

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 16 Monday, April 18, 1966 Price 10c

An Open Letter From Vietnamese Women

—See Page 3—

Growing Popular Rebellion Curbs Johnson's War in South Vietnam

How to Answer The Bomb Attack

An Editorial

Individual acts of terrorism, such as bombings, can do serious damage but, invariably, they are an expression of political weakness. This is clearly the case with the right-wing bombing of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee headquarters April 9.

Throughout the country popular opposition to the Vietnam war has been mounting. Continuing, growing antiwar demonstrations have been held in a host of cities and towns. Invariably, right-wingers have tried to organize counter-demonstrations. But there has been no significant popular response to these efforts.

It is the frustration stemming from this inability to rally popular support against the antiwar activists that leads to such monstrous acts as the bombing of the Berkeley VDC headquarters and the earlier similar attack on the W.E.B. DuBois headquarters. Such acts of terror will not halt the movement against the war. To the contrary, we are confident, they will serve only to spur it forward. Opponents of the war should help make this the case (see advertisement, page 6).

Berkeley Bombing —A Special Report

By Syd Stapleton

BERKELEY, April 13 — The Vietnam Day Committee here held a successful rally last night in spite of police harassment and the bombing four days earlier of the VDC headquarters. Over 4,000 people attended the hastily called rally.

Eleven people were in the building at the time of the blast. I was in the kitchen with others working on picket signs and puppets for last night's rally when the bomb exploded, just after midnight early Saturday morning. The room next to the kitchen was destroyed by the blast — which blew out windows in a 300-yard radius and tore the shingles from

a home three houses away. The police said that given the size of the explosion, it was a wonder that the building did not collapse.

There were a number of minor injuries, and Bill Guynn suffered serious injuries when the window he was standing next to shattered, inflicting cuts on his face and back.

Press Statement

The VDC issued a press release the following day, reaffirming its intention to carry out the planned demonstration. "The recent street demonstrations in south Vietnamese cities show even more clearly," the statement said, "that the Vietnamese are opposed to American intervention. The demonstrations we have planned in solidarity with them are too important to be abandoned because of this bombing."

Telegrams of support have been received from the New York Peace Parade Committee and other groups opposed to the war.

The rally last night was called by the VDC in solidarity with the demonstrations in south Vietnam. It began on Telegraph Ave. near the campus as a street rally addressed by speakers from a balcony. A huge banner was stretched across the building reading "Withdraw U.S. Troops" in both English and Vietnamese.

The police sent squads through the crowd of 4,000 trying to make everyone as uncomfortable as possible. When the speakers began, the police tried to break into the

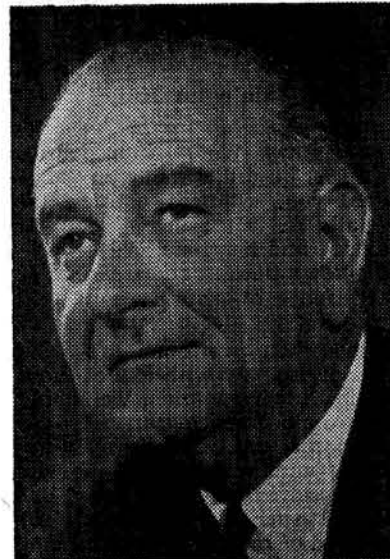
(Continued on Page 3)

By Dick Roberts
APRIL 12 — The revolt against the U.S.-bolstered military dictatorship of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky is a massive and deep-going rebellion, backed by Vietnamese Buddhists, soldiers, students and workers from Saigon to Hué, and including five other major cities of central and coastal south Vietnam. This fact was dramatically illustrated by the reluctant admission of the Johnson administration, reported in today's *New York Times*, that the Vietnamese demonstrations have crippled U.S. military operations against the National Liberation Front.

South Vietnamese troops, either in direct opposition to the Ky regime, or in emergency use to guard Saigon and other cities against popular insurrection, have launched "fewer attacks . . . in many parts of the country," the *Times* stated, and "in addition, military and civilian workers at the huge American base at Danang were reported to have refused to unload American ships, thus causing a 'temporary' shortage of bombs."

The air base strike by the Danang workers and soldiers and the reduction of ground attacks "have reduced by at least a third the number of American air sorties in south Vietnam," the *New York Times* revealed.

Contemptuously disregarding these latest demonstrations of popular opposition to the Saigon regime, however, the Democratic administration is still 100 percent behind Ky's military junta — official pronouncements to the contrary notwithstanding. A UPI dis-



Lyndon Johnson

patch from Saigon this morning reported that U.S. "advisers" were acting as bodyguards for Ky and other military leaders as recently as yesterday, April 11.

And on top of this, Johnson has given the go-ahead for the use of B-52 bombers against north Vietnam. These giant Guam-based planes fly at lower speeds than the supersonic bombers which have been striking north Vietnam since Feb. 7, 1965, but they carry much heavier bombing loads.

The 34-day-old rebellion reached its point of deepest crisis so far for the Ky regime on Sunday, April 10, when the previously divided Buddhist leadership joined forces and delivered an ultimatum in Saigon that the military

junta must step down and give way to a civilian government with "an elected congress in a very short time."

To demonstrate its power, the Buddhist leadership called an end to the protests against the Ky government in Saigon which had entered their eighth day. These primarily student-based protests, continuing for over a week in spite of brutal attempts by Ky's cops to end them — including police use of clubs, tear gas and smoke bombs — had reached a point of such heightened anti-Americanism April 8, that U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge ordered U.S. military police to prevent American reporters from visiting the scene of the demonstrations.

Over the same weekend, U.S. officials admitted that the situation in Hué and Danang had "deteriorated" to the point where American civilian and military personnel should be withdrawn from the two cities. Nguyen Van Man, the mayor of Danang, seized the occasion to condemn the Johnson administration for supporting the "corrupt and selfish" officials in the Ky regime.

Following the Buddhist ultimatum, Premier Ky hastily convened a political congress in which he announced that the time necessary for establishing a civilian government would be greatly shortened, and that he would be glad to listen to "responsible" suggestions about how the transition from a military government to a civilian one should be enacted.

The only trouble was, the Buddhists didn't show up to listen to (Continued on Page 2)

"HE DIED IN VAIN"

Father of Slain GI Assails War

NEW YORK — "I think this war is uncalled for and I think my son and all the other sons died in vain," Frank De Marchi told a *New York Times* reporter in a telephone interview that appeared in the April 8 issue. De Marchi was informed the day before that his son Frank, Jr., 22 years old, had been killed in Vietnam.

"It was like all the others," De Marchi said about his son's last letter. "He said it was a lousy war, that he didn't like it and that he thought it was unnecessary." De Marchi told the interviewer he opposed the war before his son had been sent to Vietnam, and that many people share his feelings about the war. De Marchi is a truck driver and a combat veteran of World War II.

He told the *Times* man that he was about to visit George Cannata, a man he'd never met before though he lives only eight blocks away in the Woodside section of Queens, New York. "I'm going over there and tell him how I feel because he knows what it's about," the grieving father explained. Cannata was informed of his own son's death on the same day as De Marchi.

George Cannata, Jr. was only 18 years old when he was killed. He had enlisted in the paratroopers shortly after graduating from Long Island City High School last June. Mrs. Cannata spoke to the same reporter about her son:

"He liked it in his way. He liked to jump," Mrs. Cannata said, "but I didn't raise him for that. Of course, we're bitter. We sit around the living room and ask ourselves what the country is doing there and why this had to happen."

Frank De Marchi, Jr. had studied engineering before he joined the Army. He had served as an infantryman in the 27th Division for less than a year. De Marchi's other son, Dom, is 19. "He thinks he'll go," his father said, "but I can't bring myself to think about it just yet."

Mrs. Cannata's reaction was the same as De Marchi's in wanting to speak to the other grieving parents: "I wanted to tell them to come over and talk," she said. "We haven't met, but we don't need an introduction."

YSA Message to Berkeley VDC

The following message was sent to the Berkeley VDC by the national office of the Young Socialist Alliance:

We support your determination to carry on and intensify the activities of the Vietnam Day Committee in the face of the bombing of the VDC headquarters. Your militant spirit and demonstration today are proof that the antiwar movement will not be intimidated by those who are frustrated by the growing acceptance of its ideas by the American people.

N. Y. Pickets to Support Vietnamese

NEW YORK — A demonstration in solidarity with the demonstrators in south Vietnam has been called here by the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. It will take place in Times Square, on Saturday, April 16. The central demand of the demonstration is to "end U.S. involvement in Vietnam and let the Vietnamese settle their own affairs."

The demonstrators will assemble at 12:30 p.m. at Bryant Park, Sixth Ave. and 42nd St., and walk to Times Square. There will be a march around the square from 1 to 3 p.m.

Similar demonstrations are being organized across the country.

Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

Installment 24

On Politics

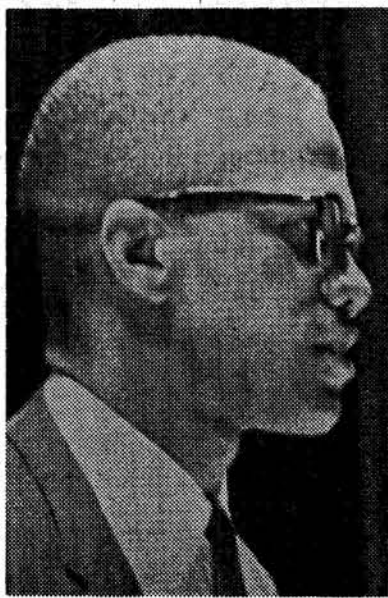
Malcolm was asked about the outcome of the recent presidential election in the United States.

Malcolm: It isn't a president who can help or hurt; it is the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America, it is ruling the world. Nowadays, when a man is running for president of the United States, he is not running for president of the United States alone; he has to be acceptable to other areas of the world where American influence rules.

If Johnson had been running all by himself, he would not have been acceptable to anyone. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was that the shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists, knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you showed them a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative. And it had the whole world — including people who call themselves Marxists — hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater.

I have to say this: Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected — because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And at that moment he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam! He even has troops in areas where other imperialists have already withdrawn. Peace Corps to Nigeria, mercenaries to the Congo! (Présence Africaine meeting, Paris, Nov. 23, 1964.)

Malcolm: First, our people have to become registered voters. But they should not become involved actively in politics until we have gotten a much better understanding than we now have of the gains to be made from politics in



Malcolm X

this country. We go into politics in a sort of gullible way, an emotional way, whereas politics, especially in this country, is cold-blooded and heartless. We have to be given a better understanding of the science of politics as well as becoming registered voters.

And then we shouldn't take sides either way with any of these parties. In my opinion, we should reserve our political action for the situation at hand, in no way identifying with either party or selling ourselves to either party, but taking political action that's for the good of human beings and that will eliminate these injustices. I, for one, do not think that the present man who's in the White House is morally capable of taking the kind of action necessary to eliminate these things. (Harvard Law School Forum, Dec. 16, 1964.)

No Real Choice

Malcolm: The reluctance of Negroes to vote isn't always because they don't have the right to vote. Political machines in most states and cities select as a rule as candidates for political office not black people who are intellectually capable to deal with politics as it is, but puppets that serve as their mouth pieces to control the politics of the community. The black people in Harlem have witnessed this thing year in and year out, and have seen how the politics of Harlem and other Negro communities have been pretty much controlled from outside.

It's not that they're politically lethargic or dead — they purposefully have abstained. When you give them something to point toward, or vote for, you'll find that they'll be just as active as they've been inactive. It's the purpose of the OAAU to work among that element of politically inactive black people. We intend to charge them and get them active out here, so we can get a little action.

Those who haven't been involved in politics actively are the ones who get involved in physical action. They have not seen anything that could be made to materialize in politics in the past, so they didn't resort to politics. They resorted to things physical, to methods physical, if you understand what I mean. What we intend to do is try and harness their energy by giving them an understanding of politics. (Answer to question by member of delegation from McComb, Miss., Dec. 31, 1964.)

Watts and Harlem

By Robert Vernon
And George Novack

15 cents

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

SAN FRANCISCO
MALCOLM X ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. Excerpts from Malcolm's recorded speeches in his own voice. Collected and with a taped commentary by George Breitman, editor of the book *Malcolm X Speaks*. Tues., April 26, 12:15 p.m. San Francisco State College, HLL 341. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

WHAT MAKES HUMAN NATURE?
Speaker: Evelyn Reed, socialist writer on anthropology. Fri., April 22, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

MAY DAY — 1966. The history and significance today of May Day: Speaker: Frank Lovell. Sunday, April 24, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

DETROIT

CAN A NATIVE BORN CITIZEN BE DEPORTED? Hear Joseph Johnson, socialist who faces deportation. Rally to support civil liberties. Fri., April 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

MAXWELL GEISMAR, critic and historian of American literature, author of *Henry James & the Jacobites*, speaks on *American Fiction & the Cold War*. Fri., April 22, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

...South Vietnam Rebellion

(Continued from Page 1)

Ky's latest proposal. Boycotting the congress, the Buddhist leadership of Danang and Hué denounced it as a "tool of the American CIA" and addressed a highly critical telegram to Ambassador Lodge.

"The entire struggling Vietnamese people strongly protests the long-standing United States policy in Vietnam," the telegram declared, "whose consequences are likely to bring about a civil war in the Republic of Vietnam." The message added, "The United States has helped the Republic of Vietnam fight the Communists. But the United States government has at the same time supported and patronized dictatorial governments . . ."

U.S. Aids Ky

The telegram also accused the U.S. of "directly protecting" Ky and his right-hand man, General Nguyen Van Thieu, and "giving them means and advice to suppress and wipe out the Vietnamese people."

The last charge undoubtedly refers mainly to the help and advice the U.S. military has given Ky in transporting his troops to trouble spots, most particularly in Saigon. Ky is apparently attempting to convert Saigon into a militarily-policed city in order to forestall and suppress further demonstrations which the Buddhists have called for beginning April 14.

Just how great the behind-the-scenes U.S. pressure on Ky is was suggested by *New York Times* correspondent Neil Sheehan in a Saigon dispatch dated April 10: "Senior United States officials here," Sheehan declared, "are un-

derstood to feel that south Vietnam's military junta must combine political concessions with a policy of firmness toward dissidence and street violence if it hopes to survive . . ."

Occupy Danang?

"The Americans feel," Sheehan went on, "the junta should reestablish control over Danang, now in the hands of Buddhist leaders and rebellious army units. . . . The occupation of Danang by pro-government troops would entail force and probably bloodshed, United States officials say. They add that force, while it must be used judiciously, should not be shrunk from." (Emphasis added)

"Control over Hué," Sheehan continued, "can be achieved later, officials say. The junta is being advised to isolate the city by cutting off its road, rail and sea links. Hué is dependent on the outside for its food supplies. At the same time, the officials say, the junta should move firmly against Buddhist students who have been organizing the demonstrations." (Emphasis added)

This shocking statement in favor of direct repression of Ky's opponents shows that Washington's fears do not end with the collapse of the military clique. The U.S. has weathered many such turns in the course of the war already. What Washington now fears most is that Ky's collapse could bring in a government opposed to U.S. intervention in Vietnam to begin with.

This fear was clearly enunciated by Walter Lippmann in the April 12 edition of his nationally syndicated column "Today and

Tomorrow." "The Buddhists," Lippmann writes, "are demanding a new kind of government, not merely a change within the government."

"A change in the kind of government," Lippmann continues, "from the directorate of warlords to some sort of directorate of civilians, would not be a reshuffle but a revolution." This, Lippmann contends, is because of the deep-seated opposition to Washington's war which the Buddhist leadership now represents.

Couching this ominous conclusion in carefully chosen language, Lippmann explains, "There are reasons for thinking that the Buddhists are moving with a rising tide of popular discontent. There is discontent over the savage inflation which is so cruelly oppressive of the poor."

"There is discontent with the pervasive and open corruption which is unbearably offensive to the hungry victims. There is of course discontent with the cruelties and miseries of war. Finally, but not the least, there is discontent with the overpowering presence of a large army of rich, unreticent, aliens from a different civilization."

Lippmann then lists three possibilities which he sees as the possible outgrowths of this situation: first, that General Ky may opt for direct suppression of the Buddhists, thereby perpetrating a "civil war within a civil war"; second, that the Buddhists, having established a civilian government, would negotiate a cease-fire with the National Liberation Front; and third, that the new government would go one step further and "invite us to withdraw our troops."

Easy Guess

It doesn't take speculation, however, to guess which of these alternatives is favored in Washington — particularly after the revelations of Neil Sheehan's article cited above. Johnson and his cohorts have been pressing this brutal war of atrocities on the Vietnamese people month after month, year after year, in the face of their overwhelming opposition to it.

The difference is now that if the U.S. rulers choose to remain in Vietnam it will mean war on a second front, with the terrible danger that Johnson will repeat his criminal record of Santo Domingo by sending U.S. troops into the big Vietnamese cities to crush civilian demonstrations.

It also does not take second-guessing to predict that the Buddhist leadership will drive for the second and not the first of Lippmann's alternatives. According to the *New York Herald Tribune*, April 11, "one of the two top monks in the Buddhist political action hierarchy conceded that the elected government his group ultimately seeks might negotiate peace with the Viet Cong and ask for removal of United States forces from Vietnam."

And finally, the crucial developments of the last week in Vietnam do not leave serious Americans any choice but to support the actions of the masses of Vietnamese — from the peasant guerrillas, to the workers in the Danang air base — in demanding and fighting for immediate and total withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

The Logic Of Marxism

By
William F. Warde

\$1

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

The American Way of Life

One of the principal problems in preserving the American Way of Life is to put down the gloom-and-doom boys who take a dim view of all aspects of our way. To put them down you can't be the retiring type. Fortunately, we still do have people around with the necessary push. And, interestingly, they're salesmen.

For some time now salesmen have been coping with the particular problem of a man who seemed to be out to give them a bad name. His name is Arthur Miller, an egghead who writes plays. 1949 he had one on Broadway called *Death of a Salesman*. It purported to be a lifelike story of Willy Loman, a salesman who didn't have what it takes to make good and wound up in rather dismal shape. Despite this suspiciously morbid theme, it was given a Pulitzer Prize and made into a movie.

The Advertising Executive Club of New York says the story of Willy Loman "has been plaguing our 'selling as a career' efforts for years." The club says young people don't become salesmen because they "believe Willy's fate to be that of the typical salesman in a cruel and heartless business world."

Sensitive Sponsor

There is ample evidence that the business world isn't that way at all. For example, CBS has been planning to do a TV version of *Death of a Salesman* for some time now, with the giant Xerox Corporation as sponsor. Yet they have proven sensitive enough to postpone the production twice.

However, while the business world is not cruel and insensitive it isn't altogether soft-headed either and, apparently, there's a good deal of cash tied up in the TV production of the play and now they've decided to go ahead with it on May 8.

At the same time the Advertis-

ing Executive Club is proving that good salesmen aren't pig-headed. They know when to switch tactics. They are not demanding now that the play be shelved. Instead they have offered some constructive suggestions on how to round out the image of a salesman that the play presents.

Harry R. White, executive director of the club, has written the Xerox people and given them some very good dramatic ideas. He proposed, to begin with, that they add a prologue to the play that would explain to viewers that they are about to see the tragedy of a man who went into the selling game with the wrong ideas and without proper training. The prologue would explain that Willy Loman would have been a flop "in anything else he tackled."

A Ghost

An epilogue entitled, *Life of a Salesman*, would point out that "with modern customer-oriented selling methods, Willy Lomans are a ghost of the past."

Mr. White also called Xerox's attention to a little light editing that would improve the quality of Miller's work. A number of lines, he explained, could well be modified or eliminated since they were "needless anti-selling, anti-business comments." Sensitive as he obviously is to the esthetic angle, he noted that the lines in question "add nothing to either plot, mood or characterization."

We believe Mr. White is the embodiment of everything Willy Loman was not and a living refutation of any suggestion that Willy was the symbol of American salesmanship. Willy Loman went down insisting to his son that even though he may not have made it in a big way, he was "well liked." We'll lay odds that Mr. White doesn't fill his kid's head with that kind of bull.

Herman Chauka

AN APPEAL TO AMERICAN WOMEN

An Open Letter from Vietnam

The following letter to American women was sent by Le thi Xuyen, Vice President of the Vietnam Women's Union, in the name of the women of Vietnam.

Hanoi
March 8, 1966

Dear Friends,

Today, March 8, Women's Day all over the five continents, we are thinking of you. We think of those American women whose husbands, sons, friends, have been sent to Vietnam to commit aggression there, to kill people, to massacre women and children, eventually to be themselves killed, in a completely senseless way. Vietnam is a small and far-away country, separated from the United States by a great ocean, a country which has never done any harm to the United States and which constitutes no menace whatever to the security of the United States.

You American friends must have been closely following the news about the atrocious war in Vietnam, in the press and over the radio. But one thing is certain: the American press and radio reflect but one tiny part of the truth about Vietnam, for the American authorities have been using every means to cover up or distort the truth. Indeed, it must be very difficult for you to picture to yourselves how the war is being carried on there. You can hardly imagine all the crimes that have been committed against the people of Vietnam, and especially of south Vietnam, by the American expeditionary corps and its local agents. Recently they have been using B-52 strategic bombers, toxic chemicals and poison gas, and practising a "scorched-earth policy" over large populous areas, burning, killing and destroying all.

Heinous Crimes

In this letter we want to draw your attention to a particularly heinous aspect of the crimes perpetrated by the bellicose American aggressors in south Vietnam. At the very time when U.S. President Johnson was talking about his "search for peace," McNamara declared that he was sending tens of thousands more American troops to south Vietnam, bringing the total of American expeditionary forces to over 230,000 men.

Simultaneously, the spreading of toxic chemicals and the use of

poison gas have been intensified. The scope of these operations has been enlarged, more and more poisons have been used in ever heavier concentration and over larger and larger areas. The poisons appear in the form of clouds of smoke of various colors: yellow, grey, white, pink. They fall on the ground in tiny dew-like drops and can make the victims lose their sight right away. Poisons are also used to contaminate food and drinking water, and even sweets and cakes destined for children.

In such provinces of south Vietnam as Ben-tre, Can-tho, Binh-dinh, Phu-yen, tens of thousands of people have been poisoned, among whom hundreds have died; tens of thousands of cattle have been killed, hundreds of thousands of acres of ricefields, gardens and orchards have been ruined.

Beautiful Land

Just imagine those beautiful landscapes of the southern part of our country: golden expanses of ripening rice, tender green stretches of vegetation, long rows of fruit-laden coconut palms mirrored in the calm water of the canals — all suddenly turned into a withered, dying wilderness, as if a hurricane had swooped down on them. Poultry and cattle die in great numbers. People are poisoned to varying extents: some are seized by violent nausea, others suffer from skin inflammations, other still can breathe only with great difficulty, run a high temperature, lose consciousness, bleed through their mouths and noses, discharge feces mixed with blood, and eventually die.

From Dec. 7, 1965 to January 1966, in Ben-tre province alone, about 46,000 people were affected by poison. Toxic substances were spread on nearly 100 occasions on 50 villages. Over 10,000 acres of fields and orchards were utterly ruined.

In Long Truyen, a village of Can-tho province, thousands of people were poisoned, of whom 13 died on the spot, with terrible convulsions, most of them women, children and old folk. Poisoned women and children show unhealthy paleness, suffer from anemia, ulcers and dysentery. Pregnant women have miscarriages. Lactation stops for young mothers.

The odious crimes of the American aggressors cause great anger

among the Vietnamese people. In face of the violent protests of Vietnamese people and freedom and justice loving people all over the world, the American authorities tried at first to argue that their chemicals were mere "defoliants" which caused no harm to men and cattle. But recently, a spokesman of the Pentagon openly admitted that the Americans had been using toxic chemicals to destroy crops, cut off supplies for the guerrillas, destroy their ability to resist so that they could be caught and annihilated by American troops.

If those substances were really "non-lethal" as the American aggressors had pretended, how did it come about that the Australian soldier Robert Bowtell died during one of those poison-spraying operations although he was wearing a mask, and that six of his mates had to be taken to the hospital? (Reuters, Jan. 12)

Toxic chemicals and poison gas are barbarous, inhuman weapons, condemned since long by mankind, and prohibited by international conventions; even the Hitlerite fascists did not dare to use them in the last war.

In north Vietnam, U.S. aircraft have carried out barbarous bombing and strafing raids. The aggressors claim that their targets are "concrete and steel not human life." But the truth is, they have wantonly attacked populous areas, dams, schools, hospitals, etc. . . . You have certainly heard about their savage raid on the leper hospital at Quynh-lap, which caused the death of hundreds of patients. Recently, they have committed another odious crime: On Feb. 9, American aircraft bombed the Huong-phuc junior secondary school in Ha-tinh province, killing and wounding 57 school children, all under 15.

Untold Crimes

The untold crimes perpetrated by the aggressors only deepen the hatred felt for them by the Vietnamese women and people and heighten their resolve to fight against those U.S. aggressors and defeat them, in order to defend their country, the happiness of their homes and the future of their children.

Dear friends, we know that you American women — mothers, scientists, intellectuals — also feel deep pain and anger before the criminal actions taken by the American government.

Engraved deep in our hearts are the noble memories of Mrs. Alice Herz, of Celene Jankowski, Norman Morrison, Roger Laporte, who set fire to themselves, using their bodies as holy torches to give warning to those who are desperately engaged in massacre and destruction. Their courageous and lofty sacrifices are symbols of the traditions of the freedom and justice loving American people.

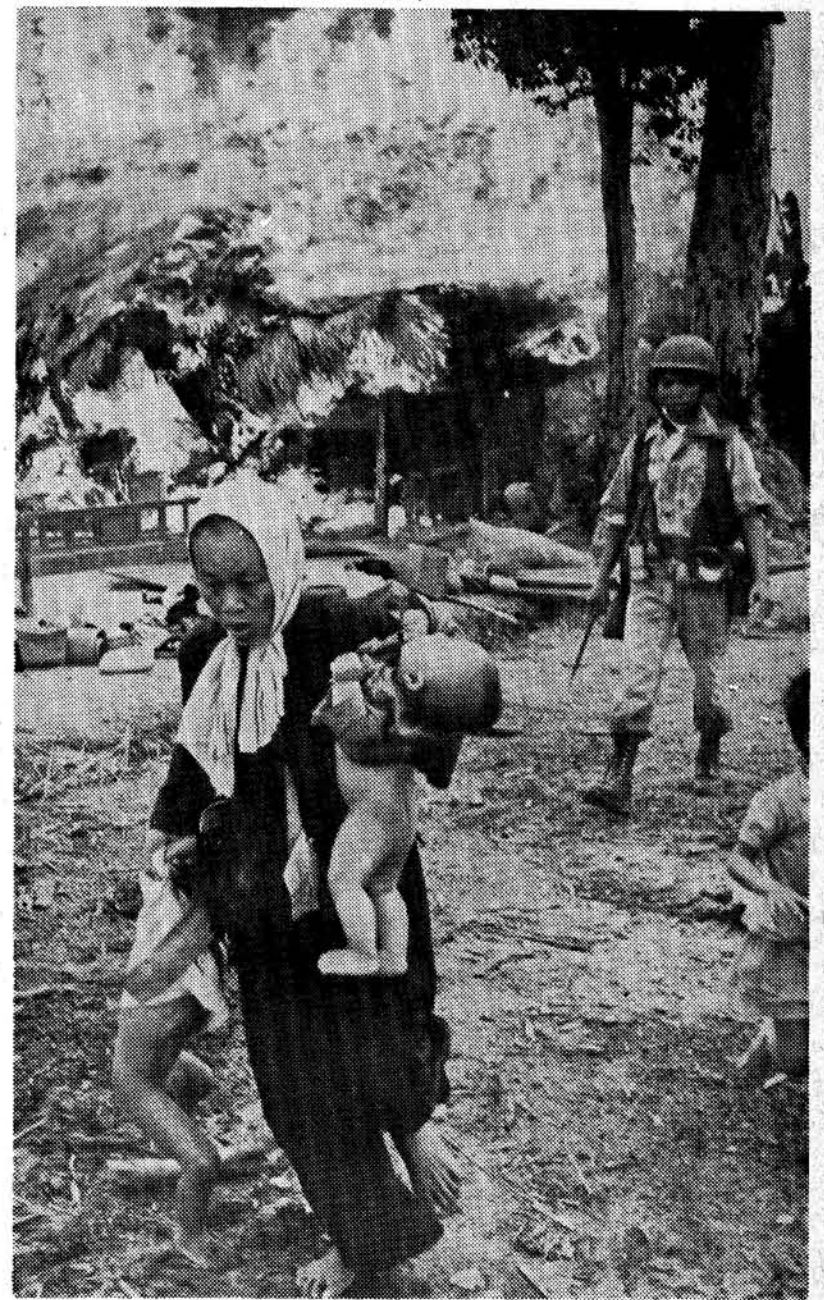
We feel deeply moved by the

... Berkeley

(Continued from Page 1) building and turn the sound equipment off. Two people were sent to the hospital with head lacerations from police clubs as the police fought to reach the sound equipment. The local press described the police as using their riot sticks liberally.

When the sound was finally turned off, and after it became apparent that we couldn't hold the meeting on Telegraph Avenue, we marched seven blocks to the steps of City Hall. The meeting continued there, with Paul Goodman, Hal Draper, Peter Camejo and others speaking.

The turnout of 4,000 was an impressive display of solidarity with the south Vietnamese and with the VDC, and was an effective answer to the attempted intimidation of the bombing.



VIETNAMESE WOMAN flees her burning home. Toll of U.S. war is heaviest on civilian population.

news about the marches undertaken by thousands, tens of thousands of American women, bringing along their children, pushing prams, carrying placards reading: "Mr. President, you can't send our sons to kill and be killed!" demanding that "the American government should recognize the south Vietnam National Front for Liberation" and "withdraw from south Vietnam."

The meetings and demonstrations held by the American people from coast to coast demanding that the American government should put an end to the war of aggression in Vietnam and implement the Geneva agreements express the love of the American women and people for justice and peace.

Hail Scientists

We hail the American scientists who have protested against the use by the American government of toxic chemicals and poison gas to kill people and destroy crops in south Vietnam.

We think that the women scientists now engaged in painstaking work in laboratories with the aim of serving production and human life cannot remain indifferent to the fact that the results of their arduous researches are being put to inhuman uses, as war means sowing death and destruction and bringing blemishes on the reputation of the United States.

We think that the American women jurists cannot let the American administration continue to trample under foot the most elementary human rights, scorn international law and blatantly violate the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, and other international conventions.

American mothers! American women! Whatever your profession and your religious beliefs, whether you are a writer, poet, or journalist, whether you are a painter, a singer, a farmer or a worker, you certainly want to protect the happiness of your homes, ensure a secure and happy life to your children. You will not let your husbands, sons, and friends be sent to Vietnam to massacre civilians,

women, children, bring destruction and ruin to our Fatherland, only to eventually meet death on the battlefield, a senseless death. We earnestly call on you to take timely and energetic actions to prevent the American warmongers from committing further violations of our national independence, doing further harm to the lives and property of our people, disturbing the peace in our country! Stop their hands, don't let them use toxic chemicals and poison gas as war means!

Demand that the American government respect the Geneva agreements, withdraw American and satellite troops from south Vietnam, put a definite end to air raids over north Vietnam, and let the people of south Vietnam settle their own affairs. The problem of the peaceful reunification of Vietnam must be solved by the people of north and south Vietnam, without any foreign interference.

Bring your active contribution to the triumph of justice, so that the people, women, and children of our two countries may live in peace and friendship.

We send you our warmest greetings and express to you our solidarity and friendship. We wish you, your children and your families good health and happiness, and for those of you who are now separated from their dear ones, we wish that you could see them again soon.

Le thi Xuyen
Vice President
Vietnam Women's Union

Socialism on Trial

By James P. Cannon

Transcript of testimony in
first Smith Act trial

\$1

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N. Y. High School Students Meet in Antiwar Convention

By Peggy Brundy

NEW YORK — A convention of high school students against the war in Vietnam was held at Columbia University April 19. It was sponsored by Students for Peace in Vietnam. SPV is an organization of high school students with

chapters in the New York area. They announced that 250 students from 60 schools attended the meeting.

Guest speaker Staughton Lynd urged the students to seek means of expressing their solidarity with the student demonstrators in Saigon. He noted that both U.S. and Saigon students are making the same demands: "Bring the Troops Home Now!" and "Vietnam for the Vietnamese!"

Discussion in the morning session centered around the possibility of bringing Saigon student demonstrators to the U.S. The draft as it affects high school students was also considered. The convention decided to initiate a petition protesting the war to be signed and financed by high school students and to appear as an ad in the *New York Times*.

In the afternoon workshops, the students discussed such topics as withdrawal vs. negotiations as the most effective demand for ending the war in Vietnam and whether or not high school antiwar committees should campaign for candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties in the coming elections.

N. Y. Forum to Hear Noted Literary Critic

NEW YORK — Maxwell Geismar, noted literary critic and historian, will speak on "American Fiction and the Cold War" at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday, April 22, at 8:30 p.m. at 873 Broadway.

Geismar has written three of a projected five-volume study, "The Novel in America," which covers the years from 1890 to 1940. In 1958 he published "American Moderns: From Rebellion to Conformity," which deals with American novels in the decade after World War II. More recently he published "Henry James and the Jacobites."

Geismar treats American novelists not as isolated phenomena, but as voices which reflect their times.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 30 - No. 16



Monday, April 18, 1966

Support the People of Vietnam

The powerful demonstrations in the cities of south Vietnam have made it abundantly clear that the U.S. is not wanted there.

The north Vietnamese are obviously bitterly opposed to the U.S. war. The great mass of south Vietnamese peasants support the National Liberation Front which is fighting the U.S. arms in hand. The National Liberation Front controls virtually the whole countryside in south Vietnam. And now it is clear that the workers, soldiers and students in the cities also want the U.S. to get out.

The masses in the demonstrations, irrespective of the programs of the Buddhist leaders or anti-Ky generals, have directed their fire against both the south Vietnamese militarists and the U.S. They have demanded that the war end immediately. Significantly, the workers and soldiers in Danang have refused to unload supply ships with bombs destined for use against their brothers in the north and in the countryside.

There has been a debate within the antiwar movement in this country over whether the axis of the movement should be to pressure the administration into some form of negotiations with the Vietnamese or, to the contrary, advance the straightforward demand that the U.S. withdraw from Vietnam immediately.

The Vietnamese people have now made their will known on this issue: they want the U.S. to get out. It is the elementary duty of the antiwar movement to support the Vietnamese people in their thoroughly justified stand by uniting around the demand: Bring the troops home now!

Single-Issue vs. Multi-Issue

Another issue which has been debated in the antiwar movement is whether the movement should continue to organize around the growing opposition to the war or turn its attention to other issues.

Frank Emspak, writing in a recent issue of *Peace and Freedom News*, organ of the Madison-based National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, said: "The diversity of people from all levels of American society who are opposed to the war which was evident during the International Days, necessitates using a diversity of issues to effectively organize antiwar sentiment."

Emspak has turned reality upside down. The facts are, the March 25-26 International Days of Protest were organized in virtually every case around the single issue of opposition to the war. The International Days were the largest demonstrations against an ongoing war in U.S. history. They did bring out people from all walks of life — but they brought them out precisely because they were clearly demonstrations against the war. Emspak to the contrary, the great success of the International Days of Protest proves that the single-issue approach is the correct one for the antiwar movement.

The war in Vietnam is growing increasingly unpopular. We can expect that the current south Vietnamese demonstrations will move wider layers of the American population into active opposition to the war. Johnson's rationalizations for conducting the war — that the U.S. is fighting for democracy, freedom and self-determination, that the U.S. is there at the "invitation" of the south Vietnamese — are being torn to shreds by the demonstrators of Saigon, Hue and Danang.

More and more Americans are becoming convinced that the war is not worth the sacrifice of their sons, brothers, husbands and friends, not worth inflation and higher taxes, and not worth the risks of wider war. The worst thing that could happen in this situation would be for the antiwar movement to divert itself and narrow itself by trying to commit people on a variety of other issues that they may not be ready to move on. The question of the Vietnam war is the issue which is mobilizing hundreds of thousands of Americans and will reach many more.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2649, Denver 90201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

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LBJ's Wage-Price Swindle

A Profit Bonanza

By Tom Kerry

The politics of "consensus" as practiced by the Johnson administration is working admirably well — for the big business tycoons who are reaping a fabulous profit bonanza under Johnson's "wages and prices guidelines" swindle.

Speaking in Washington before a national gathering of city mayors on March 31, Johnson boasted that: "Corporate profits providing the highest sustained rate of after-tax return on owners' capital" are "higher now than in the entire period for which we have any data in the Federal Government.

"It is up," he crowed, "from \$26-billion 700-million after taxes in 1961 to \$44-billion 500-million after taxes in 1965; that is, from 1961 to 1965, up \$17-billion-plus, or a 66 percent increase."

Now that's something to crow about — for those who have their snouts buried deep in the profit trough. But like all swine the appetite of the profit-hogs grows with the eating. They want even a bigger portion of the nation's economic pie. And Johnson is the man to get it for them.

In the same speech the Texas tin-horn informed his appreciative audience of what his plans were for the workers. "Now," he affirmed, "I am going to meet with the leaders of the workingmen of this country. I am going to talk to them about the desirable cautionary moves that I think we should take. We will ask them to practice restraint." (My emphasis —TK)

To the housewives of this country Johnson also preached restraint and advised them to buy cheaper cuts of meat and to use "substitutes." In fact, he said, he had spoken to Lady Bird that very morning, "even as she has changed cooks," about taking a peek at some of those cheaper cuts. Of course, the so-called cheaper cuts have gone up in price even more on the average than the expensive cuts, and would go still higher if the demand rose. But then the poor could always be relied upon to exercise "the desirable cautionary moves," toward finding a substitute for meat. If Lady Bird can "substitute" why not they?

Thus the Johnson "consensus" embraces with equal concern business and labor, the rich and poor, the affluent and deprived. The Johnson "consensus" can best be summed up by paraphrasing the biblical injunction: To them that hath shall more be given and from them that hath not shall be taken e'en that which they hath not!

In a neighborly chat to a conclave of the Business Council held in Washington last December,



Johnson summarized his view of the role of government in American capitalist society. The Business Council is a representative body of the top corporate oligarchy which owns and controls the nation's economic life.

To the edification of those assembled Johnson affirmed: "We are not a labor government. We are not a business government. We are not a farmer's government." Having been emphatically informed of what "we" are not, the hushed audience waited with fluttering diaphragm to hear what "we" are.

"We," proclaimed the prophet of consensus, "are the government of all America. We have made it clear that we support a fair profit, a fair wage and a fair price." There you have it! "We" himself has said so! As a matter of fact, every two-bit wardheeler from California to Maine and from the Canadian border to the banks of the Pedernales, is prepared to swear on his grandmother's grave that if elected to public office he will diligently serve the interests of "all" the people.

But what is a "fair" profit, a "fair" wage and a "fair" price? While profits are soaring to stratospheric heights, according to no less an authority than Lyndon Baines Johnson, wages are virtually frozen under the fraudulent "guidelines" policy while prices continue to skyrocket — and the end is not yet!

So far as wages are concerned the April 2 *AFL-CIO News* reports that "real factory earnings show no gain for the year." Quoting government figures the paper reports that: "The factory worker's real spendable earnings have shown virtually no change over the year ending in February because wage increases haven't been large enough to counteract rises in consumer prices and social security taxes, the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

New York Meetings Slated To Defend Harlem Victims

NEW YORK — Dick Gregory, Ossie Davis, and William Stringfellow will appear at Town Hall Sunday, April 17, at a public meeting to protest the conviction of the so-called Harlem Six and to raise funds for their appeal. The program, to begin at 8 p.m., will include a dramatization of *The Torture of Mothers* by Truman Nelson, narrated by Davis with a cast of 50 and including tape recordings testifying to instances of police brutality occurring in Harlem in the spring of 1964.

The young Negroes commonly known as the Harlem Six were convicted last July of the murder, on April 29, 1964, of Mrs. Margit Sugar, who ran a clothing store on 125th Street. The Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience has retained attorneys William M. Kunstler, Conrad J. Lynn, Mary M. Kaufman, and Gene Ann Con-

don to file a friend-of-the-court brief in connection with their appeal; the brief will seek a retrial on the grounds that confessions admitted into evidence were illegally obtained and that the defendants were denied court-appointed counsel of their choice. (The New York Civil Liberties Union is filing its own amicus curiae brief on the latter issue.)

Sponsors of the April 17 meeting include attorney Howard N. Meyer; authors Nat Hentoff and Maxwell Geismar; Professors Staughton Lynd, Dan Dodson, and Eleanor Leacock; playwright Howard da Silva; and a number of other academic and professional people. Most of those named above are also members of the Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience.

Truman Nelson will speak on the case of the Harlem Six at the Militant Labor Forum at 873 Broadway at 8:30 p.m. on May 20.

"Further, the report showed, real spendable earnings — take-home pay adjusted for changes in the Consumer Price Index — have dropped sharply from January and December levels."

With wages virtually frozen the mounting inflationary increase in the cost of living means that the workers' standard of living is being steadily reduced. Johnson's "guidelines" are supposed to exercise restraint on the price-gougers and profit-hogs. How are they working out?

The April *Monthly Economic Letter* of the First National City Bank of New York, takes note of the sharp increase in the Consumer Price Index and then adds:

"Less spectacular but more important have been the persistent increases in the more comprehensive wholesale price index. In February, the wholesale index climbed 0.7 per cent to a record 105.3, the sharpest February rise since 1951. This represented a year-to-year rise of 4.1 per cent, exceeding the increases in 1956 and 1957, the last time the U.S. economy experienced significant inflation. Farm products and foods increased 11.1 per cent over a year ago, while industrial prices rose 1.9 per cent."

'Relatively Mild'

"While the rise in industrial prices so far has been relatively mild," the report continues, "a spate of price announcements suggest that the upward trend is broadening to many more products. In recent weeks, higher prices have been announced for such things as newsprint, fir lumber, heavy trucks, small electric motors, rubber tires, steel plate, fertilizer, sulfur, gypsum, copper and brass products and various chemicals."

In addition, First National observes: "Military ordering for Vietnam is strongly affecting markets for textiles, steel, lumber and copper. Some prices," it concludes, "have been moving higher with little fanfare."

Johnson, you see, is reserving his "fanfare" for the expected visit to the White House of the "labor statesmen" whose job it is to sell the consensus counterfeit to the workers.

Antiwar Protests Held in Riverside

RIVERSIDE, Calif.—The second International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam were observed here with three events: On March 24 a debate on the war between members of the faculty was held at the University of California at Riverside. More than 200 students attended.

A speak-out against the war was held on March 25 sponsored by the university chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society. The auditorium which seated 200 was packed with an everchanging crowd of students.

On March 26 a line of 126 pickets, mostly students, demonstrated in downtown Riverside. The line was about twice the size of the one during the first International Days of Protest last October. It was counter-picketed by right-wing elements.

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Monthly Review, Guardian, Express Views

The Tricontinental Conference

By Harry Ring

Significant appraisals of the Havana Tricontinental Conference have appeared in the April *Monthly Review* and in the April 2 *National Guardian*.

Monthly Review features an editorial by editors Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, key excerpts from Fidel Castro's closing speech to the conference, and an appraisal of the conference and reply to Castro by Adolfo Gilly. The *National Guardian* assessment is by editor-in-exile Cedric Belfrage who attended the conference but who wrote his original report for the *Guardian* just before it closed with Castro's furious attack on the Chinese and on Trotskyism.

The *Monthly Review* editors assess the conference, and Castro's speech, as contradictory in character. They welcome the generally militant tone of the conference resolutions and of Castro's closing speech. At the same time they note that for many Moscow-oriented, pro-coexistence delegates at the conference the call for armed struggle against imperialism and its allies is, at best, rhetoric to be left on paper.

Real Meaning

The real meaning of the conference, the *MR* editors say, will be best determined by how its decisions are carried out in life. A key test, they believe, will be the second Tricontinental Conference slated for Cairo in 1968. If that conference fails to take programmatic stands that go beyond this one in terms of spelling out a socialist perspective, they conclude, the resolutions of the Havana parley will have been proven mere words.

Regarding Castro's slanderous attack on Trotskyism, Huberman and Sweezy firmly declare that such tactics are false and injurious. They write:

"One aspect of the Castro speech is ugly and perhaps ominous. His attack on MR-13 [The 13 of November Movement, a Guatemalan guerrilla force] rests entirely on two propositions: first, that it is 'infiltrated' by Trotskyites and has a Trotskyist program; and second, that Trotskyites are agents of imperialism. If the second proposition were true, the first would of course be a devastating indictment of MR-13.

Baseless Charge

"But the accusation has no foundation whatever, as anyone who has seriously studied the history of the communist movement since the October Revolution must know. It was precisely this accusation which provided the rationalization for the Soviet purge trials of the 1930s. If anything has been proved — and not least by the Soviet government itself — it is that the trials were a shameless frame-up; and no evidence has ever been produced to restore credibility to the accusation.

"To revive it now is a sure sign of either ignorance or malice. For our part, we prefer to believe that in this matter Fidel himself is ignorant and that the malice comes from advisers who have never abandoned the attitudes and methods which underlay the trials.

"If so, it behooves Fidel to take time out for serious study of the history of the movement to which he is, for reasons which do him no discredit, a latecomer (he could do worse than begin with Isaac Deutscher's brilliant three-volume study of Trotsky which is much more than a personal biography). In the meantime, one can only hope that Fidel's bad example is not going to lead to a revival of the kind of witch-hunting which so bedeviled and stultified the world revolutionary movement in the Stalin era."

Huberman and Sweezy do an effective job of refuting the simplistically one-sided, sectarian appraisal of the conference offered by Adolfo Gilly, whose article we will return to in our next issue. Gilly sees Castro as a servile tool of the Kremlin and views the Tricontinental Conference as a defeat for the revolutionary forces.

In reply, Huberman and Sweezy underline the contradictory aspects of the conference and Castro's role in it. They write:

"... by attacking the Chinese and MR-13 Castro has taken a position on the Soviet side of the great division in the world communist movement. There is a real contradiction here: on the one hand Fidel is passionately advocating the very policies of armed national liberation struggle which the Soviets would like to abandon in the interests of a deal with the United States; on the other hand he joins the Soviets in attacking not only a small movement which is putting these policies into practice but also China, the socialist giant... The trouble with Gilly is that he fails to recognize the reality of this contradiction and hence of course is precluded from understanding its implications."

Che Guevara

The *MR* editors also address themselves to the question of the whereabouts of Che Guevara, noting that it is a question that concerns revolutionaries around the globe. "If, as some charge," they write, "anything untoward has happened or should happen to Che, those responsible (and that would necessarily include all who knew and kept silent) will be forever disgraced. A Cuban regime guilty of such a crime would lose its moral authority and either would be replaced or would degenerate into a police state."

"On the other hand," they add, "if the official Cuban story about



Fidel Castro

Che turns out to be correct, if he reappears as a revolutionary fighter and theorist elsewhere, and if he retains his close ties to Fidel and his other former comrades in the Sierra Maestra, then the bonds linking the Cuban and world revolution will be strengthened and the chances of a favorable evolution inside Cuba will be immeasurably improved." For the sake of the world revolutionary movement, they urge Fidel to clear up the mystery of Che's whereabouts.

Cedric Belfrage wrote from Havana to the *Guardian* just prior to the conclusion of the conference that "unity against imperialism triumphed over internal Left disputes..."

On returning to Mexico City and reading the text of Castro's closing speech, Belfrage was dismayed. In his April 2 *Guardian* article he wrote:

"Many delegates were startled when Fidel Castro, in his speech winding up the proceedings, himself launched the first intramural attack. Attributing to the Fourth (Trotskyist) International libelous statements about the disappearance of Che Guevara, he denounced it as a 'discredited, anti-historic, fraudulent' movement which had 'become a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction.' One 'well-known theorist of Trotskyism' attacked by Castro was Argentine journalist Adolfo Gilly, an enthusiast about Cuba and a champion (in U.S. Progressive but non-Trotskyist publications, among others) of the Luis de la Puente guerrilla movement in Peru and the Yon Sosa guerrilla movement in Guatemala.

Turcios Is Delegate

"The Guatemala movement was represented at the conference by Luis Turcios, leader of the rival guerrilla group which insists that the Yon Sosa movement is not only 'dangerously infiltrated by Trotskyists' but by police and CIA agents masquerading as such.

"But Castro's blast," Belfrage continued, "seemed out of context since the Peruvian guerrilla movement, which the conference treated with the same respect as all others, is well known to have been sparked by Trotskyists.

"Furthermore Trotskyists have since shown from the record that the sources quoted by Castro on Guevara's disappearance were not Fourth International spokesmen, and that the groups affiliated with the International have in fact always supported Castro and the Cuban revolution."

Meanwhile in Cuba, the attacks on the Chinese have been accompanied by a sharp polemical exchange with the Yugoslavs. The Yugoslavs are the crudest and most blatantly outspoken advocates of the co-existence line. At the Tricontinental Conference, Cuba opposed the seating of a Yugoslav delegation.

On Jan. 24, *Borba*, official organ of the League of Yugoslav Communists, published an editorial entitled, "After the Tricontinental Conference in Havana. Negative Estimates in Latin America."

The editorial established not that this was the reaction of Latin American revolutionaries, but that of Latin American governments. A prime example of the bad effect of the conference, according to *Borba*, was that the government of Uruguay, "one of the most liberal in the hemisphere," saw the conference as "an attempt to organize an international system of subversion..."

The editorial further stated that "a certain number of the Communist Parties of Latin America also hold reservations about the Conference and the tactics of struggle it decided on."

Venezuela Issue

It also asserted that leaders of the Communist Party of Venezuela, imprisoned since 1963, had decided to publicly break with the FALN [the guerrilla movement, Armed Forces of National Liberation] because they consider guerrilla warfare "erroneous and harmful."

The Yugoslav attack was answered with a sharp blast in the Feb. 13 issue of *Granma*, official organ of the new united Communist Party of Cuba.

The reply in *Granma* seems to be aimed at a wider target than just the Yugoslav co-existors. It declares: "Let *Borba* know that a broad front of genuine revolutionary and progressive forces of Latin America is not achieved by crawling before imperialism through deals with governments that are puppets of imperialism."

The editorial reiterates the line incorporated in the Tricontinental resolutions that only united, armed struggle led by revolutionary forces can sweep away imperialism. The Feb. 20 issue of *Granma* carried a statement by a representative of the Venezuelan Communist Party seeking to refute *Borba's* assertion.

The simultaneous dispute with the Chinese and Yugoslavs points up the contradictory and unfinished character of the present stage of Cuba's political evolution.

N. J. College Students Picket Fort Monmouth

RED BANK, N. J. — A group of students and other individuals, numbering about 30 in all, marched four miles from Monmouth College to Fort Monmouth where they picketed for several hours against the war in Vietnam.

The march and demonstration were carried out despite harassment from hecklers at the campus and occasionally along the route. About 50 counter-demonstrators were at the gate of the Army base. The hecklers got discouraged and left, except for one who threw a punch at a leader of the marchers. The heckler was arrested.

The demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops was well represented on the demonstration.

World Events

Chile Strike Lifts Mask

The strike of mine workers at Chile's big El Teniente copper mine has revealed the true face of the Christian Democrat "reform" president, Eduardo Frei. The strikers have tentatively agreed to settle with the Braden Copper Co., a subsidiary of the Kennecott Copper Corp. The strike began Jan. 3. Their agreement was conditional on the Frei government dropping charges against other mine workers who struck in sympathy.

Frei has done his utmost to break the strike, even using police violence against sympathy walkouts. He refused to drop the charges and threatened to declare the El Teniente strike illegal if it continued. His phony "revolution without communism" demagoguery is being shown up as his government defends those property interests to which it is really loyal.

"For the Latin American revolutionists, the Chilean experience will serve to justify still more their decision to follow the Cuban road," Fidel Castro accurately observed.

Iran Socialists Appeal

The brutal regime of the shah of Iran has condemned four Iranian socialists to prison terms, one to three years, two to 18 months, and one to 12 months. The defendants filed an appeal.

A dispatch in the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported:

"The prosecutor accused the defendants... of having collaborated with the Communists from 1930 to 1940 and since then with

the National Front. Mr. Maleki [Khalil Maleki, leader of the League of Iranian Socialists] replied that such an accusation was illegal in view of the number of years that had elapsed and that in any case, even at the time of his adherence to the Tudeh [Communist] party, he had organized a Socialist wing before resigning to form a genuine party of the left."

Maleki also pointed out, according to *Le Monde*, that the National Front was a legal party and that the League of Iranian Socialists itself had never been outlawed. Foreign correspondents were banned from the trial, although long, and often distorted reports of the trial were published after some delay.

A Committee for the Defense of the Iranian Political Prisoners has been set up c/o Jean-Paul Sartre, 9 rue Delambre, Paris, France.

Brazil Students Protest

Some 2,000 students recently demonstrated in Belo Horizonte against the Castelo Branco dictatorship. Three hundred police attacked them with clubs and tear-gas grenades. The university council was reported to be considering a protest strike.

Pierre Frank in London

Pierre Frank, a leader of the French Trotskyist movement and a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, spoke in London recently. He addressed several meetings on an invitational basis and on March 4 gave a public lecture on the topic, "The Havana Tricontinental Conference and the World Congress of the Fourth International."

He contrasted the two congresses in regard to the kind of delegations that came to them and in the way they were prepared, showing how the congress of the Fourth International lent itself far better to working out a world revolutionary strategy. The audience, composed in good part of colonial freedom fighters living in London, engaged in a lively discussion with the speaker following his presentation.

Some "problems" remained, he admitted, especially unemployment. But "when a job is open, should it be given to a man or a woman? Must the man be left at home and the woman permitted to work?" he asked. Women's rights were "within the framework of the morals of our society," he added.

Boumedienne on Women

Algeria's Colonel Boumedienne addressed a meeting of women on March 8, a year after the huge International Women's Day demonstration organized under the Ben Bella regime. Boumedienne must have surprised his audience, for he told them, "Women who 'demand' their rights are mistaken..." He said the question of women's rights had been resolved because the women of Algeria had taken part in the struggle for independence.

When groups of women tried to leave the hall during his reactionary speech, they were violently shoved back by police.

—George Saunders

CP Draft Program and Coalition Politics

By George Novack

The representatives of the monopolists and militarists who make the vital decisions in Washington are able to drag this country so easily into such shameful ventures as the war in Vietnam because the American people remain captive to the two-party system of capitalist rule. The United States is the only major industrialized nation which does not have a mass working class party.

The major immediate political task confronting this generation is to break up this pernicious coalition that shackles labor and the Negro people to the Democratic machine. The first step toward political independence and class opposition is to free them from illusions about "lesser evil" politics within the framework of the capitalist parties.

How does the new draft program of the Communist Party USA stand on this central problem of American politics?

Informed radicals are aware that the CP concentrates its national, state and local activities within the Democratic Party. Every "progressive," it claims,

should be in this "mainstream" of political life because most workers and Negroes vote for the Democrats on election day.

The "new" program justifies this policy of working within the Democratic Party and proposes to reinforce it. The official document defines "the role of Communists in the present phase of political development" as follows: "We are joined with the millions in the struggle to defeat the ultra-Right and rout the Dixiecrats" because "those reactionary forces represent the most aggressive threat to peace, democracy and the welfare of the people . . . Since the millions now pursue their political aims within the two-party framework, to join with them means to participate in their battles on their terrain." (our italics)

Here is the first fatal fallacy of this reasoning. To follow the masses imprisoned inside the two-party framework is not "to participate in their battles on their terrain" but rather on the terrain chosen by the capitalist class which controls the Democratic Party. It is understandable why Meany and the AFL-CIO official-

dom, the moderate civil rights leaders, and, what the program characterizes as the "liberal elements of the corporate Establishment," should take such a course. But what has it in common with a Marxist, Leninist, socialist or independent working class line?

The CP goes on to explain that it has two ends in view. Immediately, the program states, "We are for the maximum political struggle possible within the present two-party vise" in order to defeat extreme reaction and deepen divisions within the Democratic setup. This should eventually lead to "the creation of a new people's party."

Let us consider the first objective which determines the current political practice of the CP. Its program anticipates the possibility and desirability of "an administration [within the two-party system] that will be more responsive to popular pressures, in which labor and the Negro people will have a great voice." It admits that such an administration would be monopolist and imperialist. Nevertheless, it is well worth working for because it "would mark an advance, much more modest in what it might achieve than in what it would reflect and what it could reveal."

Roosevelt's regime has provided the model for such a liberal administration. Thus the program dreams about reviving the New Deal which rescued American capitalism in the crisis of the 1930's, became transformed into the War Deal of the 1940's and spawned the Cold War Deal of the 1950's.

The Reality

Meanwhile the reality staring us in the face is the incumbent administration of Johnson who was a New Deal Congressman in Roosevelt's day. This has not inhibited the CP leaders. In 1964 they chose the Johnson-Humphrey ticket as the more progressive, peacefully inclined alternative to the ultra-right-Dixiecrat combination behind Goldwater. Instead of advancing toward greater liberalism, the White House has curtailed its pogon "war on poverty" and stepped up military operations in Southeast Asia. These are the inevitable bitter fruits of "coalition politics," whether it is pursued by union bureaucrats or Communist leaders.

The CP spokesmen have prom-



LESSER EVIL. CP choice in 1964 elections was Johnson

ised to run more candidates under their own banner. But the program carefully hedges even that bit of formal independence. It says we will "enter Communist candidates . . . when they do not clash with progressive movements or coalitions," that is, do not interfere with supporting liberal capitalist candidates in the primaries or on election day.

The most tell-tale and damning omission in the program is its failure to give any clear-cut class characterization of the Democratic Party and the indispensable function it performs in maintaining the rule of the rich.

Since 1932, except for the eight years of the Eisenhower administration with which it shared a bipartisan foreign policy, the Democratic Party has served as the principal agency of monopolist and militarist domination. The CP refuses to bring forward in a Marxist manner this role of the Democratic leadership in its entirety because it nurses the hopeless aspiration to reform that party through the mobilization of mass pressure plus appeals to the good sense of the more moderate sector of the ruling class.

The program does not mention or call for a labor party. If the Democratic Party turns out to be incorrigibly unprogressive and

belligerent, it holds out the prospect of somehow, sometime forming "a new people's party." This future party is not conceived as an anti-capitalist, socialist or labor party but as "an anti-monopoly coalition," containing the liberal section of the capitalist class, and based upon a capitalist program.

The ill-fated Progressive Party of Henry Wallace was such a third capitalist party. It was organized in 1947 with the help of the CP, and had as its main plank opposition to the developing rift with the Soviet Union. It was a capitalist party with a capitalist program. For example, its founding convention rejected a plank for the nationalization of basic industry. When the chips were down in the struggle with the Soviet Union and the new China, the Progressive coalition collapsed. Its liberal capitalist leaders lined up with U.S. capitalism in the cold war. Henry Wallace himself, the party's 1948 Presidential candidate, supported the Korean war.

Supports Profiteers

Any capitalist party, including one with a fresh liberal face, must in the final analysis support the profiteers against the interests of the workers, the Negro people and the colonial struggles for liberation.

Genuine Marxists do not advocate a break with the Democrats and Republicans in order to set up a liberal capitalist substitute. The major obstacle to social progress in the U.S. remains the coalitionism practiced by the labor bureaucrats and the leaders of the Negro movement. It would be no gain for the labor movement and Negro movement to switch from practicing coalition politics with the capitalist Democratic Party to practicing it with a presumably progressive "anti-monopoly" capitalist party, if such should ever come into existence. Such a party would keep the workers and Negroes bound to the capitalist system, and would be a bar to struggles which challenge the continued rule of capitalism.

For Labor Party

Marxists advocate a break with all capitalist parties. They call for the formation of a labor party, support independent Negro political action and socialist campaigns against the capitalist parties.

Introducing the new CP program in New York at the end of February Gus Hall encountered the objection that he sounded like a Social Democrat. "That doesn't jar me," he replied. "This is the only realistic approach to the problems of American politics today."

Many antiwar militants who were taken in by Johnson's slick talk in 1964 are learning to spurn such spurious "realism" which is nothing but the opportunist policies of liberalism and reformism barely camouflaged by "Marxist" phraseology.

Hall said the program is designed to attract young rebels to his party. Shouldn't they ask: why should we enter the CP to reform the Democratic Party? Wouldn't it be far better to join the Socialist Workers Party which has consistently adhered to a revolutionary program of genuinely independent working class political action in opposition to all forms of subservience to the capitalist parties?

Bombings Won't Stop Us, But We Need Your Help

On Friday, April 8, the Vietnam Day Committee headquarters in Berkeley was bombed. The attack, which police described as attempted murder, destroyed the headquarters, badly damaged two adjacent buildings, injured three of the 11 people present, and rendered our duplicating and office equipment useless.

The VDC, an active part of the antiwar movement, has conducted many protests against the war in Vietnam, and the bombing was undoubtedly a result of its national and international significance.

We do not intend to let this attack on the movement deter us from our activity against Johnson's criminal war. However, the blast destroyed a large portion of the physical assets of the VDC, and created a situation of severe financial strain.

We hope that those across the nation who have supported the antiwar movement in the past will make possible our continued efforts by coming to our aid in this crucial period.

Please send a contribution today to:

VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE
2407 Fulton St.
Berkeley, Calif. 94704

Attorneys for Morton Sobell Score Significant Legal Gain

NEW YORK — A legal gain was registered for Morton Sobell when a federal district judge here granted the request of Sobell's attorneys to make available to them the sketch of an atom bomb made by David Greenglass and submitted as evidence in the trial where Sobell and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were framed up on atom-spy charges.

The request was made by the noted civil rights and criminal lawyer, William L. Kunstler, now a member of Sobell's legal defense. They sought the sketch in order to establish that it was so crude as to be worthless to anyone it might be passed on to. After being presented at the trial the sketch was impounded on the request of the then defense counsel, Emanuel Bloch.

Access to the sketch and other trial material is preparatory to a major motion which will be filed shortly asking that a hearing be held to set aside the conspiracy-to-commit-espionage conviction of Sobell who was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment when the Rosenbergs were given the death sentence.

The new motion refers to material uncovered by Walter and Miriam Schneir in their research for *Invitation to an Inquest: A*

New Look at the Rosenberg-Sobell Case published last year.

Evidence of forgery and perjury, knowingly used by the prosecution, will be submitted. The motion will center particularly on evidence showing that an Albuquerque hotel registration card signed by Harry Gold was forged. This touches on a key point in the whole case against Sobell and the Rosenbergs since Gold had testified that it was in Albuquerque that David Greenglass, also a government witness, had passed on atomic "secrets" to him.

Gold was a principal government witness in the Rosenberg-Sobell case. Researchers say there is massive evidence on the record of his lying on many occasions.

Gold will be paroled next month after serving half of a 30-year term. Greenglass was released in 1960 after serving nine years of a 15-year term.

Meanwhile, Sobell, who has insisted on his innocence and who has been a model prisoner, has been consistently denied parole annually since he became eligible in 1962. No reason has been given.

Further information on the case may be obtained from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10011.

The Black Ghetto

By Robert Vernon

35 cents

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

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.]

The Soviet Writers

New York, N. Y.
I have very much enjoyed George Saunders' articles on the Soviet Union. My reaction to the Sinyavsky-Daniel case and its aftermath has been perhaps somewhat novel. Rather than being reminded of the lack of freedom within the Soviet State, recent developments have constructed in my mind the picture of a system not quite as monolithic as U.S. propaganda of yesterday had conjured up. I have been surprised by the fact that the defendants were not given heavier sentences such as life imprisonment, not to mention my amazement that in the recent parallel case of the Leningrad underground conspirators, sentences of a mere two to seven years were imposed.

The vocal and courageous criticism by the Russian intelligent-

sia of the Sinyavsky-Daniel case, the public petitions and Red Square demonstration against any revival of Stalinism by the government have shocked me into realizing that the Soviet State has changed quite remarkably since the deep freeze days of Papa Joe and his Moscow Trials, Siberian death camps, secret police state, and doctors' plots.

These recent developments also explain the leniency of the Soviet bureaucracy in what has been described as a possible attempt to restore part of Stalin's Thermidorean nightmare.

However, if the Moscow leaders are bent on re-Stalinization, they should perhaps be reminded of the theories of the British historian, Crane Brinton, who contends that revolutionary ferment occurs not when a people is completely downtrodden, but rather when partial reforms have been granted them only to be revoked. The appearance of the promise of change has whetted appetites for more complete reform; the people have found their long-lost voice of consent and dissent. Perhaps the newly re-baptized General Secretary and his Politbureau will succeed only in sowing the seeds of further liberal dissent in their current Spring remodeling of the blossoming Soviet landscape.

Roberta Speel

In particular, we need money, clothing, and food. Our town is very poor and Negroes subsist here, as in many other parts of the Mississippi Delta, by part-time work in the cotton fields. The white power structure, afraid of losing political control, will do everything to keep our people from voting in the upcoming elections. Among other things, attempt will be made to deprive us of even the few dollars we are able to earn in order to keep us from going to the polls.

We are asking you, the people of the outside world, to come to our aid in order to make sure that we are able to translate the victory in court into practical terms. We urge you to send at once all of the clothing and food that you can obtain to us here in Sunflower. In addition, we urgently need the necessary funds to install a telephone, provide gasoline for our one car and purchase such indispensable material as stencils, mimeograph paper and the like.

If you have any questions please telephone us in Sunflower, Miss., telephone number 28-J. We hope you will come to our assist-

Thought for the Week

"If they don't want us, what are we doing here?" Reaction among U.S. combat troops in Vietnam as summed up by a Marine private and reported by Jack Foisie in the April 11 New York Journal-American.

tance in implementing what both the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* have described as one of the most significant legal victories in recent times.

We also need a federal registrar very badly. Please write or wire your Congressman and Attorney General Katzenbach and urge them to send mobile federal registrars to Sunflower County, at once.

At the time there are 154 whites and about 160 Negroes registered, and we are still taking them down to register.

We kindly thank you for the past contributions. We have two mailing addresses Post Office Box 398 in Sunflower, Miss. and Post Office Box 30 in Indianola, Miss.

Otis Brown, Jr.
Project Director
Mrs. Lela Mae Brooks
Mrs. Christine McCraney

Subscribes

Philadelphia, Pa.
Please enter my subscription to *The Militant*. Enclosed is a check for \$3.

I have been a socialist for a number of years. I subscribe to the *Weekly People* and the *Industrial Worker*, and I've read an enormous amount of socialist literature — Berkman, Goldman, Scott Nearing, Kropotkin and others.

New Reader

Union Man

Milwaukee, Wisc.
Please enter a one-year subscription for the following worker. He and I are Teamster Union members. Maybe we can help bring back the spirit of the Dobbes and Dunnes.

I enjoy the paper very much and hope my friend will too.

Driver

10 Years Ago In The Militant

The highly political Big Business oracle, the *New York Times*, has been straining to construe the Kremlin's recent repudiation of the Stalin cult as some kind of victory of capitalism over socialism.

During the period of the rise of Stalin and his bloody campaign against the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition headed by Leon Trotsky, the capitalist-class-conscious *Times* made sure to send correspondents to Russia who always favored Stalin as against the revolutionary internationalists.

Now that the heirs of Stalin have been forced by the new revolutionary mood of the Russian working class to disown the murderer of revolutionists and the betrayer of revolutions, the editors of the *Times* hope to extract something useful for capitalism out of the situation.

They are barking up the wrong tree. And what's more, they know it, and therefore they don't have their hearts in the project. In an editorial April 6 they say: "The Soviet people are asking the same questions that people all over the world are asking." And among these questions they list: "Is there not something basically rotten and corrupt with a system in which Stalinism could come to flower?"

The *Times* would have been more accurate, not to say honest, if they admitted they hoped this was a question the Soviet people would ask. Actually, all the evidence shows that the Soviet people have decided irrevocably that they are opposed to capitalism and in favor of socialism. And the rise of an anti-Stalinist revolutionary movement of the Russian workers, which in its initial stirring has already forced concession after concession from the bureaucratic ruling caste, including the repudiation of Stalin, in no way beclouds the position of the Soviet working class on this question of capitalism and socialism.

What better demonstration of this could be asked than the anti-Stalinist uprising of the Soviet East German workers in June 1953? It was a brilliant and powerful attack on the Stalinist bureaucracy. But it didn't yield an inch to Western capitalism. And as it turned out there was absolutely no profit in it for the capitalists. — April 16, 1956.

It Was Reported in the Press

Watch those Pink Elephants! — "PLEIKU, March 31 (UPI) — The coordinating agency for the Allied forces in Vietnam issued a directive instructing aircraft not to shoot elephants unless they appeared to be used by the Vietcong. The U.S. Army's 1st Cavalry Division has attacked a number of elephants which had harnesses and were apparently used by the Communists. There have also been reports of seven elephants in one herd shot down by aircraft during operations in Central Vietnam earlier this year that were not Vietcong elephants."

In LBJ Land — Remember that touching announcement of Lyndon's about how he and Ladybird decided not to add a wing to the LBJ ranch because they want to help fight inflation? On the same day it was reported that a new county road will be built to take tourists across part of the ranch. It will cost \$300,000, with Lyndon contributing the right of way.

High-Level Politics — An unusually high-level political debate is now going on between machine supporters and opponents of the Lindsay administration in New York. Former City Council President Paul Screvane, Democrat, started out by calling Lindsay arrogant. In reply, a City Hall press conference was called for Albert Pacetta, a former Democratic jobholder now in the Lindsay camp. Pacetta replied that Abraham Beame, Lindsay's unsuccessful opponent, had been a "pipsqueak

candidate." Beame is a short man. Of Screvane, Pacetta declared, He's a "perfumed-over dropout." He said Screvane used cologne and hadn't finished college.

Medicine Men — Federal Food and Drug Administrator James Goddard thinks some drug manufacturers put profits before patients. In an April 6 speech to the industry he cited examples of abuses, including this one. A manufacturer was told by the FDA that the label for a particular drug should include notice of its "unparalleled potency" and, because of this, the warning "dangerous drug." The company submitted a revised label which had the high potency notice but instead of the danger warning it announced "unusual effectiveness."

TV Professor — A. William Bluem, associate professor of radio and television at Syracuse University, derided the cynics who put down TV commercials and situation comedies. He said they failed to understand that TV is promoting American values "in an age when other media offer disturbing and traumatic visions of society." He said: "A mass media does stabilize men in their

social behavior and values. But instead of applauding that very power . . . we worry only about the possible corruption . . . related to refinement and taste."

No Sale — Recently the cast of *Second City*, the satirical group, made a humorous TV short, *Point of View*, which was nominated for an Oscar. The film has been offered free to educational TV stations but so far there have been only three takers. Produced by the National Tuberculosis Association, the film points up why it's silly to smoke. The biggest of the educational stations, New York's Channel 13, said there was "an administrative decision . . . not to run the film at this time." Just incidentally, one of the trustees of Channel 13 is Joseph Cullman III, president of Phillip Morris.

Psychiatric Evaluation? — "OSS, The Netherlands (UPI) — A cuckoo clock was removed from a polling place during provincial elections recently because the clock's cuckoo sounded the same as the name of H. Koekoek, an Agrarian party leader. An ordinance requires that polling places be neutral."

—Harry Ring

Post Office Improving?

Glens Falls, N. Y.
The Post Office is improving with its delivery of *The Militant*. The last three issues have been received two days after date of publication.

In *The Militant* of Feb. 14 Mrs. Morton Sobell asked that people write to the attorney general regarding her husband. I wrote to Mr. Katzenbach and received a reply saying the matter would have his attention at the proper time.

K.M.G.

Report from Mississippi

Post Office Box 398
Sunflower, Miss. 39213
You may not have learned yet that a federal court has just set aside the municipal elections in the town of Sunflower because Negroes were not permitted in it. In a week or so, a date will be set for a new election and, for the first time in almost one hundred years, the Negro people of Mississippi will be able to enter public life as elected officials.

The case which has made this possible is known as *Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer vs. Cecil Campbell, Registrar of Sunflower County*, and it was prepared by the lawyers for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Now that the legal victory is over, we have the job here in Senator Eastland's home county, of making sure that we do not let this glorious opportunity go by the board. We will do all in our power to register each and every Negro in Sunflower, but we need all the outside help we can get.

If you enjoy reading *The Militant* and are interested in what the young socialist movement is thinking and doing, you will want to subscribe to America's leading young Socialist magazine

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

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City.....State.....

FOR NEW READERS

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

THE MILITANT

873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

Name.....
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Noted Newsmen Support 'Man Without a Country'

NEW YORK — Joseph Johnson, the native-born American who is being threatened with deportation, received many new supporters as a result of a visit to New York City in the last week of March and a forum held in his defense at Columbia University April 6. Johnson was declared a "stateless person" by the Immigration Service in May 1964 for alleged participation in Canadian elections, even though he has served a two-year prison sentence as an American citizen for failing to notify his draft board of his whereabouts when he was in Canada.

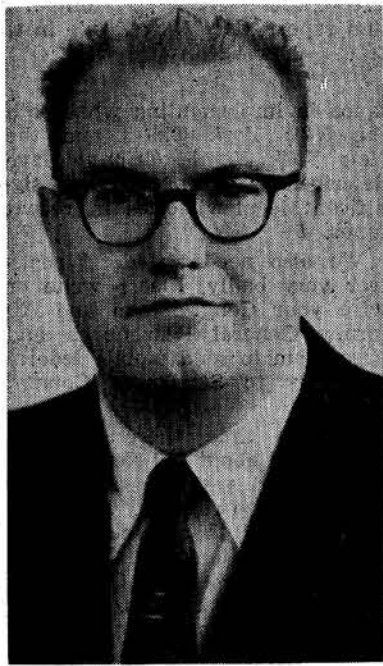
Johnson, who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is presently engaged in a national tour speaking on his case. He has gained reinforcements at every stop. James Wechsler, editorial-page editor of the *New York Post*, who interviewed Johnson on two occasions wrote in that newspaper on April 7:

"Johnson, an affable, unhyphenated man, is engaged in a long legal battle against the deportation move. He has traveled many thousands of miles addressing large and small audiences. Young people have exhibited special interest in his saga; to many of them he has become a case history of folly in high places."

Kempton Speaks

Murray Kempton, columnist for the *New York World Telegram and Sun*, and a contributing editor of the *New Republic*, was the featured speaker at the Columbia University meeting. Kempton stated that the attack on Johnson was not made because of his breaking any law but because of his political beliefs.

"Nowadays the notions that Americans forfeit their citizenship by engaging in the politics of a foreign country," Kempton de-



Joseph Johnson

clared, "has a special irony under the administration of a president who has intervened more in the politics of foreign countries than any president in a generation.

"The president," Kempton continued, "has expanded the CIA to a point where it is now almost the government of the Dominican Republic. The president sent 10,000 American troops to suppress the Dominican revolution. Last week our planes carried the troops of General Ky to Danang to suppress a peaceful demonstration against our south Vietnamese military government."

"The law," Kempton went on to say, "applies to the private American and not the public one. You can act according to your conscience abroad if your conscience fits President Johnson's."

Other meetings addressed by Johnson during his New York tour included the Young Socialist Forum at Hofstra University on Long Island; the Free Speech Forum at the New School for Social Research; a teach-in, sleep-in held by the Students for a Democratic Society at Queens College; and an antiwar symposium at City College.

In this symposium, Johnson shared the platform with Felix McGowan, the Catholic priest who was silenced after a return from Cuba; M. S. Arnoni, editor of the *Minority of One*; Marvin Gettleman, editor of the book, *Viet Nam*; and William Hall, field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

On WBAI

Johnson was interviewed by radio station WBAI and by the newspaper *Challenge* while in New York. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has provided Johnson its general counsel, Leonard Boudin.

The Joseph Johnson Defense Committee is planning to carry this case as far as the Supreme Court if necessary, and to challenge the constitutionality of the 1952 McCarran Immigration and Nationalities Act. This law, which is being used against Johnson, states that participation in foreign elections is grounds for expatriation, even though the person charged doesn't renounce his citizenship.

Contributions should be sent to the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, P.O. Box 8731, North Star Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402. A pamphlet by Johnson, "They Have Declared Me a Man Without a Country," may be obtained from the committee for 50c.

CALIFORNIA GRAPE PICKERS STRIKE

The Victory Over Schenley

By Herman Porter

APRIL 11 — The striking grape pickers of Delano, Calif., won an important victory on April 5 when Schenley Industries, Inc. issued a statement recognizing the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) as the representative of the workers in the Schenley vineyards. They agreed that contract negotiations will be held within 30 days.

Cesar Chavez, director of the NFWA, emphasized the importance of the victory, pointing out that this is the first time in the history of the U.S., outside of Hawaii, that union organization of farm labor has been recognized.

Strike Not Over

The agreement does not terminate the strike, however, for Schenley employs only about 500 of the 4,500 striking agricultural workers. The only larger employer, the DiGiorgio Corp., issued a statement April 7 — obviously pressured by Schenley's action — saying it would allow "elections" at its four California ranches to determine union representation. Jack Ybarra, a field representative for the NFWA who attended DiGiorgio's news conference, pointed out, however, that the present employees were strike-breakers. DiGiorgio also demanded that any contract involving farm labor outlaw strikes at harvest time, and called for compulsory arbitration instead.

Though DiGiorgio's current proposal is not a genuine basis for a settlement, Schenley's recognition of the union is an important breakthrough which opens the possibility that a significant section of the agricultural workers in the continental U.S. may be organized for the first time.

7 Months

The strike began seven months ago on Sept. 8 when hundreds of Filipino workers in ten camps near Delano, in the heart of California's vineyards in the Central Valley, refused to work. Organized by the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), they demanded an increase in wages from \$1.10 to \$1.40 an hour, and a raise in the bonus from 10 cents to 25 cents per box picked.

Chavez of the NFWA promised full cooperation with the strike from the start. On Sept. 16 a mass meeting of the NFWA was held at

New Yorkers Sign Ad Against Vietnam War

NEW YORK — Heightened opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam was observed by members of the newly formed West Side Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now when they manned a sidewalk table at 86th St. April 9 to gather signatures for an antiwar advertisement scheduled to appear in a local newspaper.

In four hours 148 signatures were collected from passers-by as well as over \$24 from many small contributions. The ad reads in part as follows:

"We believe that the people of Vietnam have the right to determine their own future. Furthermore, we believe that they don't want U.S. troops on their soil. The war in Vietnam is a civil war and not a foreign invasion, except by the 200,000 American troops . . .

"The only way out of this war is OUT. The American people have no business in Vietnam . . .

"SUPPORT OUR TROOPS IN VIETNAM, BRING THEM HOME NOW!!"



—Photo by George Ballis. Courtesy National Sharecroppers Fund.

ON STRIKE. Scene in front of striking grape-pickers headquarters. "Huelga" is Spanish for "strike."

which more than 1,000 NFWA families voted to go on strike themselves, along with the AWOC workers. AWOC has organized mainly among Filipino workers, and the NFWA among Mexican-Americans.

The NFWA was organized by Cesar Chavez during the last three years. Chavez had been a community organizer with the Community Service Organization in Los Angeles for several years before that. He left them when he became convinced that such respectable organizations, financed by outside money, would never organize the Mexican-American farm workers — which was his aim.

The NFWA is viewed by Chavez as something more than an ordinary union. The NFWA bi-weekly newspaper, *El Malcriado*, published an editorial before the strike began describing the organization as a "movement." It shows the effect the movement of the Negro people is having in stimulating the farm workers to struggle:

"The movement of the Negro began in the hot summer of Alabama 10 years ago when a Negro woman refused to be pushed to the back of the bus. Thus began a gigantic wave of protest throughout the South. The Negro is willing to fight for what is his: an equal place under the sun.

"Sometime in the future they will say that in the hot summer of California in 1965 the movement of the farm workers began with a small series of strikes. It started so slowly that at first it was only one man, then five, then one hundred.

'A Movement'

"This is how a movement begins. This is why the Farm Workers Association is a 'movement' more than a 'union.' Once a movement begins it is impossible to stop. It will sweep through California and it will not be over until the farm worker has the equality of a living wage and decent treatment. And the only way it will be done is through organization. The farm worker must organize to fight for what is his.

"What is a movement? It is the idea that someday the farm worker will be respected. It is the idea that someday he will earn a living wage . . .

The tactics of the NFWA in the strike also reflect the influence of the civil rights movement on

the farm workers, and the support of the civil rights movement for the strikers. One of the important weapons of the workers was a boycott of Schenley products organized in the major cities across the country. This was apparently the main reason that Schenley capitulated and recognized the union before the other growers. In many cities the boycott was organized by supporters of CORE and SNCC.

Students Helped

Like the civil rights movement the grape-pickers strike attracted a number of college students who stayed on to help the strike and who became organizers of the boycott in many cities.

To dramatize their cause the strikers undertook a 300 mile march to the state capital, Sacramento — a tactic more characteristic of the protest movements than of the labor movement in recent years.

The strike was conducted by a joint committee of the NFWA and AWOC with a joint strike fund. In his statement of April 5 Chavez said that the agreement with Schenley was signed with the complete blessings of the AFL-CIO. He stressed the importance of the cooperation of the AFL-CIO in the struggle.

Contributions

According to Mark Vincent, one of the staff of the NFWA who participated in organizing the boycott of Schenley, the union spent about \$20,000 per month — all raised from donations. Much of the money came from church and civic groups. The United Automobile Workers donated \$10,000, and pledged \$5,000 per month for the duration of the strike. AWOC, with its affiliations with the AFL-CIO, concentrated on raising funds from the labor movement.

Chavez announced a recess of the boycott activities against Schenley but said that the boycott machinery would be kept well oiled in the event that negotiations are unsuccessful.

The staff members who organized the boycott nationally were called back to California to join the march to Sacramento which ended with a mass rally on Easter Sunday. According to the State Highway Patrol, 8,000 attended. At the rally Chavez announced the union's intention to begin "an all-out consumer boycott of products produced and marketed by the DiGiorgio Corporation."

Free Enterprise, Green-Beret Style

The following article appeared in the April 8 *New York Times*:

SAIGON, April 7 (UPI) — The enterprising Americans in the green berets — the elite jungle fighters of the Army's Special Forces — were doing a booming business in the sale of blood-stained "Vietcong battle flags" to United States airmen in Saigon. But their business, a fraud, has been dissolved.

The Special Forces soldiers were selling their "Vietcong battle flags" to United States pilots at \$25 apiece.

The airmen, who spend most of their duty time high above the Vietcong, had no way to know the flags were imitations.

According to the Saigon police, the Special Forces men hired an old woman in a Saigon back street to sew the flags. Then they stomped on the banners in the mud and sprinkled them with chicken blood.

Each morning, the police said, the seamstress delivered a bundle of the flags — blue and red with a gold star in the middle — to the salesmen.

The police arrested her after finding 30 Vietcong flags in her possession during a routine check.