

Help Bring the Troops Home Now — Build the March 25-26 Protest!

An Editorial

Every opponent of the Vietnam war should do his utmost to help ensure a maximum turnout for the International Days of Protest March 25-26. A big turnout at these demonstrations against the war will be a significant contribution to the process of bringing the slaughter to an end.

The setting for the current protest action is more positive and encouraging than it was during the similar days of protest last October. In the five months since then Johnson's much vaunted "consensus" has given way at the seams and significant differences are now apparent within the ruling circles of this country over whether or not they are waging the right war in the right way in the right place at the right time.

While no section of the capitalist circles or their political spokesmen has taken or will take anything resembling a genuine antiwar position, the fact of differences among them will enable an independent antiwar movement to gain a greater hearing among the

American people and have a greater degree of impact than if the rulers stood united in the prosecution of the war.

Even more significant, popular doubt and disillusionment about the war has grown a great deal during this time. The Harris poll now finds that only 49 percent of the people endorse Johnson's war policies. The Gallup poll puts the figure at 50 percent.

This does not mean, of course, that the other 50 percent are conscious opponents of the war. But it does mean that Johnson and his cohorts must push ahead with the slimmest base of support of any wartime administration in U.S. history.

The 50 percent who don't back Johnson can be divided into four general categories: those who are against the war; those who "don't know"; those who favor swifter escalation because they have been duped into believing that this is the way to get the war over with; those ultra-rights who want to bomb China now.

This latter category is definitely a small minority of

the population. If they weren't we would be seeing far more witch hunting and attacks on the antiwar movement.

The significant fact is that there is already a sizable and growing section of the population already opposed to the war and an even greater number who can be won to an antiwar position if they are offered a simple, direct and meaningful alternative to Johnson's line. Such an alternative, we are convinced, is summed up in the demand: Stop the war now. Bring the GIs home!

The antiwar movement has the opportunity and the obligation to make the maximum effort to broaden the opposition to the genocide in Vietnam. If mass opposition to the war is not developed, the great danger is that Johnson will continue to escalate his brutal war against the Vietnamese people, with all the danger that implies of a war with China and a nuclear war. The response to that danger must be a sharp escalation of the antiwar movement. All out March 25-26! Make your voices heard: Bring the troops home now!

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N.Y. Demonstration Hits Attacks on DuBois Clubs

NEW YORK, March 11—Over 500 demonstrators, primarily high-school and college youth, turned out today to protest the New York police and hoodlum attack on members of the Brooklyn W. E. B. DuBois Club, and to demand a repeal of the McCarran Act under which Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach ordered the DuBois Clubs to register as a Communist front group.

Katzenbach's March 4 order led to the Brooklyn incident the following day and to the spectacular bombing of the DuBois Clubs headquarters in San Francisco March 6. Police estimated that about 40 sticks of dynamite had been planted in the San Francisco building, causing an explosion which was heard for 15 miles. Fortunately, none of the DuBois Clubs members was injured.

Today's rally was held at Foley Square in front of the New York city administration buildings, and was followed by a march to City Hall to demand an interview with the Republican mayor, John Lindsay, who has done absolutely nothing to penalize the Brooklyn cops for their outrageous behavior in the March 5 incident. Lindsay is a liberal, and was elected with the support of many liberals and radicals, but he has not even

spoken on the case.

Among the speakers at the Foley Square rally was Dave Dellinger, spokesman for the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee which is planning a massive demonstration in opposition to the Vietnamese war for March 26. Dellinger read part of a resolution passed by the Parade Committee in reference to the DuBois Clubs attack stating that one of the major themes of the March 26 demonstration would be opposition to all forms of federal and state suppression of civil liberties.

Dellinger called attention to the importance of the fact that the DuBois Clubs had been supported so far by a wide range of organizations. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance had representatives at the Foley Square demonstration.

Dellinger contrasted this solidarity with the "timidity of radicals and liberals" in the McCarthyite period. One of the important lessons of that period, Dellinger pointed out, was the importance of solidarity in the face of right-wing attacks — and the danger of depending on liberals as supporters of civil liberties.

The right-wing and police assault on the DuBois Clubs, Dellinger continued, originated with Katzenbach's demand. "It was a liberal attorney general who gave the signal and set the tone for the attack on the DuBois Clubs," Dellinger stated, "and it is under the liberals that we are fighting the war in Vietnam."

Other speakers included Jimmie Jones, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Alabama, and José Ristuccci, New York area coordinator for the DuBois Clubs. Jones pledged SNCC's support to the DuBois Clubs against the federal attack, pointing out that the government found it easier to register its critics than to send registrars to the South to enroll Negro voters.



Dave Dellinger

Negro GIs Bear Brunt Of Vietnam Death Toll

Malcolm X often said that Negroes won the "right" to die for Uncle Sam in World War II. But Uncle Sam has been even more generous in the Vietnam war. The government admits that 18.3 percent of the Americans killed in Vietnam since 1961 were black soldiers, and a giant 22.1 percent of army enlisted men killed were black.

In contrast, there are now about 14.8 percent Afro-Americans in Vietnam, and about 11 percent in the U.S. population as a whole.

There is only one explanation for these figures, and that is the

rank racism in the U.S. armed forces which results in Negroes being sent into the worst and dirtiest fighting — to do the most dying.

The U.S. army has always been a bastion of racism. It wasn't until the Korean war that official segregation was ended in the army. Racism is preserved, however, in part because of the influence of racism in our society as a whole, and in part because of the need to instill a racist attitude in American soldiers as a justification for wars of colonial suppression like the Vietnam war. The Negro soldiers are victims of this situation — they are used as cannon fodder in a war against the dark people of Vietnam.

The racism in the armed forces is reflected in another way. As of the end of 1964, Negroes made up 13.4 percent of enlisted men in the army, but only 3.4 percent of the officers. Only 0.4 percent of naval officers are Negro, 1.5 percent in the Air Force and 0.4 percent in the Marines!

No Reason

The ordinary working American has no interests in fighting to keep the Vietnamese people subjugated to the global designs of the moneyed rulers of the U.S. How much more true is this for the black workers of America!

Right within the borders of the U.S. the Negro people are subjected to exploitation and racial oppression — the same kind of oppression the U.S. has in store for the people of Vietnam should the

Watts Explodes

MARCH 16 — As we go to press, it is reported that the black ghetto of Watts again exploded yesterday, with reports of 400 to 1,500 people, mostly young, participating in the outburst against the police and white society.

Two men were reported killed, one Negro and one white.

This latest outburst again demonstrates the anger in the ghetto against racial oppression, and proves that despite all the talk and McCone reports, the government has done nothing to alleviate conditions for the ghetto residents.

Generals Urge Hanoi Bombing

A Washington dispatch to the March 14 New York Herald Tribune disclosed: "If the Johnson administration accepts the Joint Chiefs of Staff urging to bomb military targets in north Vietnam's Hanoi-Haiphong area, the operation could commence in five minute's time."

"Plans have been drawn and targets pinpointed in anticipation of a change in the administration's present hands-off strategy, knowledgeable Air Force sources said here yesterday."

"About the only unknowns in possible operations against the capital of north Vietnam and its chief port of Haiphong are what the toll in lives and attacking airplanes might be, and the effect on Red China's attitude toward the war, these sources say."

U.S. win there. It is a bitter and cruelly ironical fact that Negroes, who are denied equal rights at home, must bear the brunt of casualties in a war to defend the system which oppresses them.

To the phrase "last hired, first fired," must now be added, "and the first to die."

Who Killed Malcolm X?

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK — On March 11, after 20 hours of deliberation, the jury in the Malcolm X murder trial returned a verdict of guilty against all three defendants: Talmadge Hayer (also known as Thomas Hagan), Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson. Sentencing will take place on April 14.

The jury was presented with two accounts of the assassination. Assistant District Attorney Dermody claimed that the three defendants, all active members of the Nation of Islam, did the shooting according to a prearranged plan: Butler and Hayer created a diversion in a middle row of the auditorium, whereupon Johnson ran to the stage and shot Mal-

colm X with a sawed-off shotgun. Then Hayer and Butler ran to the stage and fired pistol shots into the prone body.

The New York police decided that the Muslims had committed the crime right after the assassination. Hayer was shot and caught by the crowd at the scene of the assassination, the Audubon Ballroom.

The police made statements to the press that Hayer was a Muslim and they sought his accomplices among the Muslims. The police and district attorney's office stuck to that story and avoided looking elsewhere for the killers.

The other version of the assassination was given by Hayer when he took the stand for a second time and confessed to being one

of the assassins. He said he had been hired to do the killing, as had his three accomplices, but that none of the gunmen nor the man who hired them was a Muslim. Butler and Johnson were in no way involved, he said. Hayer's account of what happened in the ballroom was much more convincing than Dermody's, and squared with eyewitness accounts in the press at the time: Hayer and an accomplice sat in the first row with pistols. Another man sat in the fourth row with a sawed-off shotgun. A fourth man sat further back and created the disturbance, but he was not involved in the shooting.

The outcome of the trial depended on which of these two sto-

(Continued on Page 5)

Buddhist Protests Show Instability of Viet Gov't

By Dick Roberts

MARCH 15 — The elimination of Gen. Nguyen Chan Thi from the military junta in Saigon, March 10, has shattered the veneer of internal political stability which had surrounded the Saigon government since the consolidation of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky's regime last June. Since the ouster, there have been daily demonstrations in the northern cities of Hue and Danang demanding a return to civilian government in Saigon.

In Hue, yesterday, according to the *New York Times*, 7,000 people, mainly students, staged a rally to protest Thi's removal; this included a contingent of 3,000 Hue University students, and it was supported by a high school and grammar school boycott including 20,000 students. Stores have been closed in both cities for several days, and in Danang, longshoremen have refused to work at the port.

Gen. Thi, one of the few Buddhists who have held power in the predominantly Catholic Saigon governments, has long been active in internal power struggles in south Vietnam. In 1960, Thi was involved in an abortive attempt to oust the hated dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. He was a leader in the Feb. 19 attempt to remove General Khanh, and he had been one of the ten-man military cabinet in the Ky regime since its beginning.

Thi was the commander of the Saigon army I Corps region which includes Hue and Danang, and he apparently enjoyed the support of Buddhist students and intellectuals in that region, even though they have been outspoken critics of the military regimes in Saigon.

Since the Honolulu summit conference between President Johnson and Premier Ky, the Democratic Administration has been flamboyant in its support of the Ky government. Not only has Johnson praised Ky up and down the line, but top administration officials including Vice President Humphrey have made special trips to Vietnam to "help" Premier Ky's "pacification" program in south Vietnam.

This open support for the Saigon dictatorship is in marked contrast to the earlier period of the war when administration officials were generally reticent to openly pick sides in the fifteen-month wrangling for power which followed Diem's assassination in 1963.

Washington had good reason for such a course. The Saigon governments were hated by the vast majority of the people, and the U.S. did not have the military power to do anything to prevent new overthrows whenever some general marched his soldiers into the city to try his hand at political rule.

But the situation changed greatly when the U.S. began pouring in tens of thousands of troops to bolster the Saigon regime beginning in March, 1965. Today, Saigon is a militarily occupied city, and the general who rules the roost is backed by U.S. men, guns and tanks. In this context, Washington apparently felt that it was safe to pick sides — and they chose the first Hitler-loving tin-horn dictator that came along.

Not only does Ky enjoy the support of the U.S. forces, but he has established martial law in Saigon, and has reinforced the Saigon police force by 72,000 men since January.

Hue, the old capital of the French province of Annam, is quite different from Saigon in this respect. In the first months of 1965, major demonstrations under the leadership of the Buddhists drove Americans out of the city, and it has not been occupied by U.S. forces since. Under General Thi's control, Hue had been permitted to continue a more relaxed and less repressive existence than its sister city of Saigon nearly 400 miles to the south.

This difference was recently confirmed by Robert Guillain, the highly reliable expert on Chinese affairs for the French daily *Le Monde*, who reported his impressions of Hue in the March 12 issue of that paper. According to Guillain, the Americans and the Saigon government are equally detested by the people of Hue, and both exert relatively little control over the city.

Guillain emphasized the marked contrast between the comparatively peaceful Hue, and occupied Saigon — a hell of inflation, prostitution, and rule by petty bureaucrats, the inevitable results of foreign military occupation.

Clearly the people of Hue and Danang do not want to follow the same path to degradation and corruption that has been forced on Saigon, and they fear that the removal of General Thi may have implications for them in this direction.

Urges U.S. Brothers to Do Likewise

Japan Union Rips Vietnam War

The following resolution was adopted at the 18th Annual Convention of the All Japan Telecommunications Workers Union (ZENDENTSU), in July 1965, and was reprinted in the February 1966 CWA News, official publication of the Communication Workers of America (AFL-CIO). It follows an exchange of views between the two unions that was apparently initiated late in 1964 when delegates from ZENDENTSU visited the U.S. on the invitation of CWA leaders.

In a letter to CWA President J. A. Beirne, ZENDENTSU President Totaro Kasahara wrote: "We tried to believe 'peace' 20 years ago. And of course, now we are always thinking of peace but partial wars have broken out. Present war in Vietnam might expand to a total war by nuclear weapons. Saying honestly we are furious against the U.S. government's escalation policy in Vietnam."

In response, Beirne wrote that the "desire for peace between peoples which moved ZENDENTSU to pass the resolution is shared by workers everywhere in the world, no less in America than in Japan or Vietnam." After this admission, Beirne shamelessly attempted to justify his support for President Johnson's dirty war in Vietnam.

Resolution on our protest against America's invasion of Vietnam and our appeal for an immediate end of the Vietnam war.

Wishing for an immediate end of the Vietnam war, we have been strongly advocating our stand both at home and abroad, based on the resolution which was adopted at the Central Executive Committee.

The Vietnam war, quite contrary to our heartfelt expectation for peace, is being expanded day by day with the crisis growingly deepened.

The adventurous escalation policy of America is now completely alienated from international opinion. America finds it difficult to maintain even the puppet regime in Saigon, which has long been abandoned by the south Vietnamese people. It is said that two hundred thousand U.S. troops will be put into south Vietnam in the near future. Thus is being exposed the true character of U.S. imperialism's invasion in Vietnam and its criminal war policy.

We can never approve this war in the following points:

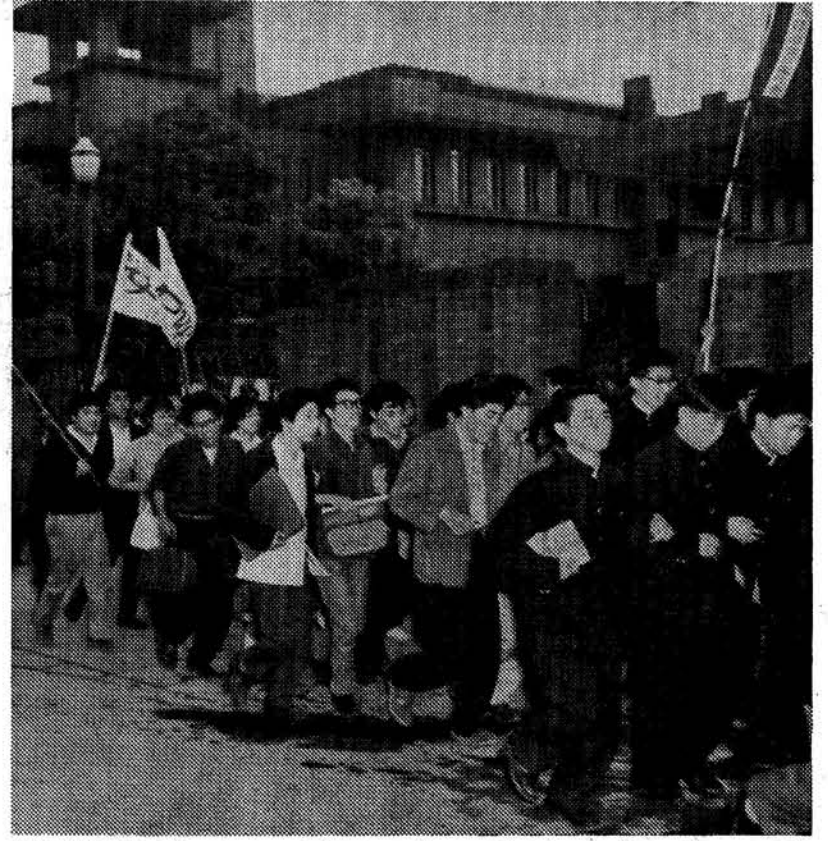
1. It is U.S. imperialism that has trodden down the principle of unification of south and north Vietnam and that of national self-determination on 1954 Geneva Agreement. America is making use of the Vietnam war in her interests to promote bankrupted anti-communism policy of containment of People's China.

2. While the Vietnamese people hate war and want peace and national independence as soon as possible, America, in variance with justice and freedom, deceives them, driving them in constant danger of their life and in desperate disaster like hunger, poverty and disease.

3. Every fact available shows clearly that the Saigon government has lost people's support and that it is a puppet regime in the true sense of the word.

4. The National Front for Liberation of south Vietnam is the united national front which unites all sections of the Vietnamese people. Any military solution will be doomed to miserable failure against their struggle for national independence and against colonialism.

5. America's escalation policy conceives in itself swampy expansion of war, that is, air raids on Hanoi, use of small-sized nuclear weapons, attack on Chinese military bases and so on. This



ANTIWAR. Japanese student antiwar demonstration. For nearly a decade Japanese students and workers have fought efforts of U.S. and Japanese capitalists to remilitarize their country and draw it in wake of U.S. war machine.

policy may follow a road to world-wide thermonuclear war.

6. With U.S.-Japanese Security Pact, Japan sides partially with America in the Vietnam war, and the Japanese people are in danger of direct involvement in this war.

7. Sato administration of Liberal-Democratic Party expresses its open support to America in the Vietnam war and tries to exercise reactionary policies in face of our Peace Constitution like the strengthening of the military union of Japan, Taiwan and Korea only to bring about tension in Asia.

Struggle for peace is embedded in the program of ZENDENTSU.

We pledge ourselves, appeal and struggle persistently until an end is put to the Vietnam war and peace is realized in Asia and on the earth.

We hope that U.S. government will return to the long-lost spirit of Declaration of Independence and recognize tradition of freedom and democracy in politics "by the people, for the people and of the people" as necessary and valuable also for the Vietnamese people. We also expect that American government, American people and American workers will recover glorious rationality and conscience as soon as possible and accept the following demands of ours.

They should:

1. Respect the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, stop at once their invasion war in Vietnam and withdraw U.S. troops, military personnel and all war materials.

2. Stop at once air raids on Democratic Republic of Vietnam and sea blockade.

3. Respect the South Vietnamese people's right to solve their own problems under no foreign intervention.

4. Recognize that the National Front for Liberation of south Vietnam is the genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people.

5. Let the Vietnamese people realize peaceful unification of their motherland under no foreign intervention.

We established the first contact with CWA in 1961. Since then a steady exchange of experiences and workers has been conducted, such as President Kasahara's visit to your country and vice-presi-

dent of CWA Watts' visit to our country.

We do not hope that this protest of ours will destroy friendship and solidarity which have been cultivated through very significant opportunities given to both unions.

We are firmly convinced that world peace is the very thing that both ZENDENTSU workers and CWA workers pursue in concert.

On the basis of our friendship and solidarity, we appeal to all American communications workers as follows:

CWA should:

1. Demand of U.S. government their right to know the truth about the liberation war which the Vietnamese people is waging.

2. Refuse to serve for these armies which are to be sent to Vietnam and reject participation in any study and production promoted for the Vietnam war.

3. Render their moral and material support to the Vietnamese people.

And we demand that the Japanese government stop participating in the Vietnam war and take the initiative of putting an end to the Vietnam war for peace in Asia. We, at the same time, appeal to the Japanese people for their courageous struggle for peace.

We proclaim here that we will fight by strike in order to stop this war.

WATTS AND HARLEM

**The Rising Revolt
In the Black Ghetts**

**by Robert Vernon
and George Novack**

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CHICAGO

CUBA AND THE TRICONTINENTAL CONGRESS. Speaker: Joe Williams. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. Speaker: Betty Chmaj, Ph.D. author and lecturer. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Tues., March 29, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., March 30, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

In support of the International Days of Protest the Militant Labor Forum is sponsoring a talk by FARRELL DOBBS, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party on, What Program for the Antiwar Movement? Fri., March 25, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.). Contrib. \$1 students 50c.

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The 'New' CP Draft Program

By George Novack

Ten years to the day that Khrushchev made his celebrated speech on Stalin's crimes, the Communist Party USA issued its new draft program. Neither of these Soviet leaders whom it once acclaimed as the most gifted of guides is mentioned in the text. (The very omissions testify to the continued dependence of Communist attitudes on the incumbent possessors of power in the Kremlin.) Yet their ideological heritage is indelibly imprinted on this re-statement of party policy.

The document is presented as the product of an independent application of Marxism-Leninism to the current stage of development of U.S. capitalism and the struggle for a Socialist America. In reality, its basic political line is derived from the extension to the United States of the doctrine of an indefinite epoch of peaceful co-existence between imperialism and the "socialist camp" which originated with Stalin and has since been pursued by his successors at the head of the Soviet bureaucracy and its government.

The draft program gives the CP position on a broad range of political questions. This article will analyze its views on one of the key issues in American and world politics: the struggle for peace.

Supreme Challenge

The document correctly emphasizes that the "prevention of nuclear war is the supreme challenge now before mankind." How does it propose to implement and accomplish this aim?

Marx and Lenin taught that war was inherent in capitalism and was inevitable so long as the capitalist exploiters held power. The danger of war could be eliminated only when the workers conquered state power through revolutionary struggle against the ruling class in the capitalist centers.

According to the CP theoreticians, this held true only until the 1940's. Since World War II "something significantly, radically new" has happened to the world. "One third of the world, the socialist portion, had been wrested irrevocably from imperialism. Another third, the colonial or semi-colonial sector, was in various stages of liberation from imperialism. And within the advanced capitalist countries, where imperialism still held sway, the opposition to it had achieved a strength and magnitude it had never possessed before."

Peaceful Coexistence

These three developments now make it possible to avert global war without the prior overthrow of capitalist domination by the working masses. That is to say, the anti-imperialist coalition of the first two sectors linked with the "forces for peace" within the imperialist strongholds can prevent the warmakers among the monopolists from resorting to armed force and nuclear warfare.

Thus the theory of peaceful co-existence, in the form promulgated by Khrushchev in 1956 and elaborated in this program patterned upon it, rests upon three interlocking propositions. Proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalisms is no longer indispensable for world peace; war can



ARDENT CO-EXISTER. Earl Browder, wartime boss of the Communist Party was an enthusiastic advocate of U.S.-British-Soviet collaboration as indicated by king-sized portraits of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at CP rally. When U.S. initiated cold war, and on receipt of a cable from Moscow via Paris, the U.S. party unceremoniously dumped Browder.

be averted by a broad multi-class "peace movement" capable of deterring the most reactionary and aggressive militarists; and the antiwar forces must include the most influential moderate elements within the capitalist ruling circles.

The validity of this new revelation meets its greatest test in regard to the United States which is today the mightiest imperialist power on earth, equipped with enough nuclear warheads to wipe out the Soviet Union and China and blot out mankind ten times over, spending \$60 billion this year for armaments, landing its marines in the Dominican Republic, expanding its military operations in Southeast Asia and threatening war with China. The CP program is obligated to show how this imperialist colossus is to be rendered peaceful, harmless, incapable of further counter-revolutionary military aggressions and dropping nuclear bombs... while the monopolists retain their economic, political and military domination.

Mass Struggle

Lenin held it couldn't be done. To win world peace the workers and their allies had to conduct and successfully conclude an independent mass struggle against all the capitalist regimes. In this fight for peace they could place no confidence in any pro-capitalist tendency, party or representative because these were all committed to the preservation of the profit system which breeds predatory wars and benefits from them. Tactical differences on foreign policy in the ruling circles should be utilized, not to side with one faction against another, but to educate and stimulate the anti-imperialist forces which should press forward with their own program.

The CPUSA proceeds from quite different premises and arrives at contrary conclusions. It argues

peacefully-inclined capitalist politicians (or demagogues) who are presumably ready and willing to recognize and adjust to "present world realities," i.e., come to some diplomatic or military agreement with the Soviet government.

This serves to explain a phenomenon which mystifies numerous militants in the antiwar movement: why does the CP ardently embrace the right-wing position for U.S. negotiations in the Vietnam war and so stubbornly resist the slogan for the immediate withdrawal of American troops? The first proposal fits into its strategy of reliance upon the real or alleged "accommodationists"; it finds the second inadvisable because it is unacceptable to its liberal partners in the con-game of coalition politics.

The program itself does not specifically state who the peace-loving elements are and where they are to be found in the monopolist structure. To uncover their identity, it is necessary to go from the literary pronouncements of the CP to its actual political positions over the past thirty years.

What does the record show? In the last half-century U.S. imperialism has embarked on four wars — all of these under Democratic administrations. The Democratic leadership would not seem to be very suitable company to provide reliable defenders of world peace, especially to a Communist Party which boasts of adherence to Marxism.

For the Democrats

Yet ever since 1936 when the CP endorsed its first liberal, "lesser evil," pro-capitalist candidate in Roosevelt, it has usually hung its hopes for preserving peace on one or another Democratic politician. The single quasi-exception was Roosevelt's ex-Vice-President Henry Wallace, who headed the Progressive ticket in 1948 — and then jettisoned his peace platform by approving the Korean war two years later.

In 1960 the CP gave preference to Kennedy as the representative of the peace faction against Nixon. This Democratic President promptly gave the CIA a go-ahead signal for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, deepened intervention in Vietnam, and was ready to bring nuclear weapons to bear in the 1962 missile crisis.

The latest episode in this tragicomic series saw Johnson starred as the more peacefully co-exist-

ing alternative to the bomb-rattling Goldwater in the last national election. At the New York meeting where its leading spokesman, Gus Hall, introduced the new program he was asked whether his party now regretted or repudiated its endorsement of Johnson. Hall denied that the CP had given support to the man from Texas in 1964, although he did admit that "in certain areas" the party was not "sufficiently critical" of the Democratic candidate.

The radical public will not be so easily put off by such double-talk. It is too well known that, although the CP did not explicitly urge a vote for the Democratic ticket, its insistence that Goldwater was the main danger to be defeated at all costs and its refusal to support any socialist candidate made perfectly plain what was to be done at the polls. In fact, most of its members and followers did vote for Johnson — and many are now sorry they did.

The Consequences

Hall opened his presentation by assailing Hubert Humphrey's role as Johnson's warhawk, conveniently ignoring that the former Minnesota Senator was likewise touted as one of the best friends of peace before he became Vice President and salesman for General Ky.

As these facts show, the road to peace charted by the CP comes down in practice to the futile, disillusioning and harmful chase after liberal capitalist politicians who pose as peace-lovers until they get ready for war. Or, like Johnson, initiate "peace offensives" while escalating military operations.

The CP's policy of peaceful co-existence and coalition politics as a replacement for self-reliant class struggle and mass action does not lead to disarming imperialism or in the least hindering its executives from undertaking counter-revolutionary interventions or stockpiling nuclear bombs. Instead, it helps strengthen the hand of the warmakers by disarming the opponents of imperialism, disorienting and weakening the antiwar forces. The Leninist course of revolutionary struggle against all the upholders of capitalism, regardless of their temporary tactical differences, remains a far better guide for the antiwar movement than the reformist program now offered by the American Communist leaders.

Harlem Antiwar March Planned for March 26

NEW YORK — A Youth March Against the War in Vietnam will start at Columbia and City College on March 26, join with a contingent of Harlem residents in a march through Harlem, and finally march to the assembly point of the Fifth Avenue march to join with the tens of thousands expected there.

Columbia students and high school students are assembling at 10:30 a.m. at 116th St. and Broadway, and City College students with gather at the same time at 137th St. and Convent Ave. Each group will march to 125th St., where they will combine and march across 125th St.

The Harlem groups are gathering at 11:00 a.m. at 125th St. and Lenox Ave., and will join the youth march at 125th and Lenox at 11:30. The march will then go down Lenox to 110th St., and over to Fifth Ave., and down to 94th Street.

The march is being organized by the Independent Committee on Vietnam of Columbia University, the City College Independent Com-

mittee to End the War in Vietnam, Students for Peace in Vietnam, the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, and the Harlem Council for Peace.

Antiwar Protest Slated in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH — Indicative of antiwar actions being planned in scores of cities, the Pittsburgh Committee to End the War in Vietnam is organizing a demonstration and rally on March 26 at 3:30 p.m. at the Federal Building at Grant and Liberty Aves.

On March 25, University of Pittsburgh Students for Peace are holding workshops on Vietnam at Langley Hall, 7:30 p.m. On Wed., March 23, Students for a Democratic Society are holding a sing-in for peace in the student union ballroom.

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Monday, March 21, 1966

N. Y. Antiwar Committee Holds Successful Rally

By George Saunders

NEW YORK — The Washington Heights Committee to End the War in Vietnam, one of several neighborhood groups that came into being here since last summer, held a successful public meeting March 11. Some 200 people turned out to hear a panel of five speakers on the theme "Why We Should Bring the Troops Home Now."

The March 11 forum was the committee's first widely publicized meeting since a street rally last August which was broken up by an organized gang of several hundred Cuban counter-revolutionaries. (There is a large Cuban exile community in the area.) Held in the parish hall of the local Holy Rood Episcopal Church, the meeting reasserted the right to meet and discuss the vital issue of Vietnam in the neighborhood.

A section of "war lovers" in the audience tried to prevent the meeting from proceeding. Speakers were repeatedly interrupted from the floor. Nevertheless, the meeting was concluded successfully and peacefully. All the speakers got a good hearing despite the efforts to "jam" the clear voice of opposition to the war.

Ron Wolin, a member of the Veterans and Reservists CEWV, told of his experiences in Korea and why so many veterans today oppose this "new Korea." Dr. Otto Nathan, the well-known economist and outspoken socialist, touched on the deeper conflict of economic systems at work beneath the surface of the war.

Albert Hinton, speaking for the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, showed dramatically why black Americans have no stake in this war. In reply to a charge that he was "racist," he merely pointed to that day's news

— a Negro captain on his way to Vietnam shot in Bogalusa, La.

Felix McGowan, who was a Maryknoll priest in Latin America for ten years and is now with the Catholic Worker group in lay status, drew a parallel between U.S. foreign policy and a wrong attitude of the church. Where the church once used forcible conversion to save souls from hell, the U.S. government is using its might to stop people from "going communist." Whether it's a "way of life" or a religious belief imposing something on another people is wrong, McGowan pointed out.

Joseph Kaye, a leading member of the Washington Heights committee and chairman of the New York Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now, rounded out the evening with a clear and well-documented account. He traced the real course of developments in south Vietnam since 1954 and of U.S. intervention there, concluding that U.S. forces are in violation of the sovereignty of Vietnam and must be withdrawn at once.

The great majority of the audience registered their support for the committee. Their generous contributions ensured that the costs of publicizing and holding the meeting would be covered. Several persons joined the committee; others signed the mailing list or volunteered to help build the March 25-26 Days of Protest.

Committee members were greatly encouraged and plan to step up their work in the area. The meeting showed that, despite difficulties, and in a far from "liberal" neighborhood, antiwar forces can organize effectively around the open and clear demand "Bring the Troops Home Now!"

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

5th Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade & Rally

SATURDAY, MARCH 26

PARADE: Assembles 12:30 p.m. — 91st to 94th St., Between Fifth and Madison

RALLY: 3:30 p.m. — Central Park Mall (near 72nd St.)

rain or shine

SPEAKERS: Linus Pauling, Nobel prize winner; Donald Duncan, ex-Green Beret fighter; Juan Mari Bras, Puerto Rican independence leader; Fannie Lou Hamer, Miss. Freedom Democratic Party leader; Jerry Rubin, Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee.

Vietnam Peace Parade Committee

A. J. Muste, chairman

Malcolm X Speaks

The following is excerpted from Malcolm X's last appearance on the airwaves — over New York Station WINS on Feb. 18, 1965, three days before he was assassinated. It was a phone-in panel show, Contact, conducted by Stan Bernard. One of the guests was an "expert on extremism" named Gordon Hall. This was during the Selma struggle led by Martin Luther King.

Installment 20

THE POWDER KEG AND THE WICK

Man (phoning in): I'd like to direct a question to Malcolm X.

Bernard: Go ahead.

Man: I heard him on a newsreel say that Charlie's enemies are his enemies, and this was supposed to refer to the white man as Charlie.

Malcolm: Charlie is the Ku Klux Klan, and the White Citizens Council, and white people who practice discrimination and segregation against black people.

Man: Right. Then I'd like to ask you, something which you mentioned about aid from Red China.

Malcolm: I've never mentioned anything about aid from Red China. Ask Dr. Hall here, he's an expert; I think he'll even have to agree to that.

Man: This man asked you if the aid to fight Charlie came from the Red Chinese, would you accept it? You said from anybody.

Malcolm: Well, that doesn't specify Red China. I said this, that when you're in the den of a wolf, and a fox comes along and offers to help you, you'll accept help from any source available against that wolf.

Bernard: Yeah, but they asked you —

Malcolm: This doesn't mean that you love foxes.

Bernard: Did they specify when they asked you the question whether they —

Malcolm: I don't think they said Communist China; if I recall, I could be wrong, but I don't think they specified Communist China. Although let me say this about Communist China: China is a nation of 700 million people. Physically they exist; physically they exist. I don't go along with the American reaction of pretending that 700 million Chinese don't exist. When I was in Africa during the summer, everywhere I looked, I saw Chinese. It's only when I get back to America that I don't see any Chinese. I just don't think it's mature to pretend that 700 million people don't exist.

Hall: That doesn't happen to be U.S. policy, to pretend that they don't exist, Malcolm. You just say things that aren't so.

Malcolm: No, but I —

Hall: The United States is well aware of Red China.

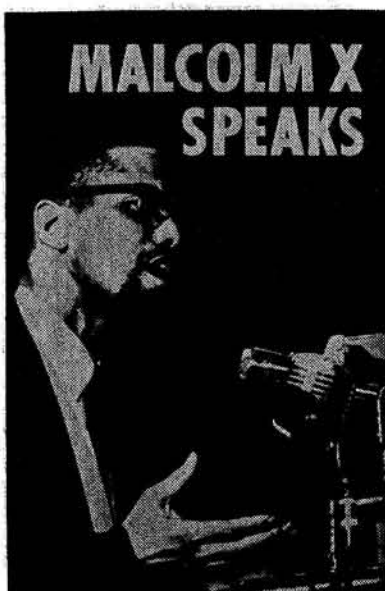
Malcolm: She certainly is. They just detonated some nuclear bombs over there. Plus their forces have the United States soldiers tied down in Saigon. She'd have to be well aware. She has half of your forces tied up. You'd be crazy not to be aware of her existence. But at the same time you're trying to give the public, the people over here, the impression that they don't exist.

Hall: You're just saying that; that's not the case at all.

Malcolm: They're human beings, just the same as you and I are.

Bernard: You, of course, espouse recognition of Red China and her admission into the United Nations?

Malcolm: Many of your senators in Washington, D.C., espouse the same thing. I think most intelligent, progressive people, who are up to date in their thinking, have finally reached intellectual and political maturity to the point



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.

where they feel that when you've got that many people on this earth, you'd better recognize them and deal with them as human beings, and then they will deal with you as human beings. If you say you shouldn't deal with them because they are communist, then why deal with Russia? Or if you say you shouldn't deal with them because they fought United Nations forces in Korea, then why deal with Tshombe? Tshombe also fought United Nations forces in Katanga. If you use the same yardstick to measure these people all the time, I think you'll end up with better results.

* * *

[Gordon Hall says it is a fact that there never were many Black Muslims.]

Malcolm: Here's another fact you have to keep in mind. There were never many Mau Mau. There never were. There were always more Kikuyu, more Kenyans, than Mau Mau.

Hall: What is this supposed to prove?

Malcolm: But it was the Mau Mau who brought independence to Kenya. And the man that was regarded as an extremist and a monster, just five years ago, Jomo Kenyatta, is the president of the Republic of Kenya today and it is this same man, who five years ago

Hall: The situation in colonial Africa today is not like it is in the United States.

Malcolm: Well, this is colonial. Any time you have a system, in 1965, that will take children and let them be marched down the road by not the criminal elements but —

Bernard: But in numbers you have to draw one big analogy. In the United States, the Negro is still a minority. In the United States. And when you are talking about minorities within minorities within minorities, and you start boiling it all down, you can't really draw that analogy with a colony.

Malcolm: I say this: The Mau Mau was also a minority, a microscopic minority, but it was the Mau Mau who not only brought independence to Kenya, but —

Bernard: Within a vast Negro majority.

Malcolm: But it brought it — that wick. The powder keg is always larger than the wick. The smallest thing in the powder keg is the wick. You can touch the powder all day long and nothing happens. It's the wick that you touch that sets the powder off.

Bernard: I wouldn't want to, I think it'll blow up.

Malcolm: It's the wick that you touch that sets the powder off. You go here in Harlem, and you take all these moderate Negroes that Dr. Hall here puts the stamp of approval on, and regards them as responsible — they don't explode. It's the wick, it's that small element that you refer to as nationalist and other —

Hall: You're doing all you can to encourage it, Malcolm, with your demagogic language.

Malcolm: No, no, I don't encourage it —

Hall: Oh, yes you do.

Malcolm: I don't encourage it; but I'm not going to sit here and pretend that it doesn't exist.

Bernard: Don't you incite, Malcolm? Don't you incite?

Malcolm: I don't think so. How are you going to incite people who are living in slums and ghettos? It's the city structure that incites. A city that continues to let people live in rat-nest dens in Harlem and pay higher rent in Harlem than they pay downtown. This is what incites it. Who lets merchants outcharge or overcharge people for their groceries and their clothing and other commodities in Harlem, while you pay less for it downtown. This is what incites it. A city that will not create some kind of employment for people who are barred from having jobs just because their skin is black. That's what incites it. Don't ever accuse a black man for voicing his resentment and dissatisfaction over the criminal condition of his people as being responsible for inciting the situation. You have to indict the society that allows these things to exist.

Bernard: Well, in a sense —

Hall: We differ in many places, Malcolm.

Malcolm: This is another one of the many places where we differ, Dr. Hall.

* * *

Malcolm: Any time Dr. King goes along with people like you — like you — you should put forth more effort to keep him out of jail. You should put forth more effort to protect him. And you should put forth more effort to protect the people who go along with him and display this love and this patience. If you would do more for those people and spend some of your time trying to help those people instead of trying to attack me, probably this country would be a much better place in which to live. You spend too much of your time, doctor, trying to investigate —

Hall: I rarely ever mention you, Malcolm, you're hardly worth mentioning —

Malcolm: You spend too much of your time, doctor, running around trying to keep track of dissatisfied black people whom you label as extremists —

Hall: Hardly, hardly —

Malcolm: — whereas if you would spend some of your time in these places where Dr. King is fighting, then you would make this country a better place to live in.

Next week: A con man?

Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

By
George Breitman

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Many Questions Still Unanswered

Havana Trial of Cubela

By Joseph Hansen

The trial of seven men, accused in Havana of plotting to assassinate Fidel Castro, came to a swift conclusion. On the opening day, March 7, the main defendant, Rolando Cubela Secades, confessed that he was guilty.

The following day a letter from Fidel Castro was read, asking the court not to impose the death penalty. The prosecutor at once dropped his demand for death; and in his summation the same day called instead for thirty years imprisonment. On March 10 Cubela and Ramón Guín Díaz were sentenced to twenty-five years each; José González Gallarretta and Alberto Blanco Romariz to twenty years each; Juan Alsina Navarro to ten years; while Guillermo Cunill Álvarez and Angel Herrero Veliz were set free.

Details about the trial were sparse in the press outside of Cuba and there were self-evident inaccuracies as in the names of the defendants, thus it is necessary to await further facts from Havana before definitive conclusions can be drawn. What was reported, however, can only arouse grave reservations about the nature of the trial which was held before a five-man military tribunal.

2 Leaders Accused

Thus Agence France Press reported from Havana March 1 that Rolando Cubela and Ramón Guín, two former leaders in the guerrilla struggle that overthrew Batista, had been arrested the day before on charges of "counterrevolutionary activities in complicity with the American CIA." The charges were stated at length in a Cuban government communiqué issued March 5. The most sensational part was the accusation that Cubela, a former leader of the Revolutionary Directorate and the top official leader of the Cuban student movement after the victory, had plotted with the CIA to murder

Castro, using a high-powered rifle equipped with telescopic sights.

Exactly one week after being arrested, Cubela was in the prisoner's dock. If he had the benefit of legal counsel, it was not mentioned in the cable dispatches. During the four hours of the first day's session, the feature was Cubela's confession. According to the Associated Press, "He tearfully pleaded for conviction and a death sentence. 'To the wall!' he cried. 'To be executed, that is what I want. It is justified.'"

Here is the report compiled from various sources by the Paris daily *Le Monde* (March 9):

Confession

"Before five hundred persons present in the courtroom, Rolando Cubela delivered an impassioned self-criticism. The former comandante declared that he deserved to be executed.

"During his deposition, Rolando Cubela said that in Madrid he had met the counterrevolutionary leader Manuel Artime, former civilian chief of the expedition at the Bay of Pigs, whom he accused of having personal ambitions and of acting under the instigation of the American government.

"Ramón Guín, who likewise admitted his guilt, said that he had never transmitted information of an economic nature to the CIA. The other defendants accused the CIA and its agents in Madrid, as well as an attaché of the United States embassy in the Spanish capital.

"I am an unstable character, filled with contradictions and weaknesses; I became dissolute, beginning with the day I abandoned the revolution. Because of my own corruption, I became an ally of the corrupted enemies of our people and our revolution."

"Pounding his chest, the former head of the guerrilla fighters of the Escambray, the leader of the revolutionary students, who in the very center of Havana killed Ba-

tista's chief of military security — Rolando Cubela, former comandante of the revolutionary armed forces, confessed everything and ended his profession of faith with Castro's celebrated cry, 'Country or death!'

"Referring to his interview with Mr. Fidel Castro, who, in January, had called him in in order to try — according to the charges — to get him back on the right road, Cubela declared 'that he had never felt the least hate for Fidel, completely the contrary.'

"He cried out: 'I don't understand why I thought of committing such a foul and shameful act as wanting to assassinate the prime minister, hiding behind a window, using a rifle with telescopic sights.'

"This astonishing self-criticism," concludes the report in *Le Monde*, "rather surprised the foreign observers, who wondered if Rolando Cubela had not been promised that his life would be spared."

Was any concrete evidence placed before the court to show that Cubela's confession was truthful? If so, it was not included in the reports appearing in the foreign press. March 8 issue of *Le Monde* mentioned only that in the official communiqué issued by the Cuban government it was stated that in a search of Cubela's quarters a rifle equipped with telescopic sights had been found.

Unanswered Questions

Le Monde says nothing about any facts concerning when and where Cubela obtained the rifle equipped with telescopic sights. Nor is anything said concerning the extraordinary delay in carrying out a plot allegedly decided on in Madrid a year ago, in February 1965.

Many questions leap to mind which the court, one would think, would be concerned about clearing up. For instance, there is the strange parallel between the way in which Kennedy was assassinated and the way in which the CIA,



HISTORIC SCENE. Wounded guard is rushed off as Havana students carried through unsuccessful March 13, 1957, attack on Batista's palace. The action, in which some 40 students gave their lives, was organized by the Revolutionary Directorate which later collaborated with the July 26 Movement in carrying through the revolution. Rolando Cubela Secades, now convicted of attempted assassination of Castro, was an early leader of the Revolutionary Directorate and a leading guerrilla fighter.

together with Artime, plotted with Cubela, according to the prosecution, to assassinate Castro.

There is the cryptic reference to Castro's calling in Cubela sometime in January (a month before Cubela was arrested?) for a talk in hope of getting him straightened out. What was the subject matter of this talk? What had attracted Castro's attention to Cubela? If it was an overt course of action, how did this fit in with a conspiracy that was presumably under way to assassinate Castro? And if Cubela did not feel the "least hate" for Fidel, why did he not respond at the time to the talk with the Cuban leader? Shouldn't Castro have been asked by the court to testify as a witness on the basis of this interview?

Not less important is the pattern of the trial itself, which is not without a certain resemblance to the notorious trials conducted at one time under Stalin. Did the court take this into consideration and seek to establish the evidence in such concrete detail as to eliminate the possibility of anyone drawing such an invidious parallel? Perhaps the court record will relieve any anxiety on this score, but the summary nature of the trial does not arouse much expectation that this will prove to be the case.

Castro's intervention to save the lives of the prisoners appears to have been not unexpected. Were there advance intimations that he intended to make a move of this kind? If not, how is the reaction of the "foreign observers" to Cubela's confession, reported by *Le Monde* to be accounted for? What, specifically, caused them to have such an unfavorable reaction to Cubela's confession? — a reaction, it should be noted, that does not redound to the credit of the Cuban government.

Castro Letter

The letter from Castro, read in the court March 8, raises questions itself. Here is the account provided by the March 10 *Le Monde*, again compiled from Havana dispatches:

"In a letter addressed to the revolutionary tribunal, Mr. Fidel Castro asked that the death penalty should not be given the defendants. The prosecutor had demanded the death penalty Tuesday [actually Monday evening] against four of the defendants and thirty years in prison for the other three. In his letter the chairman of the Cuban council declared that the plot was 'one of the foulest and most repugnant acts' that had occurred during the seven years of the revolutionary government and that the death penalty, particularly for Cubela and Gallarretta, would be a 'severe and natural punishment.' He said,

however, that 'the revolution is strong,' adding: 'I ask you not to demand the death penalty for any of the accused.' The prosecutor, as a result, asked the court for sentences of thirty years in prison for the four men as well as for their co-defendants.

"After Mr. Fidel Castro's letter was read by the court, everybody stood up, the spectators, the judges, the prosecutor, the accused, and applauded with all their might. Many in the carefully screened audience, entirely Communist, felt relieved. Rolando Cubela would not be executed, the others neither. The memory of the young president of the revolutionary students had won.

Speed of Letter

"We will not advance by shooting three or four counter-revolutionary Cubans," said Mr. Fidel Castro in his letter. 'Instead, let's work to make impossible the deviations, the straying away, the weaknesses, a heritage of a corrupted society. We will not forget the mistakes committed, and in view of the facts grave punishment is warranted. Nevertheless, it is necessary to prove our capacity to analyze happenings in order to uproot the evils from which we still suffer: parasitism, corruption and egoism. The revolution, victorious and strong, can afford to be generous.'

The speed with which Castro's letter was written and delivered to the court — to be read on the second day of the trial — is surprising. On the basis of what evidence in the first four-hour session of the court on March 7 did Castro come to the conclusion that the main defendants were guilty?

Perhaps even more surprising is the fact that two of the seven prisoners were released. The dispatches do not indicate the reason for this. Was the evidence against them insufficient? Were they falsely accused? How did they happen to get dragged into the same case as Cubela and Guín?

These and similar grave questions about the trial demand answers. It is to be hoped that these will be provided by the court record and that this will be published immediately and in full.

... Who Assassinated Malcolm X?

(Continued from Page 1)

ries the jury thought was essentially correct. Dermody stuck to this issue — hammering away at Hayer's confession, insisting that it was a lie and that Hayer was a Muslim out to save his fellow Muslims.

The defense attorneys largely ignored the real issue and concocted instead a fantastic theory that Malcolm was assassinated by a conspiracy of his more politically oriented followers who framed the defendants. Dermody had no difficulty in smashing this theory.

I have no special knowledge as to whether or not Hayer was a Muslim. But it is clear that the prosecution never established that he was. Yet the defense did not hammer at that fact sufficiently to make it clear in the minds of the jurors. If Hayer was not a Muslim, there was no reason to believe Dermody's contention that Hayer's confession was a trick to save his Muslim brothers.

The defense was inadequate in other ways as well. All four of the lawyers for Butler and Johnson were court appointed. Though they are all Negroes, and apparently sympathetic to the defendants, they were unwilling or unable to do a thorough job.

The defense attorneys always took for granted the integrity of the police and prosecution. They didn't point out to the jury how the police operate in selecting out malleable witnesses and rehearsing their testimony until they remember what they're supposed to. The defense attorneys were willing to rock the boat just a little

but not enough to even raise the possibility of turning it over. They mentioned some of the contradictions in the testimony of the prosecution witnesses, but omitted most of them and never hammered at the pattern of contradictions enough to ensure that the jurors understood that the witnesses were lying or unreliable.

In a French film about a murder trial I once saw, besides the prosecutor who represents the state and the attorney who represented the defendant, there was a third attorney who represented the slain man. That third point of view was what was lacking at this trial. For neither the prosecution nor the defense attorneys were interested in finding the truth about the assassination.

Witness Not Called

For example, Reuben Francis is a key person whose testimony was necessary in order to find out what happened that day. Witnesses claimed that he had shot Hayer, that he was in charge of organizing protection for Malcolm X, and that he had been given two of the murder weapons found in the ballroom — one of which disappeared. Francis is in prison on the charge of shooting Hayer, and available to both sides, yet he was not called to testify.

A great many other people who could have helped establish the truth about the assassination never were called. A number of eyewitness accounts of the assassination appeared in the press, but the reporters were not subpoenaed to testify.

The only major fact established at the trial is that Hayer was one

of the assassins. Most probably he and his accomplices were hired killers.

All the important questions surrounding the assassination still remain to be answered:

Who ordered the assassination? Those who had a motive include Elijah Muhammad and his followers, right-wing and racist organizations, the U.S. government and private agencies of the American ruling class.

What role did the New York police play in the assassination? Why didn't they provide at least their usual protection accorded Malcolm X's meetings regularly? Just a week before an attempt had been made on Malcolm's life in which his home was burned down.

Did the police knowingly protect one of the people involved in the killing who was caught by the crowd? Reliable press reports stated that the police rescued two suspects from the audience and the matter has still not been clarified. Was the man a police agent?

Were any of the witnesses at the trial police agents or police informers? It is very likely that such agents were present at the assassination, but none came forward to testify.

All these questions remain but the police have no desire to pursue them. It is quite possible that the final responsibility for the assassination rests with those who run this country, and that the police were involved at least to the extent of being kept from interfering with the crime and from hunting for the real killers.

Socialism on Trial
 By James P. Cannon
 Transcript of testimony in first Smith Act trial
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JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION 'DELIGHTED'

Military Dictatorship in Indonesia

World Outlook — In what amounted to a military coup d'état March 12, General Suharto deposed Sukarno from power in Indonesia while retaining the former president as a figurehead. According to the Jakarta radio, Sukarno agreed to "transfer" his powers, thus in fact ending his "lifetime" presidency. A victory parade was at once staged by the Indonesian army in token of its conquest of power. And while the parade was going on, General Suharto issued a decree in the name of Sukarno banning the Indonesian Communist Party.

The reactionary nature of the military coup d'état could scarcely be made plainer. Nonetheless the decree cited alleged "underground activities" by the Communist Party, including "slander, aggravation, threats, rumors and armed activity . . ."

All the evidence now points to a renewed and intensified blood purge in the unhappy archipelago where estimates of the number of victims slaughtered either directly by the army or under its instigation run as high as 200,000 to 350,000.

Thus Sukarno's desperate attempt to redress the balance on which he formerly maintained power appears to have come to an end. On Feb. 21, Sukarno, who already seemed to hold only a semblance of power, suddenly dismissed Nasution, the general who seized the reins of power on Oct. 1 and initiated the massive witch-hunt for "Communists." Reports from Jakarta indicated that Sukarno had succeeded in splitting the generals.

With at least some power back in his hands, Sukarno sought to strengthen his left flank. He reshuffled his cabinet, bringing in figures opposed by the generals as "soft on Communism." Among them were Foreign Minister Subandrio and Minister of Basic Education Sumardjo.

Blood Purge

This maneuver had no chance, however, of finding forces on the left strong enough to counter the army. The Communist Party was shattered as an organization during the months of blood-letting. The top leadership was smashed, Aidit himself having been executed according to a number of rumors that gained in credibility as time passed. Party cadres were physically liquidated by the tens of thousands. The mass murder terrorized millions of workers and peasants, for they were totally unprepared to defend themselves. Sukarno found nothing to lean on toward his left.

The generals meanwhile held a series of secret meetings, in which they composed at least their major differences. One of their decisions, evidently was to depose Sukarno.

Moreover, they blocked Sukarno's efforts to bring the purge to end. There appears to have been some subsidence of the mass killings, but executions still went on. In addition, demonstrations against Sukarno, organized by



RUINS. Remains of burned-down Communist Party building in Jakarta in wake of military-inspired Indonesian rioting.

reactionary student organizations around such slogans as getting rid of Subandrio and Sumardjo, were not opposed by the army. In fact they appeared to be covertly encouraged and even instigated by the officer caste.

In face of this renewed assault, Sukarno gave in, and now appears to have reached the final stage of his political career — a keeper of the rubberstamp for putting his name to decrees issued by the army. How long the generals will deem this to be a profitable game remains to be seen.

As for the imperialist reaction, this is sufficiently indicated by the March 13 *New York Times*: "In Washington the administration found it difficult to hide its delight with the events in Indonesia. Officials believed that both President Sukarno and the once-powerful Communist Party had taken sharp setbacks."

Writing from Washington, *Times* correspondent Max Frankel stressed the "delight" of the Johnson administration and indicated that the situation in Indonesia was the result of intervention in the internal affairs of that country:

"After a long period of patient diplomacy designed to help the army triumph over the Communists, and months of prudent silence while Mr. Sukarno appeared to be slipping, officials were elated to find their expectations being realized."

There appeared to be hope in Washington that General Nasution would yet emerge as the new "strongman" in Indonesia.

CIA Active

"The United States retained excellent contacts with the military leaders," Frankel revealed, "even after Mr. Sukarno had renounced American aid and had begun to move against American information libraries, the Peace Corps and news correspondents." Frankel added: "The Central Intelligence Agency was known to have participated in some plots against him [Sukarno]. An American flier was captured by the Indonesians while flying for a rebel group."

Of all the lessons to be drawn

from the success of the counter-revolution in Indonesia, one of the most obvious is Sukarno's role. In 1961 he was reported to have told Kennedy, "I am the best bulwark in Indonesia against Communism."

CP Supported Sukarno

This was completely true. Sukarno's greatest single success as a bourgeois politician was to attract and to hold the support of the Indonesian Communist Party. Instead of mobilizing the workers and peasants to take power in Indonesia and open up the road to socialism, the Indonesian Communist Party under D. N. Aidit placed political confidence in Sukarno and depended on him both to safeguard its own standing and to lead the struggle against imperialism and indigenous reaction.

The result was a debacle for the Communist Party on the scale of the one experienced by the German Communist Party with the rise of Hitler.

The Kremlin, of course, shares responsibility for the immense defeat in Indonesia, for Aidit was only practicing the line of "peaceful coexistence" developed by the Soviet bureaucracy.

Peking, too, helped pave the way for the counter-revolutionary victory in Indonesia. Despite the radical language and the many references to Lenin, Mao and his circle covered up Aidit's opportunist policies if they did not actively encourage them out of their own eagerness to please Sukarno as a diplomatic ally.

The end result was to weaken the world position of both the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, not to mention the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and all the other workers states. This was one of the big reasons for the "delight" in Washington over the turn of events.

The main victims of the defeat in Vietnam are, of course, the workers and poor peasants who placed their confidence in the capacity of the Communist Party to lead them in a struggle for power. They had to pay with one of the most monstrous slaughters of modern times for the illusions sowed by Stalin's heirs in Indonesia.

How long will it take them to rebuild from the ground up, this time constructing a leadership genuinely shaped in accordance with the principles of Leninism? A precise answer cannot be given to this question. But that the Indonesian workers and poor peasants will do it, is absolutely certain.

Inasmuch as most things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. — Abraham Lincoln

Questions and Answers About Socialism

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

Since you regard labor as inherently progressive, how do you explain its near-unanimous support for the Vietnam war?

In considering this problem — and all other problems about the labor movement — it is necessary to distinguish between the union officialdom and the ordinary members. This is not to suggest that it is only the union officials who support the war. Unfortunately, many rank-and-file unionists do too — although I am convinced that there are far more workers who don't support the war than is generally realized. But the key problem is that of the union officials.

Barring isolated exceptions, the unions today are bureaucratically throttled by a gang of narrow-minded, fat-headed, privilege-hungry parasites. They draw enormous salaries (anywhere from \$25,000 up) plus expenses and, often, plus whatever they can steal. They live like upper-middle class people. Even their social lives are intertwined with those of the corporation executives against whom they are theoretically doing battle. And, not surprisingly, they think like their corporation buddies. So, among other things they share the general pro-war view that prevails in that segment of society.

Gov't-Union Ties

But even more important is the relationship of the union bureaucracy to the government. For the union bureaucrat nothing is more vital than preserving the status quo in labor relations. That's why he so fervently welcomes the government intervention which over the past number of decades has been key to the preservation of class stability in this country. For the union jobholder, the government mediator is always the welcome alternative to a stormy strike that might somehow jeopardize his position. And, as long as a deal goes through, he isn't particularly disturbed by the fact that with such government intervention the workers almost invariably get the short end of the stick. The bureaucrat still gets his.

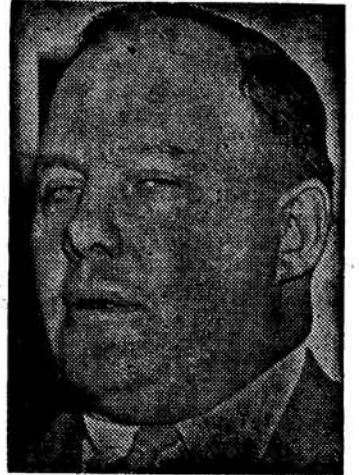
Class peace requires social and political stability. That's why he's all for "our way of life," the two-party system and, generally, the Democratic Party. And — to get to the point — that why he's all for whatever war the government may happen to be waging, including the current dirty one in Vietnam.

Even if he were somehow to shelve his conservative, middle-class outlook, the union officeholder is definitely not interested in butting heads with the employers or their government. And he's just bright enough to figure out that this is what opposition to the Vietnam war might mean.

Democratic Party Work

And those with a somewhat higher I.Q. may have even figured out that in good measure their fat salaries are made possible by the colonial exploitation which such things as the U.S. war in Vietnam are intended to perpetuate.

Nor is it a matter of simply going along with the imperialist policies of the ruling political powers. The bureaucrats are active participants in the carrying out of that policy. They do so primarily through their activity in the Democratic Party, where they perform the chore of keeping the workers tied to that party and to capitalist politics in general. While



George Meany

the workers as a whole have little to show for supporting the Democrats, the bureaucrats see it as one more avenue for adding to their privileges and as essential for their program of maintaining class peace.

The Workers Pay

But, unfortunately for the bureaucrat, life isn't always simple. Wars cost money and the employers expect the workers to bear the brunt of that cost. That's why LBJ doesn't have the time or inclination to carry out his election pledge to repeal the union-curbing "right-to-work" law. Or to raise the federal minimum wage. And that's why he's so vehement about labor accepting his wage "guidelines" which are designed to freeze or cut back real wages.

This is upsetting to the bureaucrat because it makes him look bad in the eyes of the workers. If he gets to look bad enough he might get bounced. So he wails about how if the President is going to control wages he ought also to control prices and profits. And he sputters about how maybe he might sit out the next election if the President doesn't stop breaking his promises. Some — like the bureaucrats who run the Amalgamated Clothing Workers — even go so far as to express a public doubt about U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Stake in War

Nevertheless, the hard reality is that the bureaucrats, like the employers whose interests they really serve, have a stake in the Vietnam war. But ordinary workers don't have a stake in the war, even though some of them may be brainwashed into thinking they do. And the fact that they don't is going to become increasingly apparent to them.

They will see their job conditions deteriorate ("Don't you know there's a war on!") and they will see prices and profits soar while their wages are curbed. As the war escalates, more and more young workers will face the draft. They, and the older workers, will begin to ask: Why? What for? The questions will be posed far more quickly and pointedly by the most exploited section of the labor movement — the Negro workers, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans.

The fact that a growing number of Congressmen from industrial areas are now assuming a half-way critical posture toward the war indicates that this process has already begun among the workers. If it develops, as it surely will, the bureaucrats will try to adapt to it or, more likely, get shoved aside. It's the responsibility of the antiwar and socialist forces to help speed the day.

—Harry Ring

Peking

vs.

Moscow

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Letters From Our Readers

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

Vietnam Debate

Minneapolis, Minn.
There was a debate in my seventh grade geography class about the war in Vietnam. My friend, who is a Negro (I'm

white), and I volunteered for the side against the Vietnam war.

Before the debate, the kids said I must be a communist. They all thought we were going to lose except my partner, Ronald, and even he was a little skeptical. Our opposers started out by saying, "The United States troops had to fight until they drove out the Communists who were invading Vietnam." I then said, "The Communists in Vietnam were the Vietnamese people and the invader was the United States."

Ronald said, "The people of Vietnam don't want the United States bombing their country. The people want their freedom."

The debate lasted for about half an hour. After the debate the vote was taken. Ronald and I were sure we'd lost the debate with everyone against us. Yet, the vote showed that 23 people were opposed to the war and the United States intervention, and only three people for the war. The teacher then asked if anyone had a good solution for ending the war. I said, "The troops should be withdrawn and let the people establish their own government."

She said she thought that it was the best solution.

Henry Scheer

Queens Protest Action

New York, N. Y.
I would like to tell about a demonstration held in Queens on Saturday, Feb. 19, of 200 people in front of the Flushing draft board, which has one of the reclassified Michigan anti-draft board student demonstrators. Most of the slogans and 150 signs in a non-exclusion policy were: "Bring the Troops Home," "Withdraw from Vietnam Now," and "End the War in Vietnam Now." Only one sign was for negotiations.

Later a rally of 400 for the Withdrawal of U.S. Troops, was held at the John Bowne High auditorium. Speakers were Leslie Silberman of the Queens Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of Albert Einstein's estate; Levi Laud of the Progressive Labor Party; Paul Booth of SDS; M. S. Arnoni, of *Minority of One*; and Keith Lambi of the Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam.

The rally and demonstration were co-sponsored by the Queens CEWW, and Veterans and Reservists EWV.
Dr. Nathan said, "We developed a military ring around China, starting in South Korea, Okinawa, Formosa, to Thailand and Burma . . . We are in Vietnam to build a permanent military base to make that ring around China complete." Tremendous applause greeted the following, "Take the boys home and let the Vietnamese settle their own affairs."

M. S. Arnoni gave a dramatic exposé relating how Johnson will come on TV in a special broadcast to tell us planes are flying at that moment to bomb China, and that he will be sitting down at Geneva waiting for the aggressors to come because we are a peace-loving nation.

John Chairat

A Criticism

Britt, Minn.
"I've enjoyed your articles on 'heroic figures' of the past, but

wish to make two critical observations. Usually your articles about men are written by men and your articles concerning women are written by women. This strikes me as a bit of male chauvinism.

Also, worthy as these articles are, I wonder if they don't border on emphasizing hero worship among the readership. Hero worship is a petty-bourgeois concept which does not help individuals understand their own role in society. Rather, these articles could be educational if the particular relationship of these individuals to society were described. This would explain why these individuals played the role that they did. *The Militant* articles do not attempt to present this relationship, but attempt to give the impression that these individuals are somehow unique.

M.L.

Marat/Sade

New York, N. Y.
I should have mentioned in my review of Peter Weiss' play *Marat/Sade* in the March 14 *Militant* that the play is available in paperback edition (Atheneum Press, \$1.95). The book is well

worth reading whether you get a chance to see the play or not.

Arthur Maglin

From Joe Johnson

Houston, Texas
I have been riding the bus now for over a month in the far West. Now I am in Texas. On this trip I am listening to everyone I meet about the war in Vietnam, and in this way I have heard many people say: "We should bring our boys home."

On the way through Utah my bus picked up three young men, one of whom had a guitar. They sat in the rear of the bus where I was. They were all violently opposed to the war and all three were for getting the troops out of Vietnam. The man with the guitar started to play and we all started to sing antiwar songs.

At Twin Falls, about 200 miles west of Boise, Idaho, the bus picked up 25 Army recruits going to Boise. By this time we had stopped singing, but the fellow next to me asked: "I wonder what these recruits would do if we started to sing our antiwar songs again."

So we started singing. At first the recruits were silent — they

neither opposed the songs nor joined us in singing.

However, after we had gone a hundred miles or so the recruits loosened up and started joking and laughing with us. But just outside of Boise a fellow behind me said: "Look out the back window. There are two cop cars following the bus."

The two patrol cars followed us to the Boise bus station. When we pulled into the station the cops were waiting for us. My three new friends and I got off first. We found a line of cops at the door. To our relief and puzzlement they did not even look at us. They were there to take the new recruits to their new home in our "democratic army." One of my friends said, "They don't trust those recruits much!"

Joe Johnson

[Joe Johnson, contemporary "man without a country," has been ordered deported from his native USA on the grounds that he forfeited his citizenship by participating in a Canadian election while living in that country. Now the Minneapolis organizer for the Socialist Workers Party, he is currently touring the country to rally support in his fight against the deportation order. **EDITOR.**]

10 Years Ago In The Militant

Ten thousand Algerians demonstrated in Paris, March 9, in support of the independence revolution in their homeland. Their plan was to parade before the National Assembly, where the Mollet government was demanding full powers to put down the revolt. However, cops and troops were hurled against the demonstrators, and 2,700 were arrested. Throughout France the day was marked by a surprise work-stoppage of Algerian workers that coincided with a Moslem prayer day. Several hundred thousand Algerians live in the Paris region alone. Most of the demonstrators were "young poorly dressed workers," reports Henry Giniger in the March 10 *New York Times*. They were led "by a young Algerian woman brandishing the green and white nationalist flag" and "formed a silent procession six to eight abreast."

Algerians in the French army are deserting continuously to the Algerian National Liberation Army fighting in the mountains. They take rifle and ammunition with them. Amid the French forces in Algeria are some 45,000 Algerian Moslem troops. Reporting a recent incident at Sebabna the March 3 *Economist* reports, "These Moslem soldiers in the midst of battle joined hands with the guerrillas, fired on their French fellow soldiers and departed with arms and ammunition . . . The sergeants who led Algerian troops to the other side had served in Indo-China." According to Michael Clark's report in the March 1 *N. Y. Times*, "French security forces have not yet been able to wrest the initiative from bands of nationalist rebels infesting Algeria's western frontier." French imperialism has over 200,000 troops in Algeria.

French Community Party deputies in the National Assembly voted, March 13, to give Socialist Premier Guy Mollet full military powers to try to crush the Algerian independence revolution. The Mollet plan calls for increasing French troops and stepping up military operations on the one hand, while also trying to bribe a section of Algerians with economic "reforms." The Stalinist deputies voted for the entire Mollet program.—March 19, 1956.

20 Years Ago

SALUTE TO GM STRIKERS!
Hats off to the valiant General Motors strikers!
In the longest and bitterest labor struggle in American history, after 113 days of hardship and battle, the GM workers have once again brought to its knees the most powerful industrial corporation in the world.—March 22, 1946.

It Was Reported in the Press

Pot for Paratroopers? — Dr. Edward C. Taylor, a Princeton chemistry researcher, says the army is interested in the various chemicals that can be extracted from marijuana. One reason for their interest is the report that a Congolese tribe smokes it before going into battle because it makes them fearless in the face of gunfire.

That's a Fact — Hustling Hubert Humphrey offered this considered judgment of the south Vietnamese guerrillas: "The Vietcong is not an Asian version of the Americans for Democratic Action or the liberal wing of the Republican or Democratic Party."

Muddies Records — The following item is presented strictly for its news value and is in no way intended as a suggested program of action. It appeared in the Feb. 25 *Minneapolis Star* and *St. Paul Dispatch*. "ELK RIVER, Minn. — Barry Bonhus, 20, of Big Lake, Minn., was arrested Feb. 24 after he walked into the Elk River draft board and deposited two buckets of human excrement into a file cabinet containing draft records — in protest of his having been ordered to take a pre-induction physical. The youth, charged with willful destruction of government property, was released on bail pending trial."

Penal Sociologist — An indication of how prisoners are treated in New York may be gleaned from this comment by Anthony Principe, director of operations for city prisons, as reported by the March 10 *New York Herald Tribune*. He opined: "Very few [prisoners] are intelligent or well adjusted, and those are mostly murderers."

ized the pro-Vietnam-war rally in Atlanta last month has obtained a federal tax exemption status which is ordinarily granted only to charitable and educational organizations. Washington columnist Clayton Fritchey pointed out March 3 that the group obtained the special tax status in a week where it normally takes from 30 to 90 days. He further reports that the Washington Peace Center has been waiting for 18 months for its tax exemption request to be processed. Fritchey concludes: "Contributions to promote the 'hawk' position in Vietnam are tax deductible, but . . . contributions to support the 'dove' position are not."

He's Not the Only One — A headline in the *New York Times* reported: "Escalation in Vietnam is Worrying Thant."

Crazy, Man! — Eugenia Shepard of the *New York Herald Tribune* describes a young woman who is making an impact on contemporary fashion: "Look at Tiger Morse. When she came to the door to say goodbye yesterday she was wearing a swiny dance dress of multicolored sequins with a halter

top and a back beginning below the waist. She had on white rimmed motorcycle goggles, white boots and a man's wide-brimmed hat. (I copied it from the photograph of that darling detective who was shot the other day.) Over her shoulders she just happened to throw an antique Russian jacket of faded red suede with a white sheepskin lining."

Expanding Agony — Daytime TV commercials increased by a whopping 22 percent in 1965.

Killer — Dr. Earl Brown, a New York allergist, told the *New York Herald Tribune* March 10: "The air has become the allergist's predominant problem and it was of no consequence when I started in 1945. It started to become worse seven or eight years ago and in the last two or three years it has become a tremendous problem. If it keeps up — I hate to say this, but it's obvious — people are going to get killed, a lot of people." New York, which has the foulest air in the country, has a budget for combating pollution of about 17 cents for each resident of the city.

— Harry Ring

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Thought for the Week

"Philanthropy is defined by the dictionary as an act of service performed because of 'love for mankind.' What the United States is doing for Vietnam is the most significant act of philanthropy extended by one people to another that we have witnessed in our times . . . The whole world must inevitably recognize the American effort as completely devoid of any selfish or material interest." — Right-wing columnist David Lawrence in the Feb. 21 *U.S. News & World Report*.

Antiwar Fight Focus of YSA Convention

By Barry Sheppard

CHICAGO — Delegates and members of the Young Socialist Alliance from nearly 20 cities met here over the March 4-6 weekend for the fifth national convention of the YSA. The growth, consolidation and political development of the revolutionary socialist youth organization were reflected in the reports and discussions. It was the largest YSA convention since the organization was founded in 1960.

The central focus of the deliberation of the delegates was the growing movement against the war in Vietnam and YSA participation in it. Lew Jones presented the general background to the antiwar movement in a report on the political situation in the country. The labor and Negro movements are still in the main tied to coalition politics through their support to the capitalist Democratic Party, he said. One of the major tasks of the YSA in combatting coalition politics is to fight to win the new young radicals emerging in the antiwar movement away from coalitionism to opposition to the capitalist system and its parties.

In a separate antiwar report and discussion, many of the concrete problems of the antiwar movement were gone into. Doug Jenness, who gave the report for the national executive committee, outlined the need to build the broadest movement possible around the single issue of "Bring the troops home now." The discussion was very fruitful in bringing out the experiences of YSA members from many different cities in helping to build the antiwar movement through broad committees against the war.

The organizational report was presented by Elizabeth Barnes. The report reflected the strengthening of the organization. Recruitment has been increasing, and three new chapters were established since the last YSA convention one year ago.

The YSA has had two fund drives per year, in addition to regular fund raising activities. In 1960, the drives averaged \$1,300 each. In 1964 they were up to about \$3,500, and the projected spring drive for 1966 is set to raise

\$6,700. Since the fund drives represent money collected from members, this spectacular increase is a reflection of the growing seriousness and commitment of the YSA.

The circulation of the *Young Socialist* now averages 5,500 copies per issue. Last fall, a combined *Young Socialist* and *Militant* subscription drive resulted in 1,825 new subscriptions.

The two pamphlets the YSA has published on Vietnam in the last year sold over 20,000 copies. Another pamphlet, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, sold 1,855 copies.

The organizational report stressed the need for continued emphasis upon education. Besides regular classes of many types held by each chapter each week, many chapters hold more extensive summer schools. The YSA aims to educate its members in the theory and practice of Marxism, and to teach them the history of the labor, Negro and radical movements.

The three major reports were passed unanimously after long but fruitful and down-to-earth discussion.

In addition, a co-thinker in the Canadian socialist youth movement gave a report on developments in that country. There were two very fruitful panel workshop discussions in addition to the political and organizational reports, one on civil liberties and one on the Negro struggle.

The convention sent a message of solidarity to Joe Johnson, socialist who faces deportation and is currently on a national speaking tour. Upon learning of Attorney General Katzenbach's attack upon the DuBois Clubs, the delegates sent that organization a message of support and offered YSA collaboration in the fight against the attack.

A number of leading YSA members "graduated" at the convention, and will now devote their time to work in the adult socialist movement. Among these was Jack Barnes, outgoing national chairman. The delegates elected a new national committee, which elected Lew Jones national chairman and Elizabeth Barnes national secretary.



ATTENTIVE DELEGATES. Scene at Young Socialist Alliance convention in Chicago as delegates listen to organization report delivered by Elizabeth Barnes, YSA national secretary.

YSA Parley: A Youthful, Businesslike Gathering

A total of 205 delegates and visitors attended the convention, 166 of them YSA members. The organization is a genuinely youthful one. The average age of the regular delegates, which can be assumed to be somewhat higher than that of the membership as a whole, was 22. They have been YSA members for an average of a little more than two years. Among the YSAers who were visitors, 50 percent have been members less than a year.

A particularly heartening aspect of the convention was the number of young women participating. More than a third of the

delegates were women and a third of the members of the new national committee are women. This represents a significant gain over previous young socialist movements.

New Yorkers attending the convention chartered a bus for the trip and found it a fast, efficient and economical method of travel. The bus drivers were obviously impressed by the group's good behavior and cooperative attitude. By the time of the trip home one of them, a war veteran, was reading Mary Alice Styron's *Young Socialist* article about the demobilization demonstrations of the GIs at the end of World War II.

Members of the editorial staff of *The Militant* attending the convention were gratified by the comments of a delegate from Washington, D.C. He explained that the Washington local was but six or seven months old and that none of its members had very much political experience. This presented problems, he said, in dealing with opposing political views in the antiwar movement and other areas where they were active. However, he added, they had discovered that this was no particular problem if they simply read YSA national office communications with care and read *The Militant* thoroughly each week. Doing that, he said, puts them at least three weeks ahead of their opponents.

The convention was held at a Workmen's Circle building which offered very good facilities. It did seem somewhat incongruous, though, to see this gathering of young revolutionists assembled in a hall that represented a bygone generation of social democrats.

Lew Jones, new national chairman of the YSA, reported to the convention on the political resolution submitted by the national committee. On taking the rostrum, he commented that it was good to be speaking at a convention where the mike wasn't about to be grabbed from him. The refer-

ence was to last Thanksgiving's antiwar convention in Washington where a storm erupted when a bureaucratic-minded chairman didn't like what Lew was saying and lunged for the mike.

Veterans of the adult socialist movement who attended the convention were impressed and inspired by the high quality of the organization as made apparent by the convention proceedings. The YSA has succeeded in assembling a group of unusually dedicated and capable young revolutionists. The discussions showed the organization is deeply involved in the antiwar movement and that the members are doing a first-rate job of helping to build and lead the movement. Particularly impressive was the ability of the delegates to grapple with complex political problems despite their relatively short experience in the socialist movement. Perhaps most striking of all to the old timers was the businesslike quality of the discussions and the absence of hot air.

—Harry Ring

Joseph Johnson on Speaking Tour

'Man Without Country' Tells Story

By Paul Eidsvik

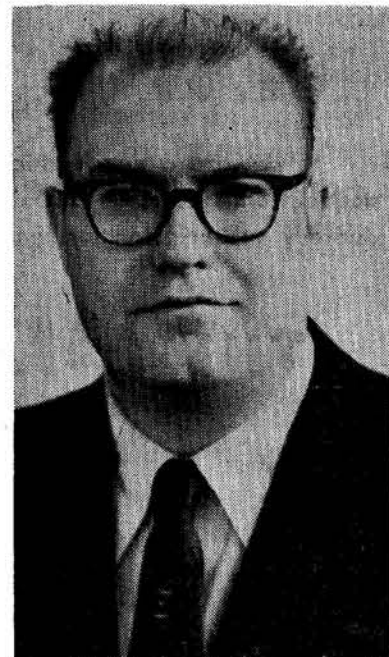
MARCH 13 — Joseph Johnson, the Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, fighting to retain his right of citizenship in the U.S., is gaining a steady stream of support in the wake of his current national tour. The tour, which is sponsored by the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, has brought Johnson so far to eleven cities, has given him the opportunity to speak on at least twenty college campuses.

Johnson, a native American, has been charged by the U.S. Immigration and Nationalities Service with being a "stateless" person, and has been ordered deported from the United States. In 1953, when he was a twenty-two year old University of Wisconsin student he left the U.S. because of apprehension over the Korean War and the McCarthy period. He returned to the U.S. in 1959 to face a draft evasion charge, and was sentenced to two years in a federal prison. After his release from prison and parole he became active in the SWP and became its organizer and leading public spokesman in the Twin Cities area.

The tour began in February

and has brought Johnson so far to Denver, Seattle, the Bay Area, Oakland, Los Angeles, San Diego, Tucson, Albuquerque, Austin, Houston, and New Orleans.

His experiences along the tour



Joseph Johnson

have been varied and interesting. At Los Angeles City College he was the subject of a free speech controversy, when the city administered college refused to let him speak. They finally relented but required that his speech be given with no publicity whatsoever. The Independent Socialist Club, the original sponsors of the meeting, are planning legal action to fight the ban.

The most surprising success gained by Johnson has been in the South and the Southwest, where he has consistently gotten audiences of upwards of 200 people, and where local defense committees have been formed for him in several cities. In addition, such groups as the local chapters of the Students for a Democratic Society and the DuBois Clubs in Albuquerque and several other cities have pledged their support.

In Seattle he was a featured speaker in the Feb. 11 demonstrations against the war. In Berkeley, Jerry Rubin, head of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee chaired the meeting where he spoke. In Tucson and Albuquerque Johnson himself was instrumental in the formation of antiwar committees and in planning for the March 25-26 International Days of Protest.



Lew Jones