradition of the Democratic Party. Woodrow Wilson, probably the greatest "peace candidate" of them all, set the pattern. He ran on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." That was in 1916. The following year Wilson took the country into the world's first great slaughter.

Roosevelt, too, was a "peace candidate." Running for his unprecedented third term in 1940, he promised the mothers of America "again and again and again" that he would not send their boys to die in any foreign wars. Nonetheless, he sent quite a few to die in World War II.

Truman did not run as a "peace candidate" in 1948. He espoused the cold war against the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, out of fear of the third-party threat represented by Wallace, who favored continuing Roosevelt's deals with Stalin, Truman veered far to the left, making demagogic appeals to the workers and farmers. He looked like a real man of the people; yet he became the first president to take the country into a major war without first submitting the question to Congress as is required by the constitution.

Now Johnson, the Democratic "peace candidate" of 1964, has followed Truman's example in Korea, maneuvering the United States into the civil war in Vietnam in violation of both the constitution he took an oath to uphold and the United Nations charter. Isn't this pretty decisive proof that the Democratic Party is the "war party," no matter how solemnly its candidates swear to keep the country out of war if elected?

So far, the only "peace candidate" to carry out a campaign promise on the war issue has been a Republican — Eisenhower, who brought the bloody conflict in Korea to an end.

Such, one may well imagine, will be the line of argument of the "peace candidates" of the Republican party. It is difficult to see how a Democratic "peace candidate" could put up a stronger case in the vote-snaring contest unless he were to maintain that the Democratic Party can be counted on to take over the Republican platform and really carry it out. Didn't Johnson do it to perfection in the case of Goldwater?

The schemes and counter-schemes of the Republicans and Democrats with regard to the 1968 presidential election are not of much interest, it must be admitted. They are engaged in nothing but the well-worn fraud of serving as alternatives to each other. As parties committed to maintaining the capitalist system, both are equally responsible for the imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Through Goldwater, in fact, the Republicans greatly facilitated Johnson's belligerent foreign policy.

Mood of People

What is of real current interest is the antiwar mood of the American people which was registered in a distorted way in the overwhelming vote against Goldwater in 1964 and which stands behind the phenomenal rise of opposition on a coast-to-coast scale against Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam.

The Republican machine politicians would, of course, like to take advantage of this. Their immediate interests coincide, moreover, with wider interests which they share in common with the Democrats. A rise in popular opposition to either party, if it is extensive enough, potentially threatens the stability of the setup whereby the Democrats and Republicans periodically relieve each other when the image they create for themselves by their conduct in office becomes too badly tarnished.

To divert dissatisfied voters, ways and means must be found for them to express their discontent within the two-party system. If that is not done, third-party formations or even worse can arise — an independent labor party or a mass revolutionary-socialist movement.

That is why candidates in either party are capable at times of speaking quite radically. Like the Madison Avenue hucksters, they know their trade. For instance, if "peace candidates" must be deployed to block formation of an antiwar movement that could achieve genuine peace and much more besides, the Republicans can be counted on to loyally do their share.

Today the Republican elephant, standing amidst discarded splints and bandages, is trying on "peace-style" suits for size and looks. And the Democratic donkey, still wearing Goldwater's clothes, now spotted with blood, is looking apprehensively at his rival. Perhaps he, too, should switch to a "peacenik" outfit?

Negro Youth, 14, Faces Death in Shooting of Cop

ELLAVILLE, Ga. — A 14-year-old boy is scheduled to go on trial for his life on Feb. 14 because he killed a policeman who was hitting his brother with a club.

Charlie Hunter shot Night Policeman John A. Hardin to death last Nov. 13 on a dirt road about a mile outside the Ellaville city limits. The boy said he feared that Hardin was about to kill his brother Willie, 19.

Judge T. O. Marshall, sitting as judge of Juvenile Court, turned the boy over to Superior Court for trial on a charge of first-degree murder. The state was expected to ask that the brothers be electrocuted.

Attorneys for the Hunters are challenging the system of jury selection in Schley County. They say that it results in the exclusion of Negroes, who make up 56 percent of the population of the county.

Concerned citizens in Southwest Georgia have formed the Hunter Defense Committee to try to free the youths. Slater King, president of the Albany Movement, is chairman.

King pointed out that Officer Hardin and another man stopped the Hunter brothers on the road outside Ellaville, although the policeman's authority did not extend beyond the city limits.

The man with Hardin was identified as Kermit O. Green, a foreman with the Georgia Highway Department who also acts as county jailer. Sheriff William Marcene Ellis testified at a preliminary hearing that Green had no authority to arrest anybody anywhere.

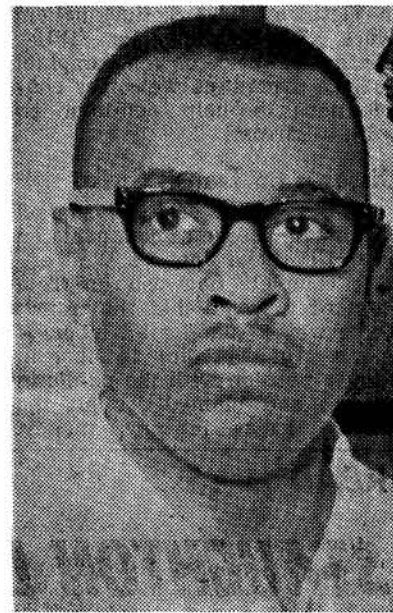
The Hunter brothers said that Willie Hunter, who was driving their car, was slow in getting out of the vehicle after it was stopped. They said the policeman then hit Willie Hunter with a club while Green held a pistol and an automatic rifle.

Charlie Hunter said that he yelled to Hardin, "Don't hit him anymore," and tried to get out of the car. The boy charged that Green pushed him back into the car while Hardin hit his brother with the club again.

The Hunters related that Willie was lying on the ground half-conscious, and Hardin was preparing to hit him again, when Charlie grabbed the pistol from Green and shot the policeman.

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Dr. Martin Luther King joined Slater King in a statement on Feb. 14 urging "Governor Sanders to initiate an investigation of the Hunter brother's case and of the process of jury selection in Schley County, Georgia."

The Hunter Defense Committee is at P.O. Box 1641, Albany, Ga. Funds are needed to help in the defense.



Slater King

Detroit Student Sit-In Hits Curb on Communist Speaker

By Marilyn Levin and Jan Garrett

DETROIT — Refusal of Wayne State University officials to provide adequate speaking facilities for Communist party spokesman Herbert Aptheker sparked a spontaneous sit-in demonstration of some 300 students Feb. 11 near the Kresge Science Library auditorium, where he was speaking.

Well over 1000 students gathered outside the small auditorium, to which Aptheker was confined, waiting to get in to hear what he had to say on his trip to north Vietnam. The auditorium has a capacity of 125 and was in substantial part filled by hostile reporters. Even the leaders of some of the sponsoring groups could not get in, so tight was the university and police "protection."

Aptheker had been invited to speak at Wayne's campus by the DuBois Club there; and the meeting was co-sponsored by the campus Students for a Democratic Society, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, Young Democrats, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The appearance of Aptheker at Wayne and other places in Michigan was cause for shouting on the part of the lunatic right-wing groups, most notoriously "Breakthrough," which threatened to make it impossible for Aptheker to speak.

The right-wing Michigan State

Senate went on record in a resolution opposing the appearance on campus of members of the Communist Party, thus trying to contravene a state-wide university policy established three years ago which upholds freedom of speech in such cases.

These facts — plus extensive press coverage — made it inevitable that Aptheker would get a large audience. But the university, asked by the DuBois Club to protect their meeting, proceeded to isolate it in a small auditorium, while much larger campus facilities were available. Sponsoring organizations asked — without success — that the administration allow speaker equipment to pipe the meeting outside so that all could hear.

"Breakthrough" cruised around with sound cars and rabid, glass-eyed picketers. They shouted the usual epithets as 85 cops stood by.

People turned away from the auditorium became angry and remained, milling around. Students in and around the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam talked about staging a sit-in within the building to protest the failure of the administration to provide adequate facilities and to demand that Aptheker address the crowd outside.

Under the impromptu leadership of Kenneth Cockrell, a Negro law student, 300 sat down. While the formal meeting inside was in progress, an open forum took place among the sit-inners.