

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 9 Monday, February 28, 1966 Price 10c

## AN OPEN LETTER TO W.E.B. DuBOIS CLUBS

— See page 4 —

# Vietnam Rift Develops In U. S. Ruling Circles

## New Yorkers Slate New Mass March To End War Now

NEW YORK, Feb. 22 — The New York antiwar movement is escalating its protest against the war in Vietnam with plans for a massive parade and rally here on March 26 in connection with the International Days of Protest.

Featured speakers so far include Staughton Lynd; Julian Bond; Nobel Peace Prize winner Linus Pauling; Giorgio La Pira, the former mayor of Florence, Italy who recently made world-wide headlines in connection with attempts to settle the Vietnam conflict; Donald Duncan, the ex-special forces Sergeant and Vietnam veteran who has exposed the U. S. role there; and Juan Mari Bras, leader of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico.

### Parade Committee

The event is being coordinated by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee which sponsored the parade last Oct. 16 that drew some 30,000 participants. Spokesmen for the committee said today "interest is much higher this time," and there is "good indication" the turnout will exceed that in October. The committee is a non-exclusive group involving individuals prominent in virtually every group in the area opposed to the war in Vietnam. There were 40 such groups involved in the October event, and with the growth of new groups and the revival of others on this issue there are now over 70 cooperating. Chairman of the committee is the distinguished pacifist leader A. J. Muste.

Plans call for the parade to proceed down Fifth Avenue from 94th St. to a rally in Central Park Mall.

## 5,000 Pickets Greet Johnson in New York

NEW YORK, Feb. 23 — More than 5,000 New Yorkers massed on four city blocks at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to protest the presentation of a "freedom" award to President Johnson. The chanting pickets demanded an end to the Vietnam war.

Sponsored by a committee formed for the purpose and chaired by pacifist leader A. J. Muste, the antiwar demonstration was supported by virtually every antiwar and radical group in the city.

Placards demanding an immediate end to the war dominated the demonstration. Signs declared: "Bring GIs Home Now," "Support Our GIs — Bring Them Home."

Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam carried a huge banner declaring: "Bring Our Black GIs Back Home."

There was a good-sized contingent from the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement. Their banner urged support for the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. imperialism.

A group of Mississippi rights fighters who had been among those evicted by troops from the Army barracks near Greenville carried a sign declaring: "Mr. President, YOU use non-violence."

Following the demonstration, a rally was held where a real freedom award was accepted for Julian Bond, the SNCC leader ousted from the Georgia legislature for opposing the war.

## Kennedy Bids for Leadership Of Senate Opposition to LBJ

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 23 — Fifteen months after his landslide victory, Lyndon Johnson's "great consensus" is being shattered by the Vietnam war. After months and months of genocidal bombing and massive troop reinforcements the U. S. is still not winning and the war is becoming increasingly unpopular at home and abroad. This has created a rift in U. S. ruling circles, with a segment now arguing that it's the wrong war, at the wrong time, in the wrong place. This division in the capitalist power structure offers a tremendous opportunity for the antiwar movement.

One year ago, there was almost unanimous agreement in the American ruling class about how to prosecute the Vietnam war. Two Senators alone, Morse and Gruening, could be considered outspoken critics of that policy. Today it is estimated that from 30 to 50 senators oppose Johnson's Vietnam policy and as many as 100 congressmen are uneasy about it.

### Kennedy Statement

The dissension within Johnson's party over his war program for Vietnam came to a head Feb. 19 when Senator Robert Kennedy (D-N.Y.) made a public statement that he favored some indication by Washington that it would be willing to allow the south Vietnamese National Liberation Front to take part in a future government of that country. Since then, he and Johnson have sought to moderate the dispute, suggesting there is no particular difference between them.

In Honolulu, only two weeks earlier, Johnson had pledged to "destroy the fighting will and power" of the NLF, and to support the Saigon regime to the hilt — a regime which is unalterably opposed even to negotiating with the NLF, much less entering into a coalition government in which the NLF would play a role.

The division in the ruling class is basically a tactical one about how the U. S. should continue its stranglehold on the future of the Vietnamese people. On one side stands those who advocate pressing the war to the point of crushing the NLF, no matter what the cost in men, and no matter how long it takes. This is the policy of the Johnson administration.

On the other side are those who think that the price of exterminating the NLF is too great — including the price in the number of votes it might cost the Democratic Party in the forthcoming year-end elections. They generally advocate a limited war, in which the U. S. would only try



Robert Kennedy

to maintain military "enclaves" in south Vietnam.

Their plan does not represent any real break with the long-run imperialist program of occupying south Vietnam in order to ensure a pro-U. S. government there. As yet, none of the Senate critics have spoken out against the saturation bombing of south Vietnam or the continuing build-up of U. S. troops there.

Yet the Senate debate and hearings are having deep repercussions in American politics. The debate will give the American people an opening to make their antiwar views known.

Just in the first weekend of the debate, after Wayne Morse made a slashing indictment of the secretive process of decision-making in the highest echelons of power (he compared the denial of facts to the American people with the policies of Nazi Germany), he received 450 letters of support.

This is undoubtedly only an inkling of the reaction that the congressmen are really getting. Yet

(Continued on Page 3)

## Castro Challenged to Confrontation On Charges Against 4th International

The leaders of the Fourth International have challenged Fidel Castro to a confrontation before the people of Cuba on the truth of his charge that the Fourth International is "an agency of imperialism." The Cuban leader made this charge Jan. 15 in a speech to the closing session of the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana.

In a surprising revival of long-exploded Stalinist slanders, Castro branded the program of the Fourth International as "anti-historic" and "fraudulent," and asserted: "For if Trotskyism represented at a certain stage an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in later years a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction."

To bolster this baseless accusation, Castro cited irresponsible charges against his regime, particularly in relation to the whereabouts of Che Guevara, made by certain individuals and publications. But none of the individuals are members of the Fourth International and none of the publications are publications of the Fourth International.

In an open letter to Castro, Feb. 1, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International declared: "... the Fourth International makes the following challenge: that he [Castro] submit his proofs before a tribunal of the Cuban people; five of the most representative leaders of the Fourth International are ready to stand

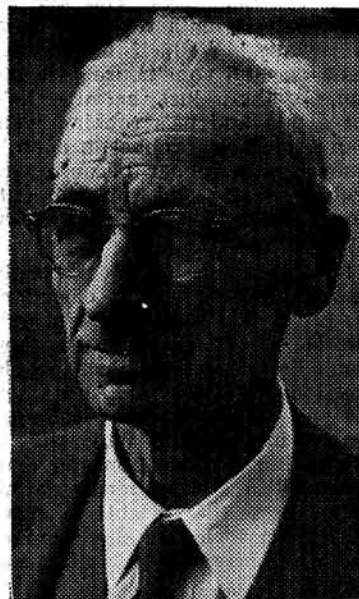
before such a public tribunal and answer the accuser before the people of all Cuba. Thus the people of Cuba will discover that the entire activities of the Fourth International are devoted to but one aim: the victory of the world socialist revolution!"

The open letter includes a detailed political-factual rebuttal of Castro's charges. The complete text of the letter will appear in our next issue.

### Text Available Of Castro Speech

The complete text of Fidel Castro's Jan. 15 speech to the Tricontinental Conference in Havana has been published in English by the labor press service, World Outlook.

Ordinarily only available by subscription (\$7.50 for 26 issues), World Outlook is offering its issue of Feb. 11 containing the Castro speech for sale on an individual basis. Copies may be obtained at 50 cents each by writing to: World Outlook, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010. In New York, copies may be obtained at the Militant Labor Forum Hall at 873 Broadway.



A. J. Muste

# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Peace or holocaust are the alternatives, says an editorial appearing in the Feb. 11, *Missouri Teamster*. The official publication of Teamsters Joint Council 13, St. Louis, charged: "The truth is that we are losing the war in South Vietnam, that it is being waged without the consent of the Congress or the people, and that it cannot be won without a general war in Southeast Asia and the consequent involvement of the Chinese, that its ultimate end must be atomic holocaust, and that man does not have the right to destroy himself in this fashion."

The *Teamster* called for more "bargaining" instead of insisting on "unconditional talks," and said, "we cannot refuse to include the Viet Cong in such talks, and . . . we cannot refuse to grant free elections in that shell shocked nation."

"It is time to deal with the realities," concluded the editorial, "because we stand on the brink of disaster, and it is time for the people to tell our national leadership that we will not be betrayed either by blindness, propaganda, or ineptitude in dealing with what is quite certainly the turning point in man's history."

The *Teamster* paper observed that the guerrillas controlled the vast majority of the country in south Vietnam and that the people in this area had "first fought the French and then the Americans because their fight was to be free of foreign domination."

Despite this latter observation, the *Teamster* failed to include among its editorial demands that all U. S. troops be withdrawn from Vietnam.

A resolution calling for a boycott against ships of foreign nations that continue to trade with north Vietnam was recently adopted by the executive board of the Maritime Trades Department (AFL-CIO). Although the MTD purports to represent more than a million maritime workers in some 30 union affiliates, the success of its pro-war boycott depends primarily on the thug-led International Longshoremen's Association on the East Coast.

Many rank and file ILA dockers, however, are facing the possibility of serious job losses starting in April, 1966. That's when a clause in the union's contract agreed to last year will go into effect which will allow waterfront bosses to begin cutting down the size of longshore work gangs.

## Weekly Calendar

### AD RATES

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

### LOS ANGELES

**THE AFTERMATH OF WATTS.** Panelists: Robert Bailey, Operation Bootstrap; Woodrow Coleman, N-VAC; Bob Freeman, CORE; Abe Gorenfeld, ACLU. Della Rossa, moderator. Fri., March 4, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

**FILM: NBC WHITE PAPER ON AN-GOLA.** With comments by Carlos Cambando, representative of the Angolan National Liberation Front. Fri., March 4, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### TWIN CITIES

**DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS OF ESCALATION IN VIETNAM.** Speaker: Charles Scheer. Fri., March 4, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Meanwhile, West Coast longshoremen are still officially on record opposing the war in Vietnam, although union leaders persist in supporting so-called friends in the Democratic Party — including war-escalator LBJ.

An editorial in the Feb. 4 *Dispatcher*, published by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (Ind.), comments: "The ILWU wholeheartedly supported President Johnson for re-election in 1964. We still support him on domestic policy. For example, we support the war on poverty at home. But we oppose the war on the poor in Vietnam — which would eliminate not only poverty, but an entire people."

The U.S. labor force will increase by nine million in the next six years, according to an estimate by the U.S. Department of Labor, raising the total to 86 million. In the following decade, 1970-80, approximately 15 million more persons will go into the labor force, raising the total to 101 million.

Two factors in the expansion are the growing population and a rapid increase in the proportion of adult women who will be working. The Labor Department estimates the latter at two and one-half million. Many additional young workers and married women will enter the labor force on a part-time basis because of school and home responsibilities.

President Johnson's romance with top AFL-CIO leaders has been strained but not broken off despite the U. S. Senate's failure to repeal section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act as the President promised.

Actually all three of the "major" demands of union leaders appear headed for the ash can. In addition to repeal of 14(b), they were for an increase in the minimum wage, and for improvements in unemployment compensation laws.

President Johnson headed the list of boss politicians who promised to fight for one or all of these modest demands. In return AFL-CIO president George Meany led a disgraceful campaign that has placed the union movement on record in support of the war in Vietnam.

Now some top AFL-CIO and independent union heads are beginning to gripe against Johnson's phoney wage guidelines and claim they intend to violate them.

United Mine Workers President W. A. Boyle announced that his coal miners would not recognize the 3.2 percent wage guideline. But Boyle made it clear that the only reason he was for going over the guideline was because "there is no law" stopping unions from doing so.

Boyle was not the only union leader indicating a willingness to go along with a legal wage freeze. C. J. Hagerty, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, recently announced that construction workers would also exceed the 3.2 percent guideline in pending negotiations. Then, along with other BCTD leaders he released a statement which was an open invitation to boss politicians to pass a "legal" wage freeze.

"It is our definite feeling," the statement coaxed, "that if the national interest demands legal and universal economic controls affecting each and every segment of the national economy the Building and Construction Trades Department will be the first to go along."

—Tom Leonard

# Malcolm X Speaks

On Feb. 13, 1965, Malcolm X returned home from a trip to the European continent where the French government had, without explanation, barred him from entry. A few hours later, at 2:30 a.m. on Feb. 14, Molotov cocktails were hurled into the house in East Elmhurst, Queens, where Malcolm, his wife and four young children were asleep. The house was seriously damaged, but the family managed to escape without injury. In the following week Malcolm actually had to defend himself against hints and charges, spread by the police, the press and the Black Muslims, that he had arranged the arson-bombing himself. Malcolm was scheduled to speak on the day of the bombing at a meeting in Detroit sponsored by the Afro-American Broadcasting Company. Although fatigued and distraught, he felt it necessary to appear at this meeting, which the local press had refused to publicize.

### Installment 17

### TRICKY LOGIC ON SELF-DEFENSE

I hope you will forgive me for speaking so informally tonight, but I frankly think it is always better to be informal. As far as I am concerned, I can speak to people better in an informal way than I can with all of this stiff formality that ends up meaning nothing. Plus, when people are informal, they are relaxed. When they are relaxed, their mind is more open, and they can weigh things more objectively. Whenever you and I are discussing our problems we need to be very objective, very cool, calm and collected.

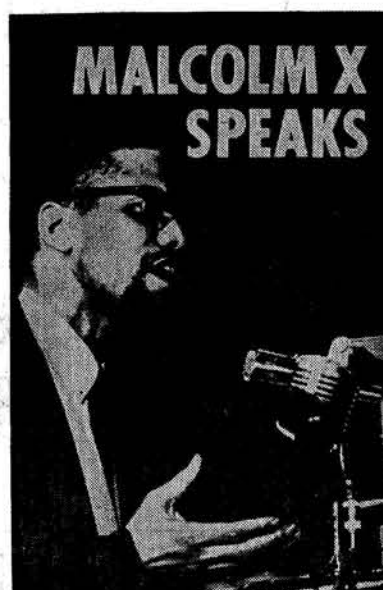
That doesn't mean we should always be. There is a time to be cool and a time to be hot. See — you got messed up into thinking that there is only one time for everything. There is a time to love and a time to hate. Even Solomon said that, and he was in that book too. You're just taking something out of the book that fits your cowardly nature when you don't want to fight, and you say, "Well, Jesus said don't fight." But I don't even believe Jesus said that.

Before I get involved in anything nowadays, I have to straighten out my own position, which is clear. I am not a racist in any form whatsoever. I don't believe in any form of discrimination or segregation. I believe in Islam. I am a Muslim and there is nothing wrong with being a Muslim, nothing wrong with the religion of Islam. It just teaches us to believe in Allah as the God. Those of you who are Christians probably believe in the same God, because I think you believe in the God who created the universe. That's the one we believe in, the one who created the universe — the only difference being you call him God and we call him Allah. The Jews call him Jehovah. If you could understand Hebrew, you would probably call him Jehovah too. If you could understand Arabic, you would probably call him Allah.

### His Language

But since the white man, your friend, took your language away from you during slavery, the only language you know is his language. You know your friend's language, so when he's putting the rope around your neck, you call for God and he calls for God. And you wonder why the one you call on never answers.

Elijah Muhammad had taught us that the white man could not enter into Mecca in Arabia and all of us who followed him, we



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

believed it. When I got over there and went to Mecca and saw these people who were blond and blue-eyed and pale-skinned and all those things, I said, "Well," but I watched them closely. And I noticed that though they were white, and they would call themselves white, there was a difference between them and the white ones over here. And that basic difference was this: In Asia or the Arab world or in Africa, where the Muslims are, if you find one who says he's white, all he's doing is using an adjective to describe something that's incidental about him, one of his incidental characteristics; there is nothing else to it, he's just white.

### White Equals Boss

But when you get the white man over here in America and he says he's white, he means something else. You can listen to the sound of his voice — when he says he's white, he means he's boss. That's right. That's what white means in this language. You know the expression, "free, white and twenty-one." He made that up. He's letting you know that white means free, boss. He's up there, so that when he says he's white he has a little different sound in his voice. I know you know what I'm talking about.

Despite the fact that I saw that Islam was a religion of brotherhood, I also had to face reality. And when I got back into this American society, I'm not in a society that practices brotherhood. I'm in a society that might preach it on Sunday, but they don't practice it on any day. America is a society where there is no brotherhood. This society is controlled primarily by the racists and segregationists who are in Washington, D. C., in positions of power. And from Washington, D. C., they exercise the same forms of brutal oppression against dark-skinned people in south and north Vietnam, or in the Congo, or in Cuba or any other place on this earth where they are trying to exploit and oppress. That is a society whose government doesn't hesitate to inflict the most brutal form of punishment and oppression upon dark-skinned people all over the world.

Look right now what's going on in and around Saigon and Hanoi and in the Congo and elsewhere. They are violent when their interests are at stake. They're violent in Korea, they're violent in Germany, they're violent in the South Pacific, they're violent

wherever they go. But when it comes time for you and me to protect ourselves against lynchings, they tell us to be nonviolent.

That's a shame. Because we get tricked into being nonviolent, and when somebody stands up and talks like I just did, they say, "Why, he's advocating violence." Isn't that what they say? Everytime you pick up your newspaper, you see where one of these things has written into it that I am advocating violence. I have never advocated any violence. I have only said that black people who are the victims of organized violence perpetrated upon us by the Klan, the Citizens Councils, and many other forms, should defend ourselves. And when I say we should defend ourselves against the violence of others, they use their press skillfully to make the world think that I am calling for violence, period. I wouldn't call on anybody to be violent without a cause.

### They Know

The Klan is a cowardly outfit. They have perfected the art of making Negroes be afraid. As long as the Negro is afraid, the Klan is safe. But the Klan itself is cowardly. One of them never comes after one of you. They all come together. They're scared of you. And you sit there when they're putting the rope around your neck saying, "Forgive them, Lord, they know not what they do." As long as they've been doing it, they're experts at it, they know what they're doing.

No, since the federal government has shown that it isn't going to do anything about it but talk, then it is a duty, it's your and my duty as men, as human beings, it is our duty to our people to organize ourselves and let the government know that if they don't stop that Klan, we'll stop it ourselves. Then you'll see the government start doing something about it. But don't ever think that they're going to do it just on some kind of morality basis. No. So I don't believe in violence — that's why I want to stop it. And you can't stop it with love, not love of those things down there. No! So, we only mean vigorous action in self-defense, and that vigorous action we feel we're justified in initiating by any means necessary.

### Psychology

Now, for saying something like that, the press calls us racist and people who are "violent in reverse." This is how they psycho you. They make you think that if you try to stop the Klan from lynching you, you're practicing violence in reverse. Pick up on this, I hear a lot of you parrot what the man says. You say, "I don't want to be a Ku Klux Klan in reverse." Well, if a criminal comes around your house with his gun, brother, just because he's got a gun and he's robbing your house, and he's a robber, it doesn't make you a robber because you grab your gun and run him out. No, the man is using some tricky logic on you.

I say it is time for black people to put together the type of action, the unity, that is necessary to pull the sheet off of them so they won't be frightening black people any longer. That's all. And when we say this, the press calls us "racist in reverse." Why, this is insane, but it shows how they can do it. With skillful manipulating of the press they're able to make the victim look like the criminal and the criminal look like the victim.

Next week: Kennedy, Africa and the U. S.

# Bertrand Russell Hails Cuban Defiance of U.S.

By Bertrand Russell

The following is the text of a statement by Bertrand Russell which was tape-recorded for Havana Radio. The world-famous philosopher had sent a message of greetings to the Tricontinental Conference. The Cuban government was so pleased with this that they asked for a tape-recorded message.

Throughout the world, people speak in awe and admiration of the extraordinary spirit of the Cuban people. In the course of history, there have been many cruel and predatory imperialisms, but few have been as powerful as United States imperialism. In Cuba, a small nation has defied successfully this great colossus.

I need not tell you of the impact your revolution has made on the consciousness of all those suffering from exploitation and domination. There is no other country in Latin America where the wealth and resources of the population are not manipulated and stolen by foreign capitalists whose base of operation is the United States.

The problem, therefore, that presents itself to the people of the world is how to remove the rulers of the United States, who have created a war machine of great brutality to protect their economic empire.

## U.S. Oppression

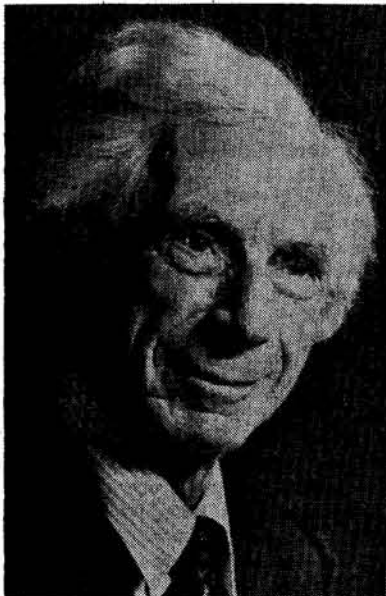
In Vietnam and the Dominican Republic the rulers of U. S. capitalism have sought directly to suppress popular and patriotic struggle. But the problem is not only one of military aggression. U. S. rulers also control world markets, and through this they siphon the wealth of people and make them ever more dependent on the United States. When we consider the suffering this causes, we are again reminded of the debt we owe to the Cuban people for showing us the way to overcome misery and degradation.

Let us examine the nature of this war machine. Three thousand military bases and vast mobile fleets, bearing missiles and fleets of nuclear bombers, are spread over our planet to protect the ownership and control by U. S. capitalism of sixty percent of the world's resources. Sixty percent of the world's resources are owned by the rulers of six percent of the world's population.

The aggressiveness of this empire imposes on mankind an expenditure of \$140,000,000,000 annually or \$16,000,000 each hour. The current arms expenditure exceeds the entire national income of all developing countries. It exceeds the world's annual exports of all commodities. It exceeds the national income of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The U. S. military budget is nearly \$60,000,000,000 per year. One Atlas missile costs \$30,000,000 or the equivalent of the total investment for nitrogen fertilizer plant with capacity of 70,000 tons per annum.

Consider this in terms of the United Kingdom only, to take the example of a prosperous country: one obsolete missile equals four universities, one TSR-2 equals five modern hospitals, one ground-to-air missile equals 100,000 tractors.

During the past fourteen years the U. S. spent \$4,000,000,000 to purchase farm surpluses; butter



Bertrand Russell

and cheese have been stored and poisoned to keep prices up in the world markets. Blue dye is poured into great mountains of butter and cheese to render them unusable. By 1960, 125,000,000 tons of bread grain had been stored in the United States to rot — enough food for every citizen of India for one year. Unimaginably vast quantities of foodstuffs are calculatedly destroyed by the rulers of U. S. capitalism for no other purpose than the continuation of their profits and the retention of their power. Like vultures the handful of the rich fatten on the poor, the exploited, the oppressed.

A drop of five percent in the world price of staple exports of any country would, according to Dag Hammarskjold, wipe out all investments of the world bank, of the United Nations and all bilateral and other investments. These were the fears of Hammarskjold. What are the facts? In recent years prices have been operated against poor countries not merely at five percent but at forty percent.

## Perpetuates Hunger

The industrial production of Western capitalism is consciously employed not only to perpetuate the hunger which exists in the world, but to increase it vastly for profit. In South Africa, 10,000 children die annually from gastroenteritis. The smallpox which haunts many countries could be eliminated at a cost of \$500,000. Hundreds of millions who suffer from yaws could be cured by a five-penny shot of penicillin. Five hundred million people have trachoma. Sixty percent of the children of Africa suffer from protein-deficiency diseases such as kwashiorkor, beriberi or pellagra.

When U. S. capitalists hoard food and poison it, they not only deprive the starving, but force the developing countries to buy food at high costs. The riches of the earth are destroyed, wasted, stolen by the few and used to murder the millions.

But the people of Cuba have stirred the conscience of the American people. Every university, school and, indeed, every major city in the United States witnesses the popular resistance of the American people to the military-industrial complex which rules them. This new resistance of the people of the United States is a tribute to the people of Cuba, because the demands of the American resistance are precisely those which have been achieved, in practice, in Cuba. As the people of the United States become more militant and strong in their opposition, and as the peoples of the world follow the Cuban example, the predatory system which so jeopardizes world peace will succumb to the people of the United States and the world.

I send you my warmest greetings in our common struggle.

## DEFENSE OPENS CASE

# Malcolm X Murder Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Feb. 22 — After 20 days of testimony, the prosecution finished the presentation of its case Feb. 18 against the three men accused of assassinating Malcolm X. Yesterday, the defense began with opening statements on behalf of two of the defendants, Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson.

William Chance, Butler's attorney, said that they will prove that Butler was not at the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965 when Malcolm X was gunned down. Butler does not know Talmadge Hayer (also known as Thomas Hagan), the defendant who was shot and caught at the scene, Chance asserted. The defense will show that the circumstances of the killing made it impossible or improbable for Butler to have participated. Lastly, they will show that Butler had no motive for killing Malcolm X, Chance concluded.

Charles Beavers, one of Johnson's attorneys, said they would show that Johnson was in another county at the time Malcolm X was shot, and that Johnson had no reason whatsoever to participate in the murder.

## Relatives Testify

The presentation of defense witnesses for Hayer began after the opening statements. Three of Hayer's relatives — LeRoi A. Mosely, his brother-in-law; Mrs. Cathleen Mosely, his step-sister; and Horace E. Hayer, his brother — testified briefly. Each of them said that Hayer had never shown any interest in the Muslims or black nationalism.

Hayer has maintained that he was never a member of the Muslims. Though the first two eyewitnesses to testify, Cary Thomas and Vernal Temple, claimed to know that Hayer was a Muslim, their generally unreliable testimony was especially weak on this point.

The question of what protection the police provided for Malcolm X has never been raised at the trial, but considerable light was shed on this by the testimony of Patrolman Gilbert Henry, one of the last prosecution witnesses, on Feb. 17. Henry, a Negro, and his partner Patrolman John Carroll were assigned to the Audubon Ballroom on the day Malcolm X was murdered. At almost all previous meetings held by Malcolm X at the Audubon, uniformed policemen were stationed at the entrance to the building — usually about a half dozen of them. But on this occasion — just a week after Malcolm's home had been fire-bombed and burned to the ground in such a way that Malcolm and his family were nearly trapped inside — the two policemen were told to conceal themselves.

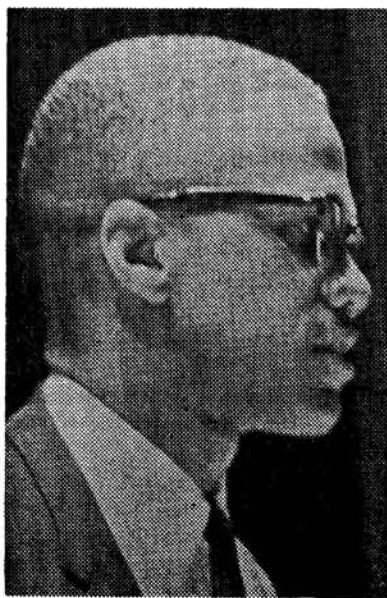
## In Another Room

They were stationed in the Rose Room — not the main auditorium where the meeting was held. They were instructed to remain where they could not be seen, and if anything happened to summon help with a walkie-talkie they had with them. The other walkie-talkie was in the hands of police stationed in Presbyterian Medical Center, a complex of buildings on the other side of a broad avenue.

When Patrolman Henry heard shots he called on the walkie-talkie but got no answer. He ran into the main auditorium, he said, but saw no one with a gun. There were no other uniformed policemen in the ballroom nor did he recognize any detectives, Henry testified.

When asked about what efforts he had made to get the names of witnesses, Henry said he had asked about two people for their names but had been unable to get the name of anyone.

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm



Malcolm X

X's widow, testified earlier that day. She had been occupied with her children during the shooting and was unable to identify any of the assassins. She left the witness stand after answering a few routine questions. Obviously upset, she paused near the three defendants. When a guard urged her on out of the courtroom she said: "They killed my husband. They killed him."

Charles Moore, who said he was self-employed and did public relations work, testified on Feb. 18. He said he was sitting in a booth at the right-hand side of the auditorium facing the stage near the rear when a commotion began. He got up and when the shooting started saw a man standing with an automatic weapon in his hand pointed at the stage.

Moore said he then walked to a telephone booth located in a lounge area between the entrance and the auditorium itself, to phone in a story to ABC Radio for which he was a free-lance reporter. While in the phone booth he saw a man with a .45 caliber automatic in his hand run from the auditorium through the lounge and past him out the door. He identified the man as the defendant Hayer and said he was the same man he had seen with a gun in the auditorium.

Moore testified that he saw Reuben Francis chasing Hayer,

with a revolver in his hand. Francis fired three times, hitting Hayer with the second shot when Hayer was a few feet from the door, Moore claims. Hayer was through the door and out of his line of sight when he heard the third shot, Moore said.

Moore joined the Organization of Afro-American Unity after Malcolm X's death and was appointed chairman in April 1965. He left the organization a few months later, he said.

Detective Joseph Reich, the last of the technical witnesses, testified on Feb. 16 about the results of the ballistics tests he made involving a variety of bullets, pellets and shells found at the scene. Reich testified that the four cartridges found in Hayer's pocket when he was arrested had each been in the chamber of the .45 caliber automatic that the prosecution has presented in evidence. This can be determined by "ejector" and "extractor" marks on the shell made when it is removed from the chamber.

Reich testified that he had examined the five .32 caliber bullets recovered but could not tell whether they had been fired from a single gun or as many as five different guns. Three of these bullets were found in the area of the lounge.

## Bullet Left In

One of the .32 caliber bullets was recovered from Hayer's leg March 8, 1965 when he was operated on. No one has testified as to why the bullet was left in Hayer's leg for more than two weeks.

The last of these bullets was removed from the liver of William Harris on Feb. 22, 1965. According to a police interview with him Feb. 22, 1965, read at the trial, Harris was shot in the right side from behind when he was running out of the ballroom. He told a policeman outside that he had been shot and he was taken to a hospital. The report identified Harris as 51 years old and a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

According to another report read at the trial, William Parker, 36, who was seated in the third row on the left side of the auditorium, was hit in the foot by a pellet, presumably from a shotgun, when the shooting started.

# ...Rift in U.S. Ruling Circles

(Continued from Page 1)

it outnumbers all the letters of support for the war which all the members of both the Senate and the House had entered in the *Congressional Record* to that date — and since. On Feb. 11, Fulbright reported that his mail was running 30 to 1 against the war.

The Senate hearings produced unprecedentedly sharp exchanges, between the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Johnson's policy makers. At one point when top presidential adviser Maxwell Taylor was testifying, Feb. 17, Fulbright asked him:

"You quote about national liberation wars. How do you describe the War of 1776? Was that a war of national liberation?" Taylor tried to dodge the question but Fulbright pressed him. "I asked you, how would you characterize the revolution in 1776?" Taylor answered, "As a civil revolution against a colonial power."

"And it was very similar to the original revolution of the Vietnamese against the French, wasn't it?" Fulbright persisted.

The antiwar movement has pressed this obvious and accurate comparison. But it is given new weight when it is made by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee before an audience of over 30 million Americans.

It is for such reasons that this division in the country's ruling circles over what to do about Vietnam provides a major new opportunity for the antiwar movement. Large numbers of Americans who have been deeply troubled by the war and who want no part of it have felt that somehow they must take either the word of the most influential figures in government — all united — or the word of what the propagandists have presented as ill-informed college students or, in the case of the red-baiters, communist-tainted "Vietniks."

Now the official "consensus" is shattered and these Americans see serious questions being raised about the war in the very summits of political rule. This can only give added weight to the voice of those who are speaking out clearly and understandably against the war.

The activity of the antiwar movement up to now, coupled with the mass uneasiness about the war, has played a major role in sparking the present division in Washington. The antiwar movement should now press forward even more militantly, more aggressively. Build up the pressure by intensifying the demand: End the war! Bring the troops home now!

## How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

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

# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 538-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 30 - No. 9

345

Monday, February 28, 1966

## Where Are 2 Antiwar GIs?

Last Nov. 27 the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam released two American prisoners, Sgt. George E. Smith and SP/5 Claude E. McClure. On their release the two GIs told newsmen that their experience in Vietnam made them realize the U. S. should not be there and that on their return home they intended to become active in the antiwar movement. Shortly thereafter the two GIs disappeared from public view.

On Dec. 27 Army officials in Okinawa announced that the two men had been charged with aiding the enemy. The report said they were being held in Okinawa for preliminary investigation of this charge. That was nearly two months ago and nothing further has been heard about them.

Clearly, it is not an unfounded suspicion that they are being held incommunicado not because of anything they did while prisoners but because of the antiwar views they expressed at the time of their release.

These two young men should be returned to the United States and afforded the opportunity to retain civilian counsel. All of the facts of the charges against them should be publicly aired.

We think that all those concerned with fair play, justice and peace should speak out on this question. One thing that could be done is to raise the fate of Smith and McClure with members of Congress, particularly those who have expressed one or another degree of independence from the administration on the war issue. It would be justified and proper for them to raise the question on the floor of Congress — What is the government doing with these two young men?

## Viet Rift Touches Union Tops

A small but encouraging breach has finally occurred in the previously unanimous support for Johnson's Vietnam war by the international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO. Meeting in Miami Feb. 18, the general executive board of the 380,000-member Amalgamated Clothing Workers adopted a cautiously worded resolution which declared in part: "Today we find ourselves involved militarily on behalf of a government not enjoying full popular support."

The resolution followed on the heels of a public declaration by the union's secretary-treasurer, Frank Rosenblum, in which he said the unions must "take our stand for peace and challenge the forces of reaction." He commended the students active in the antiwar movement.

As the war continues — and casualties, prices and profits rise apace — more and more workers will see the need to demand a halt to Washington's blood-letting. Pressure will build up on the union officialdom to abandon its pro-war line. The Amalgamated's modification of policy is the first token of this.

## Kremlin View of Havana Parley

In a Feb. 14 editorial we noted the contradictory character of the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana in January and the ambiguous attitude of the U. S. Communist Party toward the conference. The editorial cited the conference's call for revolutionary struggle against imperialism as expressing one aspect and Fidel Castro's slanderous attack on the Fourth International as representing the other.

We further noted that while *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party, reported at length about Castro's attack on "Trotskyism," it didn't have a mumbling word to say about the stand he and the conference took for implacable armed struggle in the colonial world.

This raised the question, we said, of whether or not the pro-Moscow Communist parties were simply engaging in a cynical maneuver at the conference when they registered their support for resolutions containing these views. We asked if the Communist parties intended to try to help implement the resolution calling for revolutionary action or simply regarded them as so many scraps of paper.

There is now further evidence that *The Worker's* total silence on this aspect of the conference was not accidental. In a Feb. 16 Washington dispatch to the *New York Times* Richard Eder, a generally well-informed Latin American correspondent, reported that "Soviet officials are making quiet disclaimers of the aggressive calls for revolution in Latin America, Africa and Asia issued at last month's Tricontinental Conference in Havana . . ."

The most spectacular instance of such disclaimers, Eder said, came in Uruguay where the Soviet ambassador was called in by the government to explain the statement of the Soviet delegate to the Tricontinental Conference in which he declared the USSR stood in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the people of Latin America.

The Soviet ambassador reportedly replied that the delegate to the conference, Sharaf Rashidov, a high-ranking Soviet party official, was speaking "privately" at the conference and not for the Soviet government.

To our knowledge, no Soviet or U. S. Communist Party spokesman has taken exception to Eder's report.

# An Open Letter to

The following open letter was sent to the National Executive Committee of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, with a request that it be printed in *Dimensions*, the DuBois Clubs' discussion bulletin. *Dimensions* says that "its pages are open to all who are committed to building an America and a world free from poverty, war and social injustice."

To the Members of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America:

An important debate is now going on within the anti-Vietnam-war movement over whether the central focus of the movement should be around the demand for negotiations or immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops. We are pleased to see this discussion has been taken up by the members of the DuBois Clubs, although the official position of the DuBois Clubs is to support the demand for negotiations.

The first issue of *Dimensions*, the DuBois Clubs' new discussion bulletin, contains opposing views on this question; Terence Hallinan presents the majority's negotiations position, and a counterposition for withdrawal is signed by Mike Meyerson, Carl Bloice, Harold Supriano, Leni Seigal and Jamie Huberman. While we have disagreements with your minority's viewpoint, we feel they are correct in supporting the demand of immediate withdrawal against the demand for negotiations. As one socialist organization to another, we would like to explain the reasons for our position and why we think the antiwar movement as a whole should adopt the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.

An important question involved in the debate is the right of self-determination for all nations. Hallinan says, "Those of us who were in the majority on this question felt that we were not in any way compromising our principles because we believed that calling for negotiations to implement the Geneva Agreements would be the most effective way for us to help end the war while assuring the people of Vietnam their self-determination."

### Not Consistent

The question here is, not whether you are for self-determination in words, but whether your policy is actually in fact consistent with self-determination. Even Johnson claims he is for self-determination, but his brutal war against the Vietnamese is a continual violation of this principle. We in the antiwar movement, and especially those of us who are socialists, should be careful that we not only do not make demands which in fact contradict the principle of self-determination, but that we formulate demands to support that right.

The demand for negotiations violates the principle of self-determination. It is true that north Vietnam and/or the National Liberation Front may be forced by the bombs and napalm of the U. S. aggressors to negotiate with them someday. That is their decision, because it is they who are under the gun. It is also true that wars generally end in some kind of negotiations.

But for us, here in the U. S., to call upon our imperialist government to engage in negotiations, implies that the U. S. has the right to negotiate the issues of the war, which are nothing less than the future of Vietnam: the economic and political structure of the country, whether it will remain divided, how much control the U. S. will maintain in Vietnam, etc. The U. S. has no right to negotiate the future of Vietnam, and to call upon it to do so plays into Johnson's hands by conceding beforehand that he does have a right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese. In other words, it concedes beforehand

the basic justification the imperialists use for every intervention, from Vietnam to the Dominican Republic.

The demand for negotiations also obscures the fact that the U. S. is the sole aggressor in this war. The implication that the U. S. has some right to negotiate gives credence to the idea that "both sides" are responsible for the war and have legitimate rights they are defending. This is completely false, as most DuBois Clubs members know. The demand for immediate withdrawal, on the other hand, puts the blame squarely where it lies: on U. S. imperialism and Johnson. It says in effect, "the U. S. has no right to be in Vietnam; the U. S. is the aggressor in Vietnam and the cause of the war; and therefore the U. S. should get out, now, unconditionally." As socialists, we should make these points sharp and definite.

### Key Point

The Meyerson minority takes up another important point in this regard: the duty of socialists to defend the world revolution. Socialists are *partisans* of the Vietnamese revolution, even if they disagree on one or another point with the Vietnamese revolutionaries.

The Meyerson minority puts this whole question into sharp focus by raising the hypothesis: "If the people of the Soviet Union were faced with daily B-52 raids, napalming, systematic torture, a quarter of the population in concentration camps, etc., many of the American left who now make a demand for negotiations on Vietnam would then be demanding U. S. Hands Off, U. S. Withdrawal, etc. Negotiations would not even be considered as a proper demand." If it is obvious that the U. S. has no right to negotiate the future of the Soviet Union, isn't it also obvious that it does not have this right in Vietnam or anywhere else?

The minority raises another important point: if the DuBois Clubs can understand this argument when applied to the Soviet Union but not when applied to Vietnam, doesn't that imply a latent racism and chauvinism in the DuBois Clubs' approach?

Hallinan attempts to answer the minority charge of lack of solidarity with the world revolution by distorting the argument. "It is said by some that as socialists we have a responsibility to the Socialist world and that since all those countries are opposed to negotiations and call for immediate withdrawal we must do likewise." This is not the question, whether socialists in this country should parrot what others say (anyone familiar with the YSA knows we certainly do not hold this position). The real question is that solidarity with the world revolution implies in and of itself the withdrawal approach for socialists, especially here in the aggressor nation.

### No Conflict

Hallinan, however, explains that "those of us on the NCC [DuBois Club National Coordinating Committee] who voted in favor of the new position on negotiations felt that our primary responsibility is not towards the Socialist world but toward the American people and that the people with whom we must find ways of communicating are not those of Vietnam, China, or the Soviet Union, but those of the United States."

The flaw in this statement is the assumption that solidarity with the world revolution can be inimical to the interests of the overwhelming majority of American people. Nothing is further from the truth. The real interests of the American people do not lie with the war, witchhunt, racism and reaction of imperialism. And what point is more important to



PROTEST ACTION. On night be demonstration by opponents of U

make to the American people than the fact that the rights of all people are equal, regardless of color or nation?

Hallinan's major theoretical argument is marshalled in an astounding piece of illogic subtitled "The Strategy of Peaceful Coexistence."

He says first, "When we in the DuBois Clubs speak of peaceful coexistence we do not mean an oppressor's peace. We feel that working to disarm imperialism even while it has its armies in Southeast Asia, Latin America and the rest of the colonial world is, in fact, the best way we can aid the national liberation movement and assure it of success in the long run." This is perfectly true.

### Contradictions Remain

He also says, "As long as more than half the world's population lives in poverty and hunger exploited by a handful of oppressor nations, as long as the great majority of mankind labors to produce wealth and affluence for a few, and as long as two fundamentally contradictory systems continue to exist, antagonistic differences will remain . . . The respective sharpness of these contradictions will continue to shift and even when all the colonies are freed, the warlike character of imperialism will not vanish. To its dying day it will go on seeking to re-establish its rule and committing new acts of aggression and provocation." But then, he concludes from these correct statements that "imperialism must be prevented from using war as a means of resolving any of these differences, that it can be compelled by today's peace forces to settle all of them peacefully through negotiations rather than on the battlefield." (Emphasis added.)

As Hallinan himself points out, imperialism is basically warlike in character, and will remain so "to its dying day." The only way to end the threat of war contained in imperialism is to "disarm" it, as Hallinan says. But the only way imperialism will be disarmed, the only way it can be disarmed, is if its arms are taken away from it, and that means a victorious workers' revolution here in the United States. It is utter utopian folly to think that imperialism, a system which will be warlike to its dying day, can be disarmed without waging a serious and victorious struggle for power against it. Those arms will have to be taken away.

The eventual disarmament of imperialism through a socialist revolution will provide the foundations for a lasting peace. But, in the meantime, it is important to "work to disarm imperialism" right now, as Hallinan says. The antiwar movement here, together with the forces of revolution throughout the world, can hold back imperialism, postpone its designs for war, and even end

# Members of W. E. B. DuBois Clubs



Christmas eve thousands of Macy's and Gimbel's shoppers in New York saw this Herald Square war in Vietnam.

specific wars before imperialism is overturned, provided the antiwar movement vigorously exposes and fights imperialism. The demand for negotiation does not clearly expose and fight imperialism, but, as we have pointed out, covers up the aggressive nature of the U. S. in Vietnam and blunts the collision between the antiwar movement and the war-making administration, while the withdrawal position sharpens the struggle of the movement against the administration and thereby puts maximum pressure upon it.

Secondly, Hallinan's conclusion that what socialists want is for imperialism to "settle" its conflicts with the world's peoples through negotiations brings out the dangerous and counterrevolutionary nature of the policy called "peaceful coexistence."

What the policy of "peaceful coexistence" means is not a disarming of imperialism at all. At bottom, it means the disarming of the opponents of imperialism. In practice it has meant, ever since the rise of Stalin, when it was called "socialism in one country," the policy of seeking deals with the imperialists to leave the Soviet Union alone and to allow it to develop in peace. In return, the Soviet bureaucrats have used their influence in the world's Communist parties to press for class peace within their own countries.

### Pressure Groups

Under this theory, the Communist parties were transformed from revolutionary parties into pressure groups, not to disarm imperialism, but to plead for a peaceful policy toward the USSR by imperialism. This policy fails because the imperialists are driven in the direction of war, as Hallinan says, and are continually threatening the USSR in spite of any agreements, and also because the world's peoples continue to rise in revolt irrespective of the programs of the Communist parties.

Hallinan's proposal for imperialism to negotiate with the world revolution is a form of this peaceful coexistence line. What it boils down to, is asking armed imperialism to discuss how much control it should maintain. Negotiations are a part of war, and the purposes of negotiations are for each side the same as the purposes they are fighting about. During any negotiations which may occur, for example, the U. S. will press for the same objectives it is now pursuing with bombs and guns, and its position in the negotiations will be determined by those very bombs and guns. It will try to get from negotiations the kind of government and economic system it wants in south Vietnam, and it will back up these demands with its troops and bombs. And what it wants is a permanently divided Vietnam,

with the south one more Southeast Asian base for the military encirclement of China.

The kind of "peace" which "peaceful coexistence" would lead to is an unjust peace, preserving imperialism's control. Such a "peace" would only lead once again to war, as the people once again struggled against unjust conditions. As the Meyerson minority says, "There cannot be peace in Vietnam without self-determination. Our major principles must be, once again, self-determination for the Vietnamese people and withdrawal of U. S. military troops and bases."

### Back to Geneva?

At this point, we must raise a disagreement with the Meyerson minority. The minority calls for a return to an implementation of the 1954 Geneva accords. But it was the failure of the Geneva conference to guarantee the right of self-determination to all of the people of Vietnam which has paved the way for the violation of many specific Geneva accord provisions and the entrance of the U. S. into the vacuum left by France.

The Geneva accords arbitrarily divided the country in half, allowed a puppet government responsible to the landlords and imperialists to take over the southern part, and provided for "internationally supervised" elections.

What would the average American or Russian think of an international conference which sliced their country in two, and then proposed "internationally supervised" elections?

The regime in south Vietnam, backed by the U. S., opened a campaign against the peasants of south Vietnam, to once again place them under the control of the landlords. The peasants fought back, by organizing the guerrilla movement. The U. S. had to intervene with arms and men to attempt to save the Saigon regime from the revolution.

The present war is an outcome of the failure of the Geneva accords to provide self-determination for Vietnam. In establishing an unjust peace, the accords were in reality only preparing the next war.

The failure of the Geneva accords is a striking example of the inability of the "peaceful coexistence" approach to succeed in even halting the shooting for very long.

Hallinan also raises the specter of the might of U. S. imperialism, and the consequent impossibility of the Vietnamese people winning against imperialism in south Vietnam. Therefore, he believes the best that can come out of the struggle is a negotiated compromise. The Meyerson minority points to one of the faults of this defeatist attitude: "To say the U. S. is too powerful an enemy is to do precisely what the Pen-

tagon wishes, i.e. to abandon each national liberation struggle."

One need not subscribe to the false and ultra-left theories of the Chinese that weapons mean nothing, to see that the opposite proposition, that superior weapons mean everything, is also wrong. The heroism and fighting capacity of the Vietnamese people have made the cost of "victory" higher and the fruits of victory less appealing to the imperialists. As Meyerson says, "The National Liberation Front continues to control 80 percent of South Vietnam, and the U. S. has not gained back one inch of ground, even with the B-52s and the Marines."

At the very least, the cost to imperialism of crushing the people of south Vietnam will be huge casualties, and the necessity of an occupation force, according to most analysts, of over one million. Even more important are the losses imperialism will sustain politically throughout the whole world, especially here in the U. S. itself, as the movement against the war develops.

Our duty, here, is not to knife the struggle of the Vietnamese in the back by advising them to give up in the face of U. S. bombs and bullets. In any case, they have demonstrated that they aren't going to give up so easily. What we have to do is help build the kind of movement here that will, in conjunction with their struggle, help get those guns and bombs off their backs.

There is the real danger that the Vietnamese conflict will be widened by the imperialists, with the concomitant danger of a nuclear war. This danger must be answered, not by capitulation, which would only embolden the imperialists, but by a strong response from the Soviet Union, China and the antiwar movement against it.

### Which Demand

How can we best do our part, here, to help end the Vietnam war and prevent it from becoming a nuclear war? Which demand, negotiations or withdrawal, will build the largest and most effective movement against the war? Hallinan correctly points out that "as socialists, our job is to find ways of broadening and deepening the opposition to Johnson's policies and reaching the great masses of American people who have a common interest in ending the war."

The first question to answer is, *What people are we trying to reach?* If we want to reach liberal Democratic Party politicians, trade union, civil rights and "peace" leaders who do not want to sever their ties with the Democratic Party, or capitalist politicians who want to preserve the right of the U. S. to intervene in countries around the world but who for some other reasons are opposed to the Vietnam war at this time—the

negotiations slogan is more acceptable.

It is not an accident that those who want to contain the protest movement within the confines of the Democratic Party, such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, are for the negotiations approach. This approach does not lead to a head-on conflict with the Democratic Party, and allows "peace" candidates within the Democratic Party or even the Republican Party not to appear in head on conflict with the administration and the war. If the whole aim of the antiwar movement is to cuddle up to a few "respectable" individuals and leaders of the type named with slogans which won't embarrass them, then the negotiations approach is the answer.

### Most Effective

But if the movement intends to go to the "great masses of American people who have a common interest in ending the war," then, as Meyerson says, "the demand which can, if any can, mobilize large numbers of people is: 'End the war — Bring the troops home.'"

When the average worker, Negro, soldier, housewife, etc. begins to oppose the war, to see that the war is wrong or simply not worth it, he naturally concludes that we should get out. He does not ask himself "Which demand is too radical?" or, "Which demand does my President himself raise?" He asks, "What should we do?" And the answer is, "Get out."

The real problem of the antiwar movement isn't to present people a demand which they may like if they aren't yet opposed to the war (and the negotiations demand doesn't even do this), but to tell the truth about the war and actively demonstrate that growing numbers of Americans are opposed to U. S. involvement in the war. In that way, more and more Americans will become opposed to the war and to the government carrying it out.

### The Truth

The withdrawal approach tells the truth about the war and offers a solution to end it. It is a condescending attitude to assume that the peace movement cannot approach the mass of American people with the real issues of the war. Meyerson correctly writes that "too often the self-interest approach becomes one of trying to hoodwink people: 'We're against the war because it is unjust, but let us organize you because you think it costs too much money.' People are not fools."

The demand for immediate withdrawal is logical, simple and easily understood as being opposed to the war. The negotiations demand, however, is a demand Johnson himself makes as he escalates the war! Hallinan says we shouldn't allow Johnson to "monopolize what he obviously recognizes is a popular slogan," but should expose "his 'unconditional discussions' for the fraud that they are." We agree that the hypocrisy of Johnson's position must be exposed, but this doesn't resolve

the problem that he is able to confuse and undermine a movement based upon negotiations. Look at what he did with the negotiations demand during the "peace offensive!"

The withdrawal demand cannot be confused or used by Johnson to cover his aggression. It puts the most heat on Johnson to end the war. It will also continue to be the best demand if negotiations of some kind do begin, as they probably will at some stage of the war, and after negotiations, if U. S. troops remain as they did in Korea.

The withdrawal demand, especially in the form of "Bring the troops home now," or "Bring our boys home," also has the advantage of being able to win the sympathy of the soldiers, their families, and friends. It demonstrates that it is the antiwar movement which is really on the side of the soldiers, and not those who send American boys to die and kill in this unjust war. This demand can help the soldiers realize that they have a stake in the antiwar movement, and eventually can help build the antiwar movement among the soldiers.

As the war deepens, the casualties will rise. The mothers, wives, friends of soldiers and the soldiers themselves will increasingly question this war in which they are being asked to die. The opposition to the war is increasing and will continue to increase.

### Unprecedented

We are witnessing the development of a movement against an imperialist war after the shooting has begun. This is the first time in the 20th century this has occurred in our country.

The negotiations demand can only confuse this growing movement about the role of Johnson and U. S. imperialism, obscure the truth about the war, perpetuate the chauvinistic myths of a U. S. "right" to interfere in the affairs of other countries, and tie the movement to the Democratic Party.

The demand for withdrawal is both principled from the viewpoint of socialists, and the best demand to reach the people and build a militant antiwar movement. It goes in the direction of the natural thrust of the movement against imperialism and its parties, and thus helps in the general fight against imperialism and all its wars. There is no contradiction between defending the principle of self-determination, building a movement here against the war in Vietnam, and building a movement which will one day end all wars.

We urge you to join us, and the many organizations against the war which have taken this position, including the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, in demanding that the troops be brought home now!

### Fraternally,

Doug Jenness for the National Executive Committee Young Socialist Alliance

**MALCOLM X  
TALKS TO  
YOUNG PEOPLE**

35c.

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

**Peking  
vs.  
Moscow**

**The Meaning  
Of the Great Debate**

**By William F. Warde**

The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint

50 cents

**MERIT PUBLISHERS  
5 East Third St.  
New York, N. Y. 10003**

## How a Dutch Revolutionary Lived and Died

# 'The Future Will Be Ours'

By Jan Hekkenberg

The following are excerpts from an article which appeared in the November 1965 issue of the New Zealand Monthly Review. In gathering his material, the author was assisted by Sneevliet's widow before her death last year.

At 9 p.m. on Sunday, April 12, 1942, seven death-row cells of the German concentration camp at Amersfoort in Holland were thrown open. Extra guards were posted and a call went out: "There are dangerous people coming." Then Sneevliet's voice was heard by a prisoner who was later granted a reprieve: "Men, we are proud to be the first in Holland to die for the sake of the International."

The lights were switched on every 15 minutes. Dutch SS guards patrolled the outside walls, using torches. The next morning the seven prisoners, members of the outlawed Marx-Lenin-Luxemburg front, were brought together in a seven by three foot cell and told that the death sentence would be carried out shortly. Permission to die without being blindfolded was given. Sneevliet, the leader

of the resistance group, asked for the right to be executed last.

The condemned men were given cigars and Sneevliet spoke again: "I suffered my Gethsemane last night. When I was a boy and joined the socialist movement the priest said to me: 'My boy, you may go your way, as long as you keep your faith.' I have fought and kept the faith. Faith in the International. There will be much more suffering and struggle, but the future will be ours."

Sneevliet referred to some of his experiences in Indonesia, then the men joined hands and together they sang the International. "I never heard voices singing with so much sentiment and emotion, I was not ashamed to cry," wrote the fellow prisoner.

Later one of the condemned men asked for silence and a Catholic prayer was recited. There was a moment of absolute silence. Then the prisoners were put in a car and at twenty minutes past nine the first shots were heard. Farewelling his relatives Sneevliet had written: "I hope to live up to the Indonesian motto: Berani Karena Benar — Be brave, because it is good."

Henricus (Henk) J. F. M. Sneevliet was born in Rotterdam in 1883. His mother died young, leaving her son to the care of relatives. The Sneevliets were Catholics, but Henk left the Church after he completed grammar school and became a railway employe.

Before the first world war Sneevliet became a trade union leader and in 1913, after a dispute about revisionism in the socialist movement, he left for Indonesia where a Dutch novelist, known for her deep concern about colonial conditions, had arranged a position for him.

The failure of revisionist socialism in 1914 and the picture of colonial capitalism at work caused Sneevliet's political creed to mature. "I realized in Indonesia that I shared the beliefs of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin, Trotsky and others," he wrote.

### 2 Movements

There were two nationalist movements in Indonesia in 1914, the Budi Utomo and the Sarekat Islam. Both of these were mainly concerned with cultural and economic affairs, partly for security reasons. Resentment against oppression and widespread poverty existed, but it did not yet express itself in any well-defined social and political form. Sneevliet observed the situation and when he became editor of a European railway employe's journal he made a move to extend union membership to Indonesians. Many European members resigned, but with Indonesian membership the union became strong and later played a part in the nationalist movement.

In 1914, and upon Sneevliet's initiative, a number of Dutch Social Democrats formed the Indies Social Democrat Association (ISDV) with a weekly edited by himself and Baars, another Marxist Dutchman.

Sneevliet now started to advocate the liberation of Indonesia through the organization and struggle of the peasants together with the newly formed working class. He emphasized the need for opposing both national and foreign capitalism and hammered the point that European socialists had nothing in common with the foreign imperialists in Indonesia. This was powerful stuff in the Dutch East Indies at that time, even for the Javanese who listened to Sneevliet's fiery speeches at mass gatherings.

### Gained Support

Sneevliet's ISDV soon attracted a number of capable and intelligent Indonesians like Semaun, Tan Malakka and Darsono, all of later and still of present fame. They began to influence the existing nationalist organizations towards a leftist course. New trade unions were also formed. On March 18, 1917, word arrived that the Russian February Revolution had broken out and Sneevliet wrote: "Can the glad tidings also be heard in the towns and villages of this part of the world?"

"Here lives a nation incomparably blessed by nature.

"Here lives a nation that is needy and illiterate.

"Here lives a nation producing riches which for centuries have flowed into the coffers of Western Europe.

"Here lives a population which endures and suffers.

"People of Java, the Russian Revolution also contains lessons for you. The Russian people too suffered ages of oppression and were poor and largely illiterate, like yourselves.

"They triumphed only by constant struggle.

"Will those responsible for the distribution of material for an Indonesian radical political and economic movement now double their efforts? . . . and continue to work



**MASS MURDERER.** Adolph Hitler and aide. During occupation of Europe he slaughtered tens of thousands who resisted foreign rule of their countries.

relentlessly, even if much seed is falling on the rocks and stones?

"Only then will the Indonesian people find what the Russian people have found: Victory for their cause . . ."

The Dutch colonial authorities who had been remarkably tolerant, or perhaps just careless towards Sneevliet and his works, now started legal proceedings against him. A trial was held in Semarang at which Sneevliet defended himself with great confidence. Altogether he spoke for nine hours, attacking the colonial system in a way that made it seem, according to one Dutch newspaper, as if the roles of the accused and the prosecution were reversed. The speeches were later published in book form.

### Right Judge

The judge showed a liberal dislike for a political trial and the prosecution had shown political ignorance and so Sneevliet was acquitted. Outside the courthouse a huge crowd of Indonesians welcomed him and, by request of the police, he climbed a lamppost to address the multitude.

Towards the end of the first world war the moderate wing in the Dutch Social Democrat Party gained more influence and this in turn affected the ISDV in Indonesia which was mainly Sneevliet's creation. A large number of European members resigned to form a separate organization and so the ISDV became almost entirely an Indonesian group. The next development followed in 1920 when it became the PKI, the Indonesian Communist Party.

Sneevliet's career in Indonesia came to an end in 1918. He had become active in organizations for the lower (Dutch and Indonesian) ranks of the army and navy. At a May Day gathering he addressed a large number of sailors as "Fellow party members, friends, Red Guard of the fleet." According to the interpretation of one newspaper this meant that Sneevliet was convinced that "almost the entire fleet was on his side."

It was probably an exaggeration, but the colonial authorities now decided to remove Sneevliet. Twice he received visits from an agent-provocateur — a navy officer seeking support for a rebellion — and the head of the political information service also called, pointing out, in a most reasonable manner, that Sneevliet's followers could easily get out of hand. Towards the end of 1918 an expulsion order was issued and he left the country, farewelled like no Dutchman had ever been farewelled before.

Nor was Sneevliet forgotten after his departure from Indonesia. He became the delegate for the PKI at the Second Congress of the Comintern where Lenin appointed him as Secretary of the Commission on Colonial Problems in

the Far East. His Indonesian friends kept in touch with him even from as far as the notorious Dutch concentration camp, Tanah Merah, in New Guinea.

A few days after the German occupation of Holland in 1940, the German police called at Sneevliet's home in Amsterdam. He escaped and was soon busy with the formation of an underground political resistance group, the Marx-Lenin-Luxemburg Front. The MLLF published a fortnightly bulletin, ran a youth movement, distributed anti-Nazi pamphlets among the German occupation forces and established contacts with Marxist groups in Belgium and in Germany itself.

The invasion of Russia in 1941 caused a wave of arrests in Holland and a number of MLLF members were also caught. A second series of arrests early in 1942 hit the organization seriously and Sneevliet fled south. It was too late; during a wild and stormy night both he and his wife (who was to survive the Ravensbrück concentration camp) were arrested near the Belgian frontier.

Along with others Sneevliet was tried and sentenced to death. According to his Dutch counsel (allocated when the trial had already started) he defended himself with sound arguments in excellent German. The trial revolved around Sneevliet and there were times when the court showed respect for his stand. The summary of the trial shows a Teutonic thoroughness in its understanding of the resistance group:

"It belongs to the communist groups which seek to overthrow, on an international basis, the existing governments and desire to establish a working class government according to the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Luxemburg. As a communist party of a Trotskyist nature, it (the MLLF) regards the leadership of Stalin as a betrayal of the party program drawn up by Lenin and sees itself in a sense carrying out the will of Lenin, by seeking a solution to international problems through a 'Fourth International.'

"Sneevliet's political career from a minor trade union secretary to Comintern Representative in the Far East, in the Dutch East Indies and in China, as well as his personal links with Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, indicate that he is a high, fanatical and skilled communist functionary whose activities against the state have been proved beyond doubt by the measures taken against him by the police authorities of a number of countries.

"He was fully conscious of the punishment which his stand would bring. He takes the view that sacrifices are part of the political struggle and that he is prepared, if necessary, to die for his political beliefs."

## Questions and Answers About Socialism

**In publicly criticizing certain faults in Soviet society, such as the present imprisonment of the two dissident writers, don't socialists provide ammunition for the hate-Russian gang?**

The most effective weapon that reactionary propagandists have against socialism is the crimes committed against socialism by the ruling bureaucrats in the Soviet Union — such as the incarceration of writers for the expression of critical social views.

To this day, the enemies of socialism are using the crimes of Stalin as ammunition against socialism. And it has had a powerful effect. Workers in other countries saw the bloody suppression of civil liberties, the political frame-ups, the glaring gap between the living standards of the bureaucrats and the mass of the people, and their reaction was: If this is socialism, I don't want it.

The only effective way to counter the damage done to socialism and the Soviet Union by such crimes has been to frankly admit the facts, to analyze their social roots and to make clear that revolutionary socialists are opposed to such things; that they consider democracy an integral part of socialism and are ready to fight against those who bar its development.

Those who denounced and exposed the crimes of Stalin while they were taking place did far more to defend the Soviet Union than those who tried to whitewash them. The same principle applies today even though the worst excesses of Stalinism have been curbed.

The following example may shed light on the problem. The top leaders of the unions in this country are notoriously corrupt and bureaucratic. Some rule by gangster methods. Anti-union propagandists delight in pointing to corruption and bureaucratic practices in the unions to poison workers and others against unionism. Can defenders of unionism combat such efforts by either pretending the crimes of the bureaucrats, or the bureaucrats themselves, don't exist?

The only meaningful thing good

unionists and their supporters can do is make clear to the workers that they consider such practices an abomination against unionism and that they favor concerted efforts to rid the union movement of the bureaucrats and their anti-union practices.

Similarly with bureaucratic and anti-socialist practices on the part of political rulers in the non-capitalist world. Within the framework of defending these countries against imperialism — and as an indispensable part of such defense — socialists must make clear that they do not have double standards; that they don't denounce anti-democratic practices in the capitalist countries and condone them elsewhere. To do otherwise is inevitably to sacrifice the opportunity to win the ear of the working people and the population generally. They are deeply concerned with a better material life but they will not enlist in a cause to achieve it if they feel it will mean a lessening of individual freedom.

In the introduction to his book analyzing the Soviet Union under Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed*, (Merit Publishers, \$2.45), Leon Trotsky dealt with this question. He wrote:

"The safe-and-sane 'left' Philistines love to tell us that in criticizing the Soviet Union we must be extremely cautious lest we injure the process of socialist construction. We, for our part, are far from regarding the Soviet state as so shaky a structure. The enemies of the Soviet Union are far better informed about it than its real friends, the workers of all countries.

"In the general staffs of the imperialist governments an accurate account is kept of the pluses and minuses of the Soviet Union, and not only on the basis of public reports. The enemy can, unfortunately, take advantage of the weak side of the workers' state, but never of a criticism of those tendencies which they themselves consider its favorable features. The hostility to criticism of the majority of the official 'friends' really conceals a fear not of the fragility of the Soviet Union, but of the fragility of their own sympathy with it."

—Harry Ring

# Letters From Our Readers

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

## U. S. Wig Policy

Philadelphia, Pa.

Enclosed find a money order for \$3 to renew my subscription for one year.

Please take note of the two enclosed items which were printed in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. In the one concerning Congressional committee meetings, the important

fact is that the number of meetings held in secret jumped from 32 percent to 34 percent. In the not too distant future we will probably see figures of 50, 75 and maybe 100 percent. Is this government "of the people, by the people and for the people?"

Re the second item about the U. S. barring wigs made from Chinese Communist hair — there seems to exist a curious double standard in our foreign policy. We complete a multimillion dollar wheat deal with Russia. This is not done for the benefit of the country as a whole, but to make a few rich capitalists richer. Washington's justification is that a well-fed Communist is better than a hungry one. Yet now we do a complete about-face and refuse to accept wigs because they are made from "Communist hair." The type of hair has no influence on this refusal. Human hair is human hair. The wig business is a booming business, so domestic manufacturers would not be affected financially by the imports. Washington's reasons seem to be purely political, i.e., a retaliation against Peking's "hard line."

Richard J. Wagner

## Will Do

Tallahassee, Fla.

Enclosed please find \$2 for two 4-month subs to *The Militant*. I am a poor student (really) and can't swing \$3 for a full year, plus \$1 to send a gift to my brother, so please take \$1 for me too — you really don't lose since \$3=12 months and \$1=4 months anyway. When I get a job I'll be more than happy to subscribe at \$3 for a year, but now I have to save and scrimp along with a \$1 here and there. So please renew my sub, and send a new gift sub to my brother. Many thanks.

T.R.

## Appeal from Mississippi

Indianola, Miss.

We are still waiting for the permit on the Indianola Community Center which will replace the one that was fire bombed. The building funds are very necessary which will require about \$3,000 to complete the building.

The main purpose for this building is to give the people some place to hold meetings. The people here are strong in mind, but with a place to express themselves, they will be able to develop unity and learn the true value of citizenship. This will be a stimulus to motivate their willpower and cause them to press forward.

Here in Sunflower County nine miles north of Indianola, Miss., is located a town named Sunflower, which has a population of about 1,200. The Negro population is about 90 percent. They have received a permit to build a community center there to be used mainly for citizenship classes.

There are people throughout the entire county without food to eat, gas or wood to keep warm. The reason for this is that landowners possess all of the power, and due to an increase in the use of machines the unskilled men have no work. In many places people who should be receiving welfare aid and government food are not, because the Health, Education and Welfare Department did not sign the pledge with the Government, and the unskilled are now suffering as a result. Some of the people have been thrown off the

plantations, and if we could afford a large tent we would use part of the Community Center ground for it, and use it for living quarters.

I have been elected Chairman of the Sunflower County F. D. P., a member of SNCC and a few other organizations, because I believe in using all my efforts in this struggle.

Our organization is in need of some type of transportation for getting the people to the courthouse from across the county. We will be very proud and grateful for any donations to support our project and keep it alive.

Otis Brown  
P.O. Box 30  
Indianola, Miss. 38751

## John Brown Library

On behalf of John Brown College, I would like to thank the Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant* for their contribution of books, journals and pamphlets. The material on the labor and peace and freedom movements in the world, which you decided against moving to your new location on Broadway and 18th Street, is a valuable addition to our library and archives.

We would like to call your readers' attention to our book drive for John Brown College Li-

brary and Special Collections. Should any of your readers want to contribute books, we will be happy to make arrangements to have the books sent to the college. All books and collections received will be appropriately marked and acknowledgement given the donor, if so requested.

Keith C. Kern, Librarian  
John Brown College  
South Kortright, N.Y. 13842

## Dissatisfied

New York, N. Y.

Human flesh and blood can take only so much. Please remove my name from your mailing list.

A well-intentioned friend generously gave me a subscription to your newspaper in the hope that reading it would "broaden my view." I have patiently waded through each issue and have concluded that your editorial point of view is simply — "anti."

One needn't spell out the particular areas in which *The Militant* is "anti" for it apparently likes very little save the late Malcolm X and transit strikes. Poor President Johnson is pictured on the back page of your latest issue with the curious caption: "Lies like Hitler?" Of course he lies, occasionally. But I rather doubt that he does it so well as Hitler.

Are you anti-Hitler, I wonder?

But this instance of the heavy handed thrust only illustrates what is really wrong with the paper: it is unimaginative. Almost any point of view can be made interesting. Even the late exponent of *lebensraum* was interesting. But you're dull, you see, and that's unforgivable. I suspect you aren't reaching many of those impressionable college students who are fashionably "against" almost everything. Your plodding, essentially negative view, is just plain dull.

The pity is that — as my friend had the best of intentions when giving me the paper — you are evidently editing it with good intentions as well. There is nothing quiet so lethal as a good intention.

In the unlikely event that you should wish to publish this note, you may use my name. It is,

Edward McCabe

## Fan Mail Dep't

West Hartford, Conn.

It's a pleasure to renew my subscription to *The Militant*, one of the finest labor papers in the U.S.

I hope that the coming year will see the coming of some of the changes in our society that we have been working for.

Paul Basch

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

ALABAMA ARRESTS NEGRO LEADERS OF BOYCOTT FIGHT — Deputy sheriffs moved into the Negro community of Montgomery, Ala., today to arrest 115 leaders and supporters of the anti-Jim Crow bus boycott in that city. Among the first arrested was the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the chief leaders of the 80-day old boycott movement.

Warrants for the arrests were issued after a Montgomery County grand jury indicted the boycott movement under an anti-union state law which declares illegal a "conspiracy, combination or agreement to interfere with or hinder business." The law provides for fines up to \$1,000 and jail sentences up to six months. Asked if he expected trouble making the wholesale arrests, Sheriff Butler curtly declared, "That's up to them." The trial of the boycott leaders is set for March 16. They are now at liberty on \$300 bail each.

The 100 percent effective bus boycott which began Dec. 5 was originally intended as a one-day protest demonstration of the 42,000-member Negro community against the arrest and finding of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger as required by the "flexible" segregated setup on the buses. — Feb. 27, 1956.

## 20 Years Ago

GI'S ASK PEOPLE TO HELP THEM GET BACK HOME — Although GI demonstrations have subsided for the time being, the soldiers are just as resentful as ever at being held overseas. This is demonstrated by the GI letters and declarations that continue to pour into Congress. A typical statement "issued from the Pacific by soldiers who are questioning the demobilization program" was placed in the January 23 *Congressional Record*. It is entitled "Untruth and Consequences." The letter asks:

"First it was no ships, now no replacements; are we going to sit by and let them blackmail our families and hold us as hostages to push through their compulsory military training program?"

"We have the right to know definitely when each and every one of us is going home. We are not gathering here to create a disturbance or have a good time, this is serious business. Our Army heads have failed us, our Government is failing us.

"Now we are appealing directly to the people of the United States only in the interest of fair play. The war is over and we see no need of occupying Allied Nations.

"We want to go home."—March 2, 1946.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Payriot?** — Some people may think it was just a typographical error, but we were intrigued by a *New York Times* account of an impassioned speech by Senate Majority whip Russell Long attacking critics of the Vietnam war. Among other things, he is reported declaring: "I swell with pride when I see Old Glory flying from the Capitol. I swell with pride when I see the flags around the Washington Monument. I swell with pride when I see the American flag flying from the Senate Office Building."

**Wig Pickers** — The Feb. 9 *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported: "The war against Chinese Communist wigs has escalated another notch and five of America's NATO allies have been dragged into the fight. Treasury sources disclosed that . . . no wigs will be allowed into the United States from Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy or West Germany unless the importer can prove they contain no Chinese Communist hair. For some time there has been a ban on imports of raw hair or wigs from the mainland of China. On Nov. 10 the Treasury extended this prohibition to cover wigs made in any country, unless it could be established that they were not made with hair from Red China.

**The Open Society?** — The House Foreign Affairs Committee held two-thirds of its 189 meetings last year behind closed doors, according to a *Congressional Quarterly* report. The report shows that 34 percent of all Congressional committee meetings were held behind closed doors last year as compared to 32 percent the year previous.

**Moral and Practical**—California welfare administrator Paul Ward hit at bigots demanding action against welfare recipients who have extra-marital affairs. "It is unrealistic," he pointed out, "to expect people on welfare to be

better people than those in our general society." Turning to the federal Aid to Families of Dependent Children program, a principal target of the right-wingers, Ward added: "Support of a child under AFDC costs \$47 a month. If the child was placed in a foster home or institution it would zoom up to the \$90-200 range."

**Reinvests** — A retired Belgian businessman sold his collection of rare cookbooks in London for \$23,000. He'll use the money to expand his collection of spicy 18th Century French novels.

**Palm Beach Report** — A *New York Times* dispatch from Palm Beach reports that the best seller at Chez Pierre is a \$2,500 silk dress whose bodice is studded with huge zircons. The owner of the shop tools around in a chauffeur-driven silver Rolls-Royce. But, since we're often low on socks this was for us the most intriguing part of the report: "For men who buy pastel Rolls-Royces and Lincoln Continentals for their Palm Beach sojourns (or have their scarlet Jaguars upholstered in black and white checks), vivid-

ly coordinated colors are on the order of the day . . . His De Buschers moccasins from Belgium matches hers. Often he wears no socks."

**A Great State** — A total of 89,800 needy people had qualified to receive federal surplus foods in 22 Florida counties at the end of last year. In the other 47 counties, officials haven't established machinery for the distribution of the surplus food.

**Death in Florida** — The St. Petersburg *Times* carried a very sympathetic account about the disaster that overtook a rural school bus when it crashed into a big truck. Three of the children and the bus driver died. Four other children are critically injured. The report neglected to mention that it was a segregated bus carrying only Negro children. Nor did it mention that as white school buses get obsolete the general practice is to turn them over to the Negro schools.

**Breathe Deep, Everyone** — An average of 80 tons of dust per square mile a month descends on Manhattan. —Harry Ring

## FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

## THE MILITANT

873 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10003

Name .....  
Street ..... Zip.....  
City ..... State .....

## Thought for the Week

" . . . it seemed clear from the statements last night that many of the brightest and most gallant American artists of this decade reject their government, and its leader, in a more dramatic and complete way than ever before in its recent history." — The Feb. 21 *New York Herald Tribune* reporting on the New York "Read-In" against the Vietnam war by a host of prominent intellectuals.

## JAILED FOR DISSIDENT VIEWS

## The Soviet Writers' Trial

By George Saunders

The barbarous sentences given Andrei D. Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel in a Moscow court Feb. 14, for secretly publishing allegedly "anti-Soviet" writings abroad, has caused great dismay among traditionally pro-Soviet Communist parties in other countries. Sinyavsky, a critic of some fame and a frequent contributor to the liberal monthly *Novy Mir*, was sentenced to seven years, and Daniel, a translator and also a *Novy Mir* contributor, to five years. Both terms specified hard labor and will probably be served in the labor camps that still exist in the USSR despite the "de-Stalinization."

Hermansson, the chairman of the Swedish Communist Party, declared he was "utterly opposed to the verdict, as to any blow to freedom of opinion, whether in the capitalist or socialist countries."

*Land og Folk*, the organ of the Danish Communist Party, declared that the verdicts were incomprehensible.

Erwin Scharf, secretary of the Austrian CP, was also critical. "Our Soviet friends ought to consider," he said, "that the worst enemies of Communism, who are massacring tens of thousands of Communists in Indonesia and Vietnam, are going to be able after this verdict to ridicule the Soviet guarantees of liberty and humanism."

## Italians Say No

*L'Unita*, newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, declared: "The trial and its particularly severe sentences cannot be approved by us."

The most spectacular protest came from the French CP, up to now the least affected by de-Stalinization of all the big Communist parties in capitalist countries. The Feb. 16 issue of *L'Humanite* featured prominently an article by the well-known writer Louis Aragon, member of the party's central committee.

To deprive the writers of their freedom, said Aragon, "because of the content of a novel or a story is to make opinion an offense, a crime, setting up a precedent much more harmful to the interests of socialism than the works of Sinyavsky and Daniel could possibly be." He went on to disassociate the French party completely from this action of the Soviet leadership.

However, the reaction of the U. S. Communist Party, expressed in an editorial in the Feb. 20 *Worker*, was in striking contrast to the protests of the above-mentioned parties. Acknowledging that "many Americans will



**A DIFFERENT TRADITION.** Lenin (center) discusses with Trotsky (left) and Kamanev. Reporting on the recent writers trial in the Soviet Union, the New York Times said that one person outside the courtroom commented that in Lenin's time differences of opinion were permitted. "Yes," responded another, "that was Lenin's great strength."

find it difficult to understand the need" for such severe sentences, it went on to justify and apologize for the Kremlin action. At a time when even the diehard Moscow-liners of the French party, which didn't even mention the Khrushchev secret speech in 1956, felt constrained to protest, *The Worker* contented itself with a pious hope that the Soviet government would "reduce the court's sentences to minimal terms" — in order to disarm "cold-war promoters."

*The Worker* editorial did a hatchet job on the condemned men. "The socially irresponsible connivings of Sinyavsky and Daniel have been thoroughly exposed and condemned," it bawled. It called them "cold-war profiteers," pornographers, and echoed a grotesque inside-out charge unjustifiably used against them in the railroad trial. It called them anti-Semitic. Anyone who has read their works knows they are bitter, uncompromising opponents of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

Judge for yourself. Here is a passage from Chapter One of Tertz's *The Trial Begins*, a satire of the "Doctor's Plot," which Stalin, head of the Soviet government, concocted in 1953 against Jewish doctors, remember? The repulsive domineering bureaucrat, Prosecutor Globov, is thinking about a Jewish doctor he is to prosecute:

## "Too Many"

"He [Globov] had already had occasion to prosecute at least one Rabinovich, if not two or three. Indeed, there were too many of them to remember. Every schoolboy knew today that these people with their petty-bourgeois instincts were born enemies of socialism. There were exceptions, of course — Ilya Ehrenburg, for example. But as against that, you had only to think of Trotsky, Radek, Zinoviev, Kamenev, the rootless cosmopolitans . . . people with an inborn love of treachery."

To call that scathing parody of bigotry "pandering to anti-Semitic prejudices" is, I am sure, the most deliberately dishonest piece of hatchet work to grace the pages of *The Worker* in recent years. Or are we to believe that the editorial writers of *The Worker* are too stupid to catch the irony in Tertz's writing?

Another point *The Worker* got dead wrong. It said, "Neither freedom of speech in the Soviet Union nor literary merit was at issue in this trial." It was precisely the question of free speech and freedom of expression that the trial posed in sharpest form.

The two men were not convicted

for handing over state secrets, for committing sabotage, or any overt action. They were punished for the content of what they had written.

The writings in question were works the two had smuggled to Paris, where they were published under pseudonyms. Sinyavsky used the name Abram Tertz, which was taken from a student song that had been banned at Moscow University, one of many concentration-camp songs popular with dissident students.

## Anti-Stalinist

Tertz's works, which appeared from 1959 on, were powerful, originally conceived, imaginative, and biting satires — directed against the cult of Stalin and his worshippers, and the Soviet bureaucratic elite. The dogmatic ideology, oppressive institutions, and moral and political degeneracy of the Soviet upper crust were subjected to a brilliant, dry, and penetrating autopsy.

Daniel's writings, which appeared under the pen name "Nikoli Arzhak," followed Tertz's lead in both theme and style.

While these works ridicule Soviet institutions and are quite disrespectful toward the bureaucracy, they are not at all pro-capitalist. They are concerned with the issues of Soviet life and destiny, and are sarcastic or indifferent about the "lures" of the "free world," although they lack a full Marxist approach.

"The memory of the Revolution is sacred, to us," says Tertz in a moment of seriousness. "It is easier for us to grant that everything that happened after the Revolution was its betrayal than to insult its memory with reproaches and suspicions." And he adds, if capitalism were ever restored, the process would begin again, "We would start from the Revolution."

The works of these men are quite rich, not only in ideas, but in artistry. We refer the reader to a paperback edition of two of Tertz's works, which provides a good sampling of his talent: *The Trial Begins* and *On Socialist Realism*, Vintage Russian Library, \$1.65.

FEB 23 — Yesterday's *Pravda* replied to the critics of the jailing of the two Soviet writers. The paper asserted Soviet artists are "completely free in their creative activity" and all of them chose to write about "our lofty ideals and their implementation." There are others who write differently, the paper conceded, but these are not "artists." They are agents of "imperialist ideological subversion."

## Did KKK Help Cops Raid Cleveland Socialist Hall?

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Feb. 20 — New evidence continues to mount that a violent midnight raid on Eugene V. Debs Hall here last Nov. 14 by Cleveland police and state liquor agents was planned to harass leading activists in the anti-war, civil rights and socialist movements.

Loyal G. Johns, a retired Cleveland school investigator long active in the Ku Klux Klan reportedly told *The Plain Dealer* he "supplies information to police" and aided them by "supplying information figuring in the liquor raid on the Eugene V. Debs Hall."

"We helped set that up," he was quoted in the Feb. 8 issue of *The Plain Dealer*.

Other evidence that the raid was carefully planned in advance by interested parties emerged in Municipal Court Jan. 28 and Feb. 14, at hearings on a motion by Attorney Jack G. Day to suppress all police evidence against one of the defendants because it was secured through illegal entry.

Under oath, the arresting agent admitted that the raiding party of police and liquor agents acted upon receiving an electronic signal from an undercover agent who had preceded them to the hall with a concealed transmitter. They had no warrants for search or arrest. One of them called a *Cleveland Press* reporter, who then accompanied them. The raiding party was led personally by Ralph E. Kreiger, Cleveland area liquor enforcement chief.

Kreiger denied Day's charge that the raid was instigated by the Ku Klux Klan, testifying that the Cleveland police had lodged a complaint with the liquor department three days before the event and that the department then prepared a raid.

Some 75 persons were present at a buffet dinner benefit for *The Militant* when the raid occurred. Police and liquor agents burst into the hall without identifying themselves, and began to shove people around. One young man was beaten with a flashlight and blackjacks. After one member of the raiding party began shooting in the air in the crowded room, a contingent of uniformed police arrived on the scene, and arrested 30 people.

Municipal Court Judge Theodore M. Williams ordered Day and Assistant Police Prosecutor Albert Corsi to file briefs on the motion to suppress police evidence. He will rule on the motion on March 16, the date set for the trial of those arrested at Debs Hall and charged with unlawful assembly.

Four of the defendants are also charged with assault, two with selling liquor illegally and one with being keeper of a place selling liquor illegally.

In a statement issued immediately after the raid, Herman Kirsch, state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, called the attack, a "new low in political harassment."

"The raid was an attempt to harass and intimidate some of the most outspoken critics of the war in Vietnam and some of the most active supporters of the independent campaign of Stokes for mayor," he charged.

"Police-inspired press stories have attempted to justify their violent breaking up of a peaceful gathering as a liquor raid. If that is all it was, why were books and others literature — private property — confiscated? Why were bundles of *Militants*, mimeographed stencils and paper deliberately mutilated? Why were picket signs from antiwar and civil rights demonstrations pulled out of storage, placed around the room and photographed?"

All 30 of the defendants pleaded not guilty. The Committee to Aid the Debs Hall Defendants was organized by the defendants to raise funds for attorneys and other legal expenses.

Contributions may be sent to: Glenn Simpson, Financial Secretary, 7619 Wade Park Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

## Students at Kent College Stage Vietnam Protest

KENT, Ohio — On Feb. 12 over one hundred civil rights and antiwar activists answered the call for a "Speakout for Peace and Freedom" issued by the Kent Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The demonstration, the largest in Kent to date, reflected the general progress of the antiwar forces in Kent and neighboring communities.

Black militants from the Jomo "Freedom" Kenyatta House in nearby Cleveland addressed the rally. Both speakers agreed that Negroes in the ghettos should defend themselves when attacked, but also should refuse to take up arms against their brothers resisting American colonialism in Vietnam.

The tone of the march following was also militant. About 30 youth from the J"FK House led shouts of "Last hired, first fired — first in Vietnam," and "We want to fight the KKK."

## Is Wall Street Marxist?

The following is a translation of a column by the rather cynical Robert Escarpit which appeared in the Feb. 10 Paris daily *Le Monde*.

Between the skyscrapers of lower Manhattan, the streets are like bottomless pits out of which truth at times manages to emerge far enough to show the tip of his nose. Yesterday the rumor of a peace overture from north Vietnam, even mediation by India, unleashed minor panic in Wall Street and industrial stocks fell at once.

It must be understood that a country devoting more than half its colossal budget to war feels a little terror at the idea of seeing this powerful economic motor slowing down or stopping. Where to reinvest the capital, and secondarily, where to find jobs for all the workers?

Look at France which has never been able to solve the small problem of excess vineyards and sugar beets. Replace the beets with bombs, the wine with blood, and the situation is hopeless.

In the final analysis there is nothing more Marxist than a certain capitalist country. With extraordinary firmness and unequalled success it insists on resembling as exactly as possible the rather unflattering portrait which was drawn just a hundred years ago by the old revolutionary theoretician.

## Think You've Heard Everything?

John Brown, an employe of the Ingersoll Products Division of Borg-Warner in Chicago, lost his arm Feb. 16. He had been stamping out cups for soldiers in Vietnam when his arm got caught in the machine and was cut off at the elbow.

Lonnie Bramlett, president of the United Auto Workers local in the plant, managed to extricate the arm from the machine and rushed it to the hospital in the hope it could be sewn back on.

The company suspended Bramlett for two days for "neglect of job" and "breach of discipline."

The union has taken it to arbitration.