

# THE MILITANT

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# A New Freedom Party - Report from Alabama

By John Benson

HAYNEVILLE, Ala., April 25 — For the first time since Reconstruction, large numbers of Alabama Negroes will be voting this year. A struggle is already beginning for their votes. Some Negro leaders in the state are doing all they can to corral the Negro vote for the Democratic Party. But in at least one county, Lowndes, the Negro people have decided they are going to organize their own party, and run their own candidates.

In February, 1965, four SNCC workers entered Lowndes County, and started working with local people who had begun registering Negroes. In the course of struggling to register, and protesting inadequate schools, unpaved roads, and police brutality, the people of Lowndes County decided that they needed their own political party. They wanted to elect their own sheriff, and to control the courthouse and the local government. So they decided to build their own political organization, independent of the Republican and Democratic parties, to put their candidates in office.

## Black Panther

The name of the new party is the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. It uses a black panther as its symbol and has become known as the Black Panther party.

Before the movement began here, Lowndes County Negroes suffered under one of the most blatantly racist administrations in the country. Negroes comprise 81 percent of the population, yet not a single Negro was registered to vote. White registration stood at 118 percent — 2,240 whites registered out of an eligible 1,900! About 60 percent of all Negro men employed were farmers or farm laborers. Fifty percent of the Ne-



**SYMBOL OF FREEDOM.** Black panther is symbol for Lowndes County Freedom Organization and other independent parties being organized in counties of Alabama.

gro women employed were domestic workers.

While 86 white families owned 90 percent of the land, the median Negro income was \$935. Roads were paved only in front of houses owned by whites. Most of the officials who controlled the taxing and spending of the county were members of the 86 landowning families. Negro children could not expect to get a decent education for lack of school funds.

The movement in Lowndes County began in January, 1965, when a couple of people began to discuss registering to vote. One Sunday night in the middle of February, they got together a group of 14 people to go over the registration application and discuss what would come up on the literacy test. Two of these people, John Hullet and Frank Miles, Jr., are now officers in the Freedom Organization.

After the meeting, Mr. Hullet met a woman from another part of the county and told her what they had discussed. She said she knew a few other people who wanted to register. Thursday night, a similar meeting was held with eight more people.

Plans were made to go down on the next registration day, March 2. By talking to their friends, they were able to get 38 people to go to the county courthouse in Hayneville. They were told to come back the next registration day, two weeks later. When they returned, the office had been moved from the courthouse to the old jail. That day, after the first 14 applications were processed, only two — Mr. Hullet, who had been registered several years earlier in Birmingham and then in Georgia, and a schoolteacher — passed.

During the week preceding the  
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## Will U.S. Prevent Vietnam Elections?

By Dick Roberts

APRIL 26 — Washington may be preparing to block the proposed Vietnamese elections just as it prevented elections in that country in 1956. This ominous possibility must be considered in light of U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's arrogant criticisms of the planned elections in an interview with CBS correspondent Peter Kalischer, April 22. Such interviews are rarely given by Lodge, and must be viewed as reflecting Washington's thinking.

U.S. preparations to sabotage the elections would also explain the behind-the-scenes political maneuvering in Saigon reported by *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr April 21. According to Mohr, U.S. officials have been pressuring Premier Ky to get Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi back into the Saigon government. It was Thi's ouster March 10 which precipitated the wave of anti-government and anti-U.S. demonstrations to begin with.

"These officials," Mohr explained, "hoped that through a reconciliation, Premier Ky and General Thi could prevent Buddhist elements led by the monk Thich Tri Quang from gaining control of south Vietnam."

### Racist View

In the CBS interview, Lodge expressed the racist attitude which pervades the American ruling class. "If you have an honest count," Lodge told Kalischer, "then we Americans, who've had lots of experience with elections, know that it can be a good thing and settle many questions."

"But if there is intimidation," Lodge continued, "if people as so often happens in this part of the world, are threatened with assassination, with kidnapping, with torture, with maiming, which is a very common thing in Southeast Asia — if the count is not honest, if there is interference with the ballot boxes, then of course it won't be a success."

One reason why Lodge may not want Vietnamese elections was



Henry Cabot Lodge

suggested by *New York Times* reporter Neil Sheehan, April 22: "Mr. Lodge and other senior American officials," Sheehan wrote, "are known to suspect that Thich Tri Quang . . . might try to negotiate with the Vietcong."

Meanwhile in this country, the Democratic administration has been busily drumming up a hard line attitude towards the future prospects for the war. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee April 20, Defense Secretary McNamara proclaimed that there would be tougher fighting for Americans in the next weeks regardless of the Vietnamese political situation. He conceded that the "political stability" would probably grow worse.

This line of propaganda is clearly designed to make an artificial separation between the predominantly peasant-based revolution of the National Liberation Front and the revolution that is now spreading to the city students, workers

(Continued on Page 2)

## MANY JOIN LIST OF SPONSORS

# New York Women's March May 7

NEW YORK — More than 150 women from a wide range of anti-war and other organizations are sponsoring the women's march against the war in Vietnam to be held here on Saturday, May 7, the day before Mother's Day.

The march, which will demand "Bring Our Men Home Now," will be preceded by a rally at the U.S. Armory at 33rd St. and Lexington Avenue. The rally will begin at 12:30 in the afternoon.

After brief addresses by women active in various fields, the participants will march across 34th St. through Herald Square and then to the Port Authority Terminal. The marchers plan to leaflet and discuss with people along the way and with soldiers and their families at the bus terminal.

Among the speakers at the rally will be: Ruth Gage Colby, an officer of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Betty Dellinger; Barbara Deming, who was just expelled from Vietnam with A. J. Muste and other pacifists; Frances Goldin of the Metropolitan Committee on Housing and Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action; Esther Newill of Women Strike for Peace; Dixie Bayo of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Caroline Jenness of the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now; and Leslie Silberman of the Queens Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

There will be songs by the noted folk singer Barbara Dane and a

presentation by the Bread and Puppet Theater.

The extent of support being gathered for the action is indicated by the wide range of sponsors. In addition to those speaking at the rally, the sponsors list includes: Millie Auerbach of Women Strike for Peace; Rebecca Berman of the Teachers Committee for Peace in Vietnam; Leslie Cagan of the New York University Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Linda Dannenberg of the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee; Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker; Deirdre Griswold of Youth Against War and Fascism; Beatrice Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party; Alice Jaffe of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs; Mary Kochiyama; Sharon Krebs of the Free University; Julie Lockard of the Workers Defense League; Jane Mc-

Manus of the *National Guardian*; Charlotte Pomerantz of District 65, RWDSU; Wendy Reissner of the City College Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Barbara Roemer of Women Strike for Peace; Mary Alice Styron of the Young Socialist Alliance; Elizabeth Sutherland of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Nancy Wakeman of the Tompkins Square Neighbors for Peace action; and Edith Weiss of the West Side Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now.

### Need Funds

The sponsors have announced that they are in urgent need of funds to publicize the march. Their plans include a mailing, leaflet distributions, a telephone campaign and, if possible, a prominent advertisement in the *New York Times*.

Those who wish to contribute should send checks or money orders to: Committee for the Women's Peace March, 5 Beekman St., 10th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10038.

A leaflet being distributed by the committee declares in part: "Join the Women's March — Bring Our Men Home from Vietnam Now — More than 3,000 American men have already died and our casualties are mounting rapidly in a war that the American people don't want and the Vietnamese people don't want . . . American women must speak out and demand that our sons, husbands, brothers and sweethearts be brought home now."



**MILITANTLY AGAINST IMPERIALISM.** New York marchers expressed their solidarity with the Dominican struggle against imperialism on April 24. (See story, page two.)

# ... Will U.S. Block Vietnam Elections? New York March Backs Dominican Revolution

(Continued from Page 1) and soldiers. It omits one thing. In both cases the Vietnamese people are struggling against U.S. intervention, either directly on the battlefield, or in the streets against a U.S.-backed military regime.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey took the administration myth to its logical extreme. "I hear that it is a civil war," the Minnesota windbag scoffed from his podium. "I doubt that many believe that, but there seem to be a few. But you and I know," Humphrey declared, "that the National Liberation Front... is a front of Ho Chi Minh from Hanoi."

And this being the case, Humphrey concluded, Americans had to beware a coalition government in Saigon that might include the NLF.

## U.S. Presence

Thus the administration is paving the way for continued U.S. presence in Vietnam even if the Saigon government asks it to leave — or what is more likely, since it is doubtful Washington would let this happen — even if the U.S. has to step in and rule the rebelling cities by force.

According to the *New York Times* April 24, steps have already been taken to ensure that Communist and neutralist politicians will be "screened" from the list of candidates in the proposed election. That is the kind of "free elections" Johnson is willing to entertain as a possibility for Vietnam.

At the same time, the Democrats are preparing for a more drastic escalation of the war. In the same speech where McNamara promised that the fighting would get stiffer in the near future, the

## LBJ—Champion Of Asian Freedom

"The President believes one reason domestic criticism of the war is rising is because too many Americans, particularly liberals and intellectuals, do not prize freedom for Asians as highly as freedom for Americans and Europeans." — The April 27 New York Times.

"No matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant, impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife." — Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson, in the House, March 15, 1948.

Defense Secretary boasted that the U.S. already has 325,000 men "assigned to combat operations in Southeast Asia" and that air support of the ground operations in Vietnam was three times the level of World War II.

McNamara then gave a rundown of U.S. bombing of Vietnam: In March of this year, he began, the U.S. dropped 50,000 tons of bombs. This compares with an average of 48,000 tons a month dropped in Europe and Africa during World War II, and an average of 17,500 tons dropped during the Korean War.

Last December, McNamara revealed, Washington had plans to drop 638,000 tons of bombs on Vietnam in 1966. That would amount to 91 percent of the total bomb tonnage dropped in Korea in 37 months, and 37 percent of the total dropped from June 1942 to May 1945 in Africa and Europe during the Second World War.

What about the hundreds of thousands of refugees who flee to the eastern Vietnamese cities to escape these bombs — to say nothing of those who fail to escape? Senator Jacob Javits, (R.-N.Y.), disclosed an infrequently mentioned figure in the U.S. war budget for Vietnam in the coming year:

While appropriating over \$12 billion for the military effort, Javits revealed that the administration was allocating only \$21 million for the food, clothing and housing of the present force of

## Viet War Protested In Springfield, Ohio

By Rick Wadsworth

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — About 45 people demonstrated in Springfield, Ohio, in solidarity with the demonstrators in south Vietnam on April 16. The demonstration was called by the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, at Antioch College here. The majority of the demonstrators were Antioch students. Townspeople from Yellow Springs, residents of Springfield, and students from Wittenberg University in Springfield also participated.

The demonstrators met at the Wittenberg Student Union and marched to the downtown area of Springfield where they picketed the Post Office and Recruiting Center. Then they marched back to the Wittenberg campus.

A number of people joined the march including several high school students. Three small children who joined said they didn't want their brother to get killed in Vietnam.

There was a counter-demonstration of about seven people.

Partly as a result of this demonstration, a Committee to End the War in Vietnam is being formed in Springfield.

700,000 refugees. Even accepting Javits' probably low figure for the total number of refugees, that comes to \$30 per year per refugee. (*Congressional Record*, April 21, p. 8281).

Bernard Fall recently calculated that the U.S. spends close to half a million dollars for each guerrilla killed in the war. That makes a dead Vietnamese peasant worth about 10,000 times more to Washington than a live one.

In Vietnam, however, the murderous blueprints of the White House and Pentagon planners meet the acid test of reality. And there, despite the eloquence of Johnson, McNamara and Humphrey, the American position is continuing to worsen and GI's are continuing to get killed.

## Bomb Shortage

McNamara's testimony notwithstanding, Vietnamese workers at Danang were responsible for the bomb shortages which caused recent cuts in U.S. bombing attacks on the countryside. This fact was confirmed in an extensive report of "ordnance shortages" by *New York Times* military specialist Hanson W. Baldwin, April 24.

April 21, ignoring the compromise between Ky and the Buddhist leadership, thousands of Vietnamese students demonstrated against the Saigon government in Dalat. A UPI dispatch declared that they protested "U.S. connivance to double-cross the church and find ways to remain in power." Soldiers opened fire on the demonstrators killing at least three civilians.

The number of Americans killed in combat since Jan. 1, 1961, reached a total of 3,047, April 16.

## Socialist Education Fund

# A Spurt Is Needed

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Director

As so often happens midway in a fund campaign, collections this week have lagged somewhat. We should show at least 50 percent on the scoreboard but as you can see, we are nowhere near this sum. It is important for all groups and individual friends to step up their payments so that we may arrive at the June 15 deadline in full and on time.

I would like to talk about two drastically different kinds of socialists. I learned to know the first kind when I was a small girl and my Dad used to drag us to the annual Socialist Party picnic. Dad, and thousands of others like him, were Debs socialists and had no organizational connection with the old SP at all. But they all came out for the annual picnic.

And so did the so-called "leaders" of that defunct party. The "speaking" at the picnic was one time in the year when they all crawled out of their law offices, small businesses and skilled jobs. Like Easter Duty Catholics, they

came, they spoke, and then went back to the serious business of making more money.

It wasn't until I came in contact with the original group which became the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 that I knew there was any other kind of socialist — the kind to which the movement is a lifetime job.

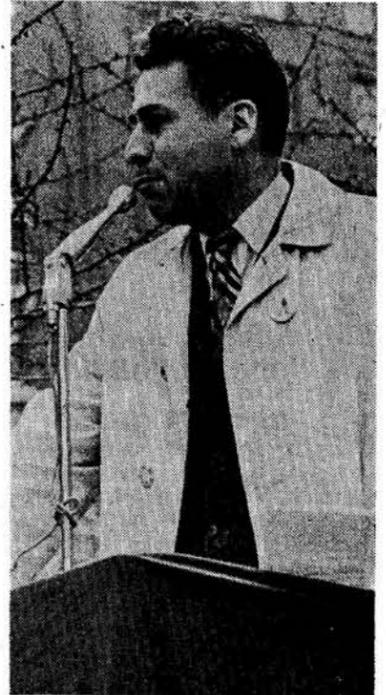
That is the second kind of socialist I would like to talk about. On April 15 such a man died of cancer. His loss is irreparable. But his memory and what he stood for will be an inspiration for all who knew him. His friends in the Allentown area honored his memory by sending in a special contribution to the fund, not a large sum, but significant nonetheless.

K.B. was a full time socialist. We honor him and pledge ourselves to carry out the work he devoted his life to.

You can help by making your contribution to the Socialist Education Fund, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$1,200	\$721	60
St. Louis	150	86	57
San Diego	200	110	55
Chicago	1,800	890	49
Philadelphia	300	142	47
Cleveland	1,000	460	46
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	432	43
Detroit	1,400	556	39
Newark	150	46	31
San Francisco	900	282	31
New York	5,800	1,666	29
Oakland-Berkeley	900	250	28
Milwaukee	400	81	20
Los Angeles	4,400	663	15
Allentown	175	15	8
Denver	125	5	4
Seattle	500	0	0
General	600	220	37
Totals through April 25	\$21,000	\$6,625	32



Richard Garza

speech on the theme expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana that it is the duty of revolutionaries to make the revolution.

José Santos of MPI chaired the meeting. The speaker included representatives of organizations from the Dominican Republic, Panama, Puerto Rico, and the United States.

Among the speakers from the United States were Richard Garza, representing the Socialist Workers Party; Key Martin of Youth Against War and Fascism; and Mae Mallory.

Garza expressed the solidarity of the SWP with the struggle of the Dominican people.

## Young Socialists Set L.A. Parley

LOS ANGELES — Students and young workers from San Diego to Santa Barbara will gather here on Saturday, May 7, to attend the Youth Conference on Socialism. The conference is sponsored by the Los Angeles Young Socialist Alliance.

It will begin at 1:30 p.m. with a talk on the "Dynamics of World Revolution," by Irving Kirsch of the YSA. At 4 p.m. Robert Himmel of the Socialist Workers Party, who recently edited an anthology of *Marxist Essays on American History*, will speak on "Who Will Change Society?"

"Prospects for Socialism in America" will be the topic of the final talk at 7 p.m. by Peter Camejo of the YSA.

A buffet dinner will be served and there will be a party starting at 9 p.m. The registration fee for the entire day's events is \$1.

The conference will be held at 1702 E. 4th St. Further information can be obtained by writing to the YSA at that address. For housing arrangements, call Derrel Myers at 665-6527 in Los Angeles.

## Vietnam Blood Bath A Costly Business

The U.S. war in Vietnam is as expensive as it's bloody. In an April 21 appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Defense Secretary McNamara put the present cost of the war at \$12 billion a year. That's about \$33 million a day. You figure out how many homes, schools, hospitals, parks and playgrounds could be built with \$33 million a day.

## Weekly Calendar

### BOSTON

NEW TRENDS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH? Speaker: Patrick Kelly. Fri., May 6, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

MAY DAY — 1966. Speaker: Frank Lovell. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### CLEVELAND

TWO VIEWS: THE NEW COMMUNIST PROGRAM — AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM? Debaters: Phil Bert, representative of The Worker, and Eric Reinthaler, contributor to The Militant. Sunday, May 8, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

### DETROIT

SOCIALISM AND THE NEW RADICALS. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of the Young Socialist. Fri., May 6, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

YOUTH CONFERENCE ON SOCIALISM. 1:30 p.m. — Dynamics of World Revolution. Speaker: Irving Kirsch. 4 p.m. — Who Will Change the World? Speaker: Robert Himmel. 7 p.m. — Prospects for Socialism in America. Speaker: Peter Camejo. Registration \$1 — includes buffet dinner and party. Saturday, May 7, Forum Hall, 1702 E. Fourth St. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

### NEW YORK

THE DOMINICAN REBELLION — ONE YEAR LATER. Speaker: Richard Garza. Fri., May 6, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### TWIN CITIES

IS THE "NEW" COMMUNIST PARTY DRAFT PROGRAM RELEVANT FOR THE NEW RADICALS? Speaker: Larry Siegal of the YSA. Fri., May 6, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis. Ausp. Fri. Night Socialist Forum.

# ...Alabama Freedom Party

(Continued from Page 1) second attempt to register, the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights was organized. At the first meeting of 27 people, there was a representative from Rev. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and one from SNCC. SCLC was in the county for only a short time after that.

The Lowndes County Christian Movement immediately began a campaign to recruit members. Several people joined who have worked full time for the Movement since. They began holding meetings every Sunday night, in different areas of the county. After the first few meetings average attendance was 200-300.

The Christian Movement began two main projects. The first was

to register Negroes to vote. At that time, they had no idea they would form an independent party.

The second project was a protest again inadequate schools. The Christian Movement held student meetings and carried the protest into the schools themselves. During May the students demonstrated for better dining room service, better libraries, an end to the practice of having extracurricular activities during school hours and against the use of students as bus drivers. These activities ended during the summer, but plans for the fall were made.

In September, a school boycott was held with the objective of replacing the principal. Instead of protesting each individual problem, they decided to try to strike at the person responsible. They

did not succeed in removing the principal, but they did learn that protesting was not enough. In order to get any of the things they wanted, they would have to have the power to do it themselves.

The Democratic Party of Alabama is obviously their direct oppressor. By working through the Democratic Party, they would be supporting the party headed by Wallace, the party whose symbol was a white rooster with the motto "white supremacy for the right." (The racists have since dropped this motto, no doubt to mollify the new Negro voters.) The only alternative was to organize independently, to set up a party of their own to put their candidates in office. And after the elections, it would be the county central committee of their party — not the Democratic Party — which made the decisions.

### National Party

The organizers of the new party were also aware of the fact that the Democratic Party nationally, not just locally, is responsible for maintaining racism in America. "We all know," said a leaflet calling for the formation of the new party, "what happened when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party tried to work within the structure of the national Democratic Party (the party of Lyndon Johnson, George Wallace, Bull Connor, James Clark, John Sparkman)—they got the door slammed in their faces.

"If Alabama doesn't want to repeat what happened to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party then Alabama doesn't have to."

An Alabama state law provides for the possibility of building and recognizing a party on the county level. Any political organization can hold a mass meeting on the day of the primary, and the county registrar is required to put their candidates on the ballot for the November election.

At this time, they do not care who wins the statewide or federal offices. They feel that if they can control the county, that will be a beginning and no matter who is governor, he will have to deal with their party. It is the county sheriff, tax collector, tax assessor, and board of education that the people of Lowndes have to deal with every day, and it is these positions that they intend to win.

By building their own party on the county level, they have consciously rejected participating in the selection of the Democratic Party candidate for governor. Alabama law says that a person cannot both vote in the primary and participate in a nominating meeting of an independent party. The leaders of the party are attempting to get Negroes to come to the mass meeting rather than participate in the primary, in order to get all the Negroes of Lowndes county to join the new party. In contrast, most of the other Negro leaders in Alabama are urging Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary.

### Democratic Candidates

Mrs. George Wallace has entered the primary race on the program of a continuation of her husband's ultra-segregationist policies. Ten other candidates have entered, but Richmond Flowers is the most important. Flowers has been presented as a "friend of the Negro people," and two Negro organizations — the Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc., and the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations, set up by SCLC's Hosea Williams — have endorsed him.

By encouraging Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary in support of liberal white candidates, the SCLC leaders are ensuring that Negroes will not win county offices. In many of the Black Belt counties Negroes have entered the Democratic primary race. But in most places, there are just not enough Negroes registered yet to



**SOUTHERN FREEDOM FIGHTERS.** Struggle has reached new stage in Alabama where independent parties are being formed.

win the primary. As a result, the Negroes running in the primary can be nothing more than a device for ensuring Negro support of the Democratic Party. In many of the places, filing fees are as high as \$500, guaranteeing that only wealthy Negroes or SCLC-supported candidates can file.

But even if a Negro could win the Democratic primary in some county, the local policy of the party is decided by the county central committee. In all counties, measures are being taken to make sure Negroes have no voice in the committee.

Most important, the policies of the Democratic Party on major questions are determined nationally in the interests of the ruling class. Negroes in the North have generally supported the Democratic Party, but have no voice in its major decisions. Stokely Carmichael, one of the Black Panther organizers, points out that the Negroes in Watts support the Democrats, yet obviously have no say in that party.

One of the most vicious attacks on the third party has come from Albert R. Turner, SCLC's Alabama project director. Turner is running for State Senator in the Democratic primary. On Sunday, April 17, he showed up at a mass meeting held in Perry County and attacked the Freedom Organization SNCC was trying to build there. He said, "SNCC doesn't register voters, doesn't care about registering voters," and pointed to two SNCC workers and said that all they wanted to do was split the Negro vote.

### Can Elect Candidates

While there is no hope for Negroes in the Democratic Party, the Freedom Organizations, which are spreading to other counties besides Lowndes, can elect Negroes to office. On May 3, a mass meeting will be held in Lowndes on the courthouse lawn to choose the Black Panther candidates.

Almost every Negro in Lowndes County looks to the Freedom Organization for leadership. At their executive committee meeting April 20, one woman reported that everyone in her area was looking to the Black Panther to tell them what to do, and they had to get the candidates to come speak there. "This is our first chance to vote and we don't want to make a mistake."

A few people in the county had questioned whether or not it might be a good idea for Negroes to vote for Flowers in the primary. At

the executive committee meeting, Stokely Carmichael answered: "When Jonathan Daniels was killed, Richmond Flowers said he was for justice. He didn't say he was for Negroes. He said he was for justice. When Sammy Younge was killed, that cracker didn't say nothing. When a white is killed, he says he is for justice and when a Negro is killed, he doesn't say anything. When Jimmy Lee Jackson was killed, that cracker didn't say nothing. He only said he's for justice. He's never said he's for us, and there's a big difference."

### Party Spreading

The strength of the Black Panther is not just overwhelming support within Lowndes. The leaders are willing to go into other counties and help organize. On March 20, 60 people from Lowndes went into six different counties to speak about the Freedom Organization and encourage people to build a third party in their counties. Frank Miles, Jr., an officer of the Freedom Organization, expressed it this way, "First we're going to straighten out this county, then we're going to spread abroad. First we'll go into the other counties of Alabama, then into the North, into Harlem, Chicago, Watts."

A victory in Lowndes County would be a powerful example throughout the country. Enough Negroes are registered in Lowndes County to elect the Black Panther candidates.

If there are free elections in November, the Negro people of Lowndes County will take control of the courthouse. But will the Alabama government and the federal government allow this to happen, or will they find some technicality to keep the party off the ballot or subvert the elections?

Every supporter of the struggle for Negro equality should watch closely what happens in Lowndes, and give the Black Panther party every aid.

## Warren Miller, Author And Socialist, Dies

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Warren Miller, talented writer and staunch socialist, died here April 20 of cancer of the lung. He was only 44 years old.

He was the author of a number of novels with social themes. The most widely read was his celebrated *Cool World*, the story of a juvenile Harlem gang. It was a work of such authenticity that many people, including James Baldwin, were surprised that the writer was white.

But Miller's finest work was one of non-fiction. That was *90 Miles from Home*, a brilliant report on Cuba in the first years after the revolution. It still stands as the finest available picture of revolutionary Cuba.

Reviewing *90 Miles from Home* in the May 22, 1961, issue of *The Militant*, George Breitman described it as "a work of art as well as a masterful job of reporting."

He said that Miller "has that rare gift, a keen sense of humor, but his purpose is altogether serious and his insights are deep . . . The book . . . shows the depth and scope of the revolution . . . It is worthy of the Cuban Revolution and the rank and file Cuban workers, farmers and intellectuals."

### Impact of Cuba

Miller went to Cuba a socialist, but Cuba sharpened his socialist convictions and had a deep and abiding effect on him. His close friend, José Yglesias, the author who served as interpreter and translator for *90 Miles from Home*, was at Miller's bedside when he died. He tells how Miller woke a half hour before his death and said he had just dreamed about the schools he went to as a boy and the schools he had visited in Cuba and how favorable the comparison was for Cuba.

On his return from Cuba, Miller joined the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. While he was not in a position to be a committee activist he performed a number of important services for the group. In order to further the work of the committee, he permitted it to organize a literary reception for him on the occasion of the publication of *90 Miles from Home*.

Although he was not affiliated to any group, he took his socialism seriously. In New York's 1965 mayoralty campaign, he and Yglesias were the very first of a group of 83 independent socialists in the city who declared their support for Clifton DeBerry, mayoralty nominee of the Socialist Workers Party.

During the last year of his life he took on the job of literary editor of *The Nation*. He did so despite the burden on his health,

because he felt that through this job he was helping to advance progressive ideas.

Last Oct. 16, when his health barely permitted, he marched down Fifth Avenue in the parade against the war in Vietnam.

He was always ready to lend his name to worthwhile causes. He became a sponsor of the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, the native-born citizen the government is trying to deport because of his activities in the Socialist Workers Party.

### Wrote Introduction

In a pamphlet recently published by the committee, "They Have Declared Me a Man Without a Country," Joseph Johnson tells the story of his fight against deportation. The introduction is written by Warren Miller and is a good example of his deep opposition to the rulers of this country and their reactionary policies. It is also an expression of the optimism he held about the future. He concluded the introduction with these words:

"The Anarchists used to talk about 'propaganda by deed.' By its vicious harassment of Joseph Johnson, our government can be certain that it will be faced with growing numbers of those unwilling to join LBJ's consensus, and thereby forced to propagandize by acts."

A nonreligious funeral service was held here April 22. There were addresses by Robert Gutwillig, a publishing executive; the Latin American correspondent John Gerassi; the noted civil liberties lawyer Leonard Boudin; and José Yglesias. They paid tribute to Warren Miller as a man, a writer and a fighter for human progress.



Warren Miller

## Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

By  
George Breitman

25 cents

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

## America's Road To Socialism

By James P. Cannon

50 cents

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# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 30 - No. 18



Monday, May 2, 1966

## The Times' Attack on SNCC

The movement of black people for Freedom Now has taken an important step forward in several counties in Alabama, especially Lowndes County, where independent Negro political parties are being organized. On May 3, these parties will hold public rallies to nominate Negro candidates for the November elections.

One indication of the potential power of independent black political action is the howl the *New York Times* let out. The *Times*, whose editors are the most authoritative press spokesmen for the ruling class, devoted its lead editorial on April 21 to a vicious attack on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for its political activities in Alabama. They title the editorial "Sabotage in Alabama," and stigmatize SNCC's call for a "boycott" of the Democratic Party primaries as "destructive mischief."

The *Times* avoids the real issue of independent black political action by not mentioning the Black Panther Party, as the Negro party in Lowndes has come to be known, and concentrates on the issue of "boycotting" the Democratic primaries. But the facts are that SNCC is calling for a "boycott" of the Democratic primaries in order to build the independent party. The Alabama election law is rigged to ban anyone who votes in the Democratic primary from participating in the nomination of independent candidates. This is the real issue behind the "boycott" and is the real, if unmentioned, issue agitating the *Times*.

SNCC's "call for Negro voters to boycott the primary," these pundits of America's racist rulers say, "derives from the same attitude of extremism for the sake of extremism that prevailed in the senseless demonstration against Sargent Shriver in last week's antipoverty conference in Washington and in the refusal of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats to accept a generous compromise worked out in their behalf at the 1964 Democratic National Convention." (Emphasis added.)

Negroes, you see, should be grateful for token changes "generously" worked out "in their behalf"! What the rulers of this country hate, fear and fight is the idea that Negroes should develop their own independent political organs to struggle against tokenism and for genuine equality.

The alternatives are being posed sharply in Alabama: Negroes can work in the Democratic Party in hopes of winning small concessions. Or they can organize independently to fight all racist institutions of this society, including the single most effective instrument for maintaining racism — the capitalist two-party system.

"If," the *Times* argues, "they fuse their strength with liberal white voters they can achieve tangible gains in fairer administration of justice and better treatment from state and local government." Even the *Times* doesn't have the gall to suggest this will result in "justice" or equal treatment. What the *Times* is arguing for is that Negroes should back white liberals in the Democratic Party.

Whites in Alabama who genuinely support the fight for Negro equality should not be demanding that Negroes vote for them or anyone else in the Democratic Party. They should instead back and defend the Black Panther Party.

SNCC workers have stated some of the reasons for the formation of an independent party. "The Negro can't control the Democratic Party on the state or county levels in Alabama," Courtland Cox was quoted, "and he ought to organize something he can control." Stokely Carmichael put it more sharply when he said: "To ask Negroes to get in the Democratic Party is like asking Jews to join the Nazi party."

The organizers of the Black Panther Party are spreading a powerful idea. In Lowndes and other counties of Alabama, Negroes are in a majority, and independent Negro candidates may soon be elected to office. If they succeed in forming their own party, it will have an impact on black people throughout the country, and encourage Negroes everywhere to break with the racist capitalist parties and organize effective organs of political struggle.

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## LABOR HAS AN EFFECTIVE WEAPON

# How to Beat Rising Prices

By Tom Kerry

For the second consecutive month, consumer prices rose sharply in March with higher food prices an important factor in the rise of the Consumer Price Index of .4 percent. In February the CPI rose by 5 percent.

This was the largest rise in a two-month period since 1958, at the tail end of the last inflationary period.

The rise in the index since March 1965, one year ago, was 2.8 percent, which was the largest year-to-year increase since 1958.

When asked whether the index would rise again for the month of April, Arthur M. Ross, Commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics replied: "I would think so."

Along with the Consumer Price Index, the Department of Labor released a report on the "real" after-tax earnings of factory workers which disclosed that these earnings were down from last year.

With the cost of living going up each month and real wages going down, price inflation is biting deeply into the standard of living of all wage earners. Even harder hit are those on fixed income, old-age pensioners, welfare "clients," the very poor.

The name of the disease is inflation sparked primarily by the huge expenditures for armaments to conduct Johnson's dirty war in Vietnam. To combat the disease the witch doctor in the White House has announced that he is calling together the long dormant Labor-Management Advisory Committee to "study the problem of maintaining stability in a booming economy."

### 3-Way Deal

The LMAC is a tri-partite body composed of corporation executives, top labor bureaucrats and "impartial" members representing "the public." When the group convenes, Johnson has indicated he will "renew his call for restraint in wage demands." The tri-partite swindle is Johnson's trump card to pressure the labor skates into curbing the rising discontent of the workers with the administration's wage "guideline" hoax.

However, it is going to take some doing. So widespread is the revolt against the "guideline" wage freeze that even the most conservative of the union heads are beginning to balk. Unfortunately, they are either unable or unwilling to present a unified alternative

## Australians Protest Draft For War in South Vietnam

SYDNEY, Australia — Three thousand people demonstrated in the center of the city April 15 against the Holt government's policies of conscripting 20-year-olds and supporting the Vietnamese war.

After beginning the demonstration in Martin Place, the financial center, the demonstrators marched through the city's rush-hour crowds to the naval dockyard at Garden Island where they held a protest meeting.

The police, varying their tactics, showed no desire to stimulate and prolong the demonstration by starting mass arrests as has been their previous practice. They went to the extent of releasing without arrest the secretary of the Vietnam Action Committee, Bob Gould, after they had dragged him off the roof of one of the dockyard buildings from which he had been addressing the crowd.

Basically, it is the conscription issue which is causing all the political ferment in Australia.

Opposition to the sending of conscripts to Vietnam comes from

### Wage 'Guidelines' For Executives?

The AFL-CIO News of April 23 had the following comment to make on wage guidelines:

**If pay raises for company presidents follow any guideline it's not the 3.2 percent ceiling advocated by the Council of Economic Advisers, a sampling of company reports indicates.**

**A preliminary survey by Business Week magazine showed that 40 percent of company presidents got raises last year — averaging nine percent.**

**Among the more generous companies — for their executives — was Westinghouse Electric Corp. Westinghouse Pres. D. C. Burnham had his pay boosted from \$198,055 to \$223,290.**

labor policy designed to protect the workers against the ravages of inflation.

Experience has taught that the most effective defense against inflation is the escalator clause, more commonly known as the cost-of-living clause, in the union contract. In practice, the escalator clause provides for an automatic wage increase, over and above the basic wage scale, for each increase in the Consumer Price Index.

The most common of such clauses provides for an increase of one cent per hour for each .5 percent rise in the CPI, usually calculated on the basis of a three-month period. There are a number of variations, some providing for one cent for each .4 rise in the index, some for one cent for each .6 rise, etc., with the base period ranging from three to six months. However, once the principle is established, the actual figures are subject to collective bargaining.

There is nothing new about the escalator demand in the American trade union movement. It developed on a relatively substantial scale during the rise of the CIO — after the unions in the mass production industries had achieved a certain degree of stability—in response to corporation demands for long term contracts. The biggest breakthrough was made by the CIO United Automobile Workers

Union in a contract signed with General Motors in 1948.

"Wage escalators," observes *Nation's Business*, Sept. 1959, a magazine representing the viewpoint of the employers, "were little used until 1948 when General Motors Corporation proposed, in a two-year contract, the combination of a three-cent 'annual improvement' increase and an escalator that would adjust pay one cent an hour, up or down, for roughly every one-point fluctuation in the CPI.

"The fixed annual increase was a contribution toward higher living standards resulting from increased productivity; the escalator was to protect real wages from erosion by rising living costs."

Without at this time going into the defects of the actual terms of that contract, the important fact to note is the acquisition of the principle. Annual wage increases were to be granted on the basis of increased productivity and real wages were to be protected against "erosion in living standards," that is, inflation, by the escalator clause. This clause in no way limited the right of the union to bargain for increases in the basic wage scale, fringe benefits, working conditions, etc.

### 5-Year Pact

Of course, Walter Reuther, president of the UAW, in his usual exuberance proceeded to sign a five-year contract with the auto industry in 1950, on the eve of the outbreak of the Korean war. Under pressure from the ranks, the contract was reopened before its expiration date under Reuther's formula of the "living document." However, the annual improvement and escalator clause still remain in the union contract.

Unfortunately, a number of unions were induced to surrender their escalator clauses in the period following the 1958 recession. The Steel Workers, among others, agreed to emasculate the escalator clause in exchange for dubious fringe benefits after the 1959 steel strike.

This had happened before. Under the impetus of the UAW breakthrough, the number of workers covered by escalator clauses rose in 1952 to 3.5 million. With the recession of 1953-54 many had given up the clause so that by January 1955 only 1.7 million were covered. With the upswing and its resulting inflationary price rises, the number of workers covered rose to some four million in 1959 and then, with the Steel Workers leading the way, declined sharply.

If past experience is any gauge, we should witness increased demands for the escalator clause in the union contract to protect the workers against the steady erosion of their standard of living now occurring under Lyndon Johnson's wage freezing guideline.

# WATTS

AND

# HARLEM

## The Rising Revolt In the Black Ghettoes

by Robert Vernon and George Novack

25c

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# What Fidel Castro Really Said About Frei

By Harry Ring

Readers of the *New York Times* are aware of a heated exchange between Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and Chilean President Eduardo Frei. According to the *Times*, Castro delivered an intemperate, vituperative outburst against the government of Chile, heaping personal abuse on Frei. The Chilean president responded to the attack and then Castro made another, more conciliatory speech, according to the *Times*. He denied that he had insulted Frei and seemed to be trying to "ease" the dispute, the *Times* reported.

The texts of Castro's original March 13 speech, Frei's response and Castro's March 20 answer to it are now available. They provide fresh evidence that the *New York Times* is merely a high-class practitioner of journalistic prostitution, with no qualms about engaging in deliberate falsification.

Castro's views on Chile are of particular significance in relation to the recent, complex political developments in Cuba centering around his denunciation of the Chinese regime and his slanderous attack on Trotskyism as an "agency of imperialism." Ultra-left critics of the Cuban regime have seized on these developments as proof of their thesis that the Cubans have become mere political pawns of the Kremlin bureaucracy and champions of its class-collaborationist political line.

## Complex Situation

Castro's stand on Chile indicates again that the reality is far more complex. While his unprincipled smear attack on Trotskyism represents a serious concession to Stalinism, his firm public commitment to the need for a revolutionary course in a key Latin country like Chile goes in the opposite direction. His March 13 speech includes a blistering attack on the futility of reformism in Latin America and a closely reasoned argument on the need for a socialist perspective in Chile. In the opinion of this writer, it is on as high a theoretical level as any of his speeches to date.

The text of Castro's original remarks on Chile, Frei's reply and Castro's rebuttal are available in the April 22 and 29 issues of the

## Algerian Prisoners Brutally Treated

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported April 21 that it had learned from "private sources" that a number of Algerian revolutionists, held in Boumedienne's prisons, had ended a hunger strike.

Fourteen began the protest action at Lambèse on March 23; they were followed by 62 others at El Harrach on April 1. Among the hunger strikers were Hocine Zahouane, Mohamed Harbi and Bachir Hadj Ali. The prisoners decided to go on a hunger strike to call attention to the illegal nature of their detention and the lack of competent medical attention, which many of them require after undergoing sustained torture.

Although they are political prisoners, in opposition to the Boumedienne regime, they have been denied the status normally given persons imprisoned because of their views. Moreover, no charges have been placed against any of them.

The exact condition of the prisoners is not known, since Boumedienne keeps them incommunicado. *Le Monde* reported April 15 that the hunger strikers at El Harrach had been transferred to an "unknown" destination and that six had been hospitalized. A government official claimed those in the hospital had given up their hunger strike, but this was denied by relatives of the prisoners.

international labor press service, *World Outlook*.

Castro began his March 13 comments on Chile by recapitulating the points he had made in a talk to a visiting group of parliamentary deputies from that country.

"We had discussed with these deputies," he said, "and we had explained that to make a revolution it is first necessary to confront imperialism; that to make a revolution, although it may not be a socialist but a bourgeois-democratic revolution, a nationalist revolution, they had to confront imperialism and they had to confront the national oligarchy.

"I told them also," he continued, "that I did not think conditions in Chile permitted a revolution of that type, and that in the conditions of Chile, if a revolution was desired, it would necessarily have to be a socialist revolution and I explained why."

## Explains Why

He then summarized his reasons, explaining that the social decay was so deep that if the conditions of the masses could be improved it could only be done at the expense of imperialism and the local oligarchy and that the worker and peasant masses could only be mobilized for struggle if they were offered a fundamental social change, that they "would not be willing to collaborate to serve the interests of an exploiting class."

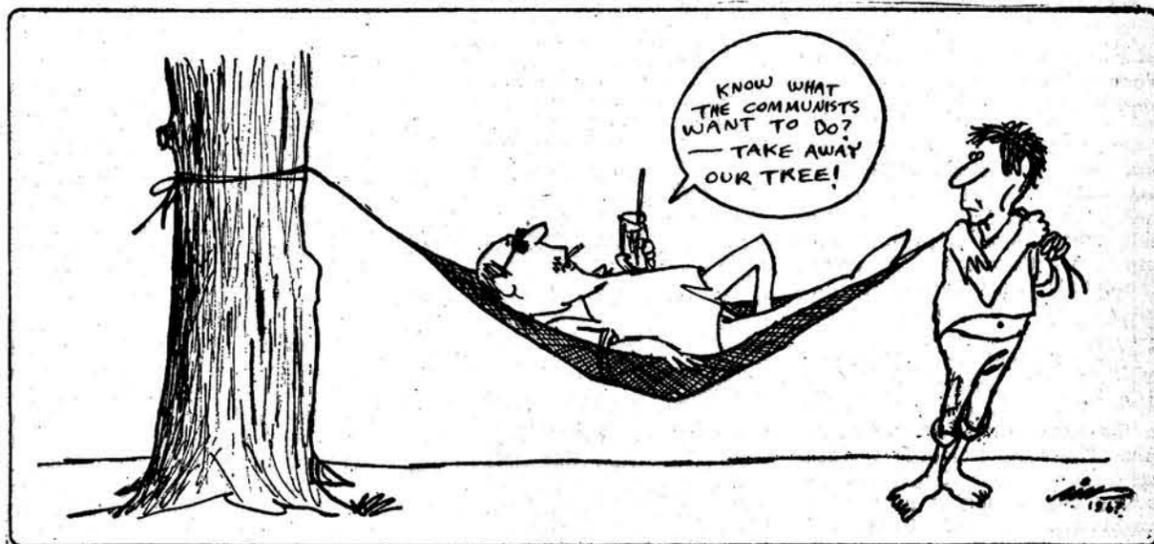
Turning to the issue of some possible form of nationalization of the Chilean copper industry, Castro said: "I told them not to judge the nature of the Chilean Revolution by the nationalization or not of the copper industry; that nationalization measures could be taken sooner or later. That what really defined a revolution was the will to change the social structure for the benefit of the exploited classes, which can only be done to the detriment of the exploiting classes; that the policy which they follow with regard to copper was not what would determine if it was revolution or not, because sometimes there are governments which nationalize foreign enterprises and do not make a revolution; that the determining factor would not be the moment when copper was or was not nationalized, but rather that the nature of the revolution had to be judged by all its acts, by all its policies toward each social class."

He said the Chilean deputies had told him they intended to carry through an agrarian reform program that would limit land ownership to 80 hectares (a hectare equals 2.47 acres). Castro pointed out to them that when the new Cuban government set a limit of 300 hectares it had met fierce resistance from the big landowners and that they should understand they could make an "80 hectare" revolution only if they were ready to fight the oligarchy and they could do that only if they had the support of the workers and peasants.

## Frei's Policies

Analyzing the policies of Frei's Christian Democratic regime which has been widely touted as the "democratic alternative" to *fidélismo* in Latin America, he discussed the strike of the copper miners and related social unrest which Frei had tried to paint as instigated on orders from the January Tricontinental Conference in Havana.

"A government can ask the workers to make sacrifices," Castro said, "when a revolution has been made for the workers, when there is a change in the social structure to the benefit of the workers; but no government can tell the workers to make sacrifices for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, for the benefit of the rich. No government can tell the workers



From the Mexican magazine *Politica*.

not to demand salary increases in order to develop an industry as the private property of the capitalists... A revolutionary socialist government can ask sacrifices from the workers in order to develop an economy for the workers and peasants, to develop a socialist economy."

He said that the Frei regime is meeting tenacious resistance from the workers because it is asking them to sacrifice to help develop an economy that benefits the wealthy classes and imperialist interests. When the workers resist, he continued, and Frei is faced with these social contradictions, "he can't think of anything better to blame than the Tricontinental Conference for his problems."

Vigorously condemning the shooting down of copper strikers by the Frei regime, Castro declared that Frei had promised a revolution without blood but had instead given the people of Chile "blood without revolution."

## In Solidarity

Declaring solidarity with the miners of Chile, Castro concluded: "To the slanderous charges of Frei that the massacre of the workers of El Salvador is the result of plans organized in the Tricontinental, our answer is the truth, the clarification of the facts, and rejection of the imputation and our solidarity with the workers on strike. But our solidarity with the victims is not a solidarity of words but of deeds. And from here on this 13th of March, the Cuban people's offer of solidarity goes out to the victims and to the organized workers of Chile, in the face of massacre and crime."

The next day Frei replied to Castro's speech. The Cuban premier, in turn, on March 20 offered his rebuttal. He began by reading to the Cuban people the text of Frei's declaration.

Frei stated: "Since Fidel Castro has been in power, he systematically and periodically insults one nation or another. President Kennedy knew his diatribes, as well as many other governments. Countries of the socialist camp, such as Yugoslavia and China, have not escaped. The latter country was referred to with extraordinary violence in the same speech in which he attacked Chile."

Frei then proceeded to repeat the litany of charges against Cuba heard so frequently from liberal opponents of the revolution in this country: "dictatorship of one man"; "only one party"; "thousands of firing squad executions"; "satellite politically and economic dependence abroad."

This, according to Frei, is in contrast with "the revolution with freedom elected in Chile in 1964, which is being carried out with the voluntary cooperation of the people, with free elections..." etc.

After reading all of this, Castro proceeded to a crushing rejoinder. "The poor bourgeois in Frei," he

said, "turns inside the sack of his own contradictions. His role is to avoid a revolution in Chile, but he has taken a liking to being called a revolutionary. He swears and foresees that he is making a revolution and, at the same time, nothing frightens him so much as a revolution."

Noting that all sections of Chile's ruling circles, including the most reactionary, had reacted in unison with Frei, Castro declared: "Identifying themselves as the nation, which they govern on behalf of the exploiting classes, instead of answering with arguments to the reply provoked by an unjust accusation, they adopt airs of offended vestals and call to their aid the spirits of chauvinism, screaming to the four winds: 'The nation has been insulted! A serious intrusion has been made into the affairs of Chile! National Unity!'"

"I did not insult Frei," Castro added. "I simply answered, explained and qualified his accusations. Much less did I insult Chile. Frei, in any event, is not Chile. Chile is also the workers and women injured and dead in the mine massacre, with whom our working people are in whole-hearted solidarity, whose orphans and families, left destitute and forsaken by the crime, know they can count on their Cuban class brothers. Chile is also its heroic workers, its progressive intellectuals, its awakened mass of revolutionary militants. But, this considerable part of the people of Chile mean nothing to the imperialist monopolies, the landowners, the big bourgeoisie and their spokesmen, and the other interests which put Frei in power. For them Chile is Frei."

## Refutes Charges

He then proceeded to a point by point refutation of Frei's statement. He exposed the fraud of capitalist "freedom of the press" and "free elections" as practiced in a country like Chile, demonstrated how the violence which imperialism forces the revolution to resort to is in no way comparable to the long history of massive violence practised by imperialism. He explained the role of the state in a capitalist country like Chile and in a non-capitalist country like Cuba. He showed how both are instruments of force but in the one it is the instrument of the capitalist minority to suppress the masses, and in the other the instrument of the masses on the road to a classless

socialist society. In such a society, he said, the state will wither away.

Nailing down the hypocrisy of the charge of lack of freedom in Cuba, Castro declares: "Good proof that Frei and company are not concerned about bourgeois elections, or bourgeois parliament, or bourgeois liberties, but rather about the economic and class interests protected by this form of government, is that while he refuses to maintain diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba, he maintains excellent relations with those military dictatorships which have founded it expedient to abolish such bourgeois political forms in the majority of Latin American countries..."

Commenting on Frei's point about his attacks on Kennedy, the Yugoslav regime and the Chinese, Castro said, "This means that, although we are a small nation, nobody intimidates us or makes vassals of us."

He added that it was revealing that Frei spoke well of Kennedy who had organized aggression against Cuba and initiated the Vietnamese war. "And," he added ironically, "I warn him Mao Tse-tung will not like to be classified with the Yugoslav Communist League."

On the theme of free elections, he said: "It is true, and we are proud of it, that our Revolution did not triumph as the result of an election, but rather through the revolutionary armed struggle of the people, which was the only possible road."

"The road of Cuba," Castro declared, "has not served to justify the experience of Chile but, precisely the contrary: the experience of Chile will serve to justify more the road of Cuba before the revolutionaries of the continent."

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## The Black Ghetto

By Robert Vernon

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## BOOK REVIEW

# Marxism and Existentialism

**EXISTENTIALISM VERSUS MARXISM: Conflicting Views on Humanism.** Edited by George Novack. New York, Delta. 344 pages. \$2.95.

Over the past ten years the debate among radical intellectuals and students over the comparative merits of Marxism and Existentialism has taken on an increasing importance throughout the world. The debate is a very real and important one within our own New Left.

*Existentialism versus Marxism* is therefore a timely book. It will be useful to everyone interested in the issues involved in this debate. The editor, George Novack, has done an outstanding job of collecting and arranging highly representative material from both camps. The fact that a major publisher has issued this paperback first edition indicates the growing interest in the confrontation of the two philosophies.

The book has been arranged in a chronological fashion so that the reader is easily able to obtain a clear picture of how this international philosophical dispute unfolded.

Novack has been an active participant in this debate. He has written two articles for the *International Socialist Review* and has lectured extensively on the subject. To *Existentialism versus Marxism* he contributes a long introduction and a summary article. These are very helpful in clarifying the picture presented by the rest of the book from the Marxist point of view.

Novack describes the contents of his book in the following way:

"The selections in this anthology include key writings by the principal protagonists of the contending viewpoints that have been the hallmarks of the debate to date. The contributors come from Germany, France, Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union and the United States. They fall into three groups: nonreligious Existentialists; outstanding representatives of official Communist thought; and other participants in the world-wide discussion.

"This is the first compilation in which these contemporary outlooks are presented in direct confrontation with each other. Those who want to know what their similarities and differences really



George Novack

are and how compatible the philosophies may be can consult its contents and then make up their own minds."

Novack has selected Friedrich Nietzsche, Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and Albert Camus to represent the Existentialist point of view. The latter three are the most prominent figures in the contemporary phase of the debate on the Existentialist side. Sartre, de Beauvoir and the late Camus all consciously counterposed their philosophical ideas to those of the Marxists.

In addition to Marx and Engels themselves, Novack has selected as representative of Marxist thought articles by Georg Lukacs, Roger Garaudy, Herbert Marcuse, Jean-Pierre Vigier, Pyama P. Gaidenko and Adam Schaff. These authors have many differences among themselves. However, these differences do not affect very significantly their approach to a Marxist critique of Existentialist views.

Novack selects Leszek Kolakowski, a Polish philosopher, to represent what Marxism looks like when it is "Existentialized." The resulting amalgam does not appear to be too successful. It is filled with moralizing and pessimism. For example: "Social moral consciousness oscillates between two extreme forms, each of which is

revealed in the course of time to be the same idiotic illusion."

In any case, *Existentialism versus Marxism* presents at least three distinct approaches to humanism. The reader can judge the merits of each for himself. Humanism, however, is necessary in some form for any radical political approach, and consequently, the debate over Marxism and Existentialism within the circles of the New Left is a pressing one.

Such influential New Left spokesmen as Robert Parris and Staughton Lynd represent in a keen way the impact that this debate has had. Both of these men combine both Existentialist and Marxist ideas in their outlooks. They glue these divergent views together by a thick injection of pragmatism. That is, whatever seems to be applicable to the immediate situation is co-opted from Marxism or Existentialism to explain it.

Student leaders in the United States often justify their orientation as radicals in Existentialist terms. For example, the March 13, 1965, issue of the *New Yorker* quotes Jack Weinberg, then a leader of the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, California, as saying:

"The word 'existential' is used a lot. You could call it an affirmation of self. Just because we can't see what the end might be doesn't mean we're going to sit here. It's a matter of screaming. We have to justify everything in terms of the act itself. The trouble with being ideologically oriented is that it's immobilizing; you have to justify all kinds of things in terms of ideology.

"We're really problem-oriented. Utopia is too far away to worry about. FSM had a limited goal, but look what happened. Look at the effect it could have on educational policy and student activism across the country. Who could have planned that?"

#### Political Existentialism

Weinberg verbalized the typical effect of Existentialism as a political outlook. The emphasis is on a blind moral commitment no matter what the outcome. Planning ahead is scorned as being futile. The effort to assess the relation between theory and practical action is scorned in the name of anti-ideology.

As Novack's *Existentialism versus Marxism* shows, this is an outcome of the Existentialist's view of the universe and man's relationship to it. Man is conceived by Existentialism as being totally free in an irrational universe. Man can do whatever he wants, but the results of his actions will probably be different from those he was trying to effect. The universe can be somewhat comprehended in the immediate sense, but we have no way of preparing ourselves for what is to follow in the future. In this context, planning ahead is absurd. It is also absurd, in the Existentialist's context, to establish a rationally well-rounded world-view.

Within the context of Marxism, however, neither man nor the universe are inherently absurd. Marxism contends that science and practice have demonstrated that man can comprehend his world and that he can use this knowledge to change the world. This applies to society as much as it applies to nature.

Marxism doesn't de-emphasize moral commitment, but it doesn't for that reason refuse to make the attempt to comprehend nature and society and to plan ahead on the basis of an open-minded consideration of the evidence. Marxism emphasizes an open-eyed moral commitment on scientific grounds, not a blind one on individual feelings of right or wrong alone.

As George Novack writes, "It should be plain that the disagreements between Existentialism and



**BERKELEY DEMONSTRATORS.** New radicals are faced with question of ideology. Marxism and Existentialism are two poles of attraction for them.

Marxism are not superficial or incidental; they reach to the roots of the basic questions of human life in our time. The differences are far too deep-going to be reconciled or effaced. That is why these rival schools of thought cannot be mated with fruitful results in either philosophy or politics.

Nevertheless, prominent individuals have made the attempt to somehow blend Marxism and Existentialism. Erich Fromm, Fritz Pappenheim and, most recently, Jean-Paul Sartre himself have made attempts in this direction. We are sure to see future efforts along the same lines.

This is not to say that the two philosophies do not have points of convergence. Novack points out, for example, that on the question of morality, "Both Existentialism and Marxism agree that our conduct has to be regulated and judged by relative human standards. Man is accountable only to himself and for himself and has no right to sanctify or justify his decisions by references to any supernatural source."

From this point of agreement the two philosophies diverge. Existentialism says that the individual is the only judge of his own actions and he must evaluate himself on the basis of his good intentions. Marxism contends that actions have to be judged according to how they serve the needs of mankind. An action is good if it tends to reduce the power of men over men and increase the power of men over nature. Marxists can agree that the road to hell is often paved with good intentions.

The whole debate between Marxism and Existentialism as it is taking place in this country and the rest of the world involves very important questions. Is radical activity to be conceived of as futile but moral or as fruitful and constructive? Is there reasonable and realistic hope for a better world or isn't there? Marxists are convinced that a better world can be constructed and that this is the most moral kind of activity an individual can engage in.

#### Break-up of Stalinism

One of the reasons that Existentialism has gained a certain popularity among radicals around the world is that Stalinism, which for a long time dominated radical thought, is in the process of break-up. Stalinism pretends that it is Marxism, but it has never been more than a dogmatized caricature of Marxism. However, when Stalinism began to lose its attractiveness to radical-minded people after Khrushchev's admissions about the Stalin era, and after the Hungarian anti-bureaucratic revolution, many intellectuals who still remained radicalized threw out the baby with the bath by rejecting Marxist ideas along with the Stalinist caricature of Marxism.

This is understandable since most of these intellectuals had accepted Stalinized Marxism as the real McCoy. Even Sartre who began his attack on Marxism long before 1956 tended to criticize Stalinist concepts rather than Marxist ones. Jean-Pierre Vigier, a French Marxist and a leading theoretical physicist, writes in his article in *Existentialism versus Marxism* in connection with Sartre's criticism that Marxists make mechanical analogies between what happens in nature and what happens in history:

#### Engenders Contradiction

"It is true, as Sartre says, that the antagonism of historical forces is made up of elements distinct from the antagonisms of organic or physical-chemical forces. But that does not at all bother us precisely because we know that in each realm, or level, the terms of the contradiction that engenders the movement have specific properties.

"Again, history is not the queen of the sciences; it is one of the components of the body of the sciences that make up human knowledge. It is contrary to Marxism to make a mechanical transposition from one realm to another. Sartre's criticism does not contravene the conception of Engels and of Lenin. It contravenes dogmatic and mechanistic formulations of Marxism, for example, such as those given by Stalin in *The History of the Bolshevik Party of the USSR*. The Soviet philosophers would be the first to agree."

It cannot be doubted, however, that the main thrust to Sartre's attack does indeed center on Marxism. This applies to the other Existentialists as well. They all contend that Marxism is wrong when it tries to base its effort to change the world on its capacities to comprehend the world. For existentialism it is not possible to comprehend the world, and consequently the effort to change the world is a matter of personal choice. Existentialists can choose any politics they like. Heidegger chose Nazism, Camus chose bourgeois democracy, and Sartre chose revolutionary socialism.

Herbert Marcuse makes this comment about Sartre in *Existentialism versus Marxism*, "His political radicalism lies outside his philosophy, extraneous to its essence and content. Concreteness and radicalism characterize the style of his work rather than its content. And this may be part of the secret of its success. He presents the old ideology in the new cloak of radicalism and rebellion."

There is much that can be said about every article in *Existentialism versus Marxism*. This is a book which can provoke much controversy, but will also clarify the struggle between these conflicting humanisms.

— Arthur Maglin

## Day of Protest Planned For May 21 in Berkeley

By Hal Verb

**BERKELEY** — The Vietnam Day Committee here has decided to hold a Day of Protest on May 21, the anniversary of the founding of the VDC.

About 150 were present at the meeting which made the decision. Much of the discussion focused on the question of what kind of demonstration should be held. Last year on May 21 the VDC conducted a teach-in at the University of California to begin the first of the International Days of Protest that gained for the committee national and international prominence.

At the same meeting, proposals by the Structure Committee for the reorganization of the VDC were discussed and adopted. The new rules established a clearly defined membership and set up an elected steering committee responsible to the membership. Eight of the 15-member steering committee were elected: Mike Delacour, Bill Miller, Syd Stapleton, Jack Weinberg, Nigel Young, Peter Camejo, Prof. Morris Hirsch and Jaimey Allen.

The VDC has been under a ver-

bal barrage in the press since the April 12 Berkeley street demonstration held in sympathy with Saigon street demonstrators. At that time night-stick swinging Berkeley police clubbed demonstrators to break up the "illegal" rally.

They did not succeed in breaking up the demonstration, however, and a march was conducted to the Berkeley City Hall. A sit-in was held there on the lawn in front of some two dozen riot police.

Supporters of the VDC were quick to reply to the charges. Prof. Hirsch said in a letter to the *Daily Californian*: "... the responsibility for the violence rests solely with the Berkeley police... The demonstrators were unprepared, emotionally and strategically, for the strong-arm methods of the police..."

"In spite of the violence, the demonstration was successful and important. It called world attention to our continued strong opposition to the morally and politically bankrupt policies of Johnson and Ky."

# 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.]

## VISTA Worker

Oakland, Calif

I am spending this year in the domestic peace corps (VISTA) in the flatlands of Oakland teaching youngsters the public school system refuses to try to educate.

As a resident of the black ghetto (albeit a "casian"), I welcome any and all bits of Afro-American news, such as your tabloid provides.

In the same vein, perhaps I can suggest to you a profile story on one of Black America's lesser-

known, but one of her most conscientious freedom fighters, Curtis Lee Baker. Curtis, who was called a "Black Jesus" in a feature story in the March 18 *Wall Street Journal*, is what's happening in this uneasy city where apathy is the rule at almost all levels of communication. For this reason, I would urge all your readers to pass along any support (moral or financial) to a black man who is himself too proud to ask favors of the rest of the community. His Western End Help Center is at 816 21st St., Oakland, Calif.

I'm enclosing 50 cents (I'm poor, too). Maybe you can send an introductory subscription to my alma mater. A new climate of intellectualism on the campus has made it more receptive to diverse viewpoints.

D.B.

## 1957 Forecast

Buena Park, Calif.

An old newspaper clipping (*Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 20, 1957) disclosed the plan of our rulers for an intensified build-up of aggressive weapons to be let loose on any small nation striving for freedom. This malice aforethought is seen in this quotation:

"There must be: 'A much increased preparation to fight limited wars . . . especially in the Middle East and Asia, provided the massive offensive capability is created.'"

Massive indeed, against Vietnam.

The same article suggested a "nagging fear that the American people would balk at paying the bill." This from a 1957 paper!

M.K.

## Critical of Chinese

Detroit, Mich.

There are some elements in the political Left who profess avid support for China and that is certainly their privilege. I believe that the United States should recognize China and that the United Nations should admit that country into full membership. The only concession that this action represents is a concession to realism.

However, realism dictates that the present ruling clique in the Chinese government are guilty of splitting the forces of the progressive and radical movement all over the world. I seriously question the good intent of Mao Tse-tung and charge that his only concern is personal power through his efforts to envelop himself in a "Stalinist-type" personality cult dedicated to his glorification.

The serious complexities in today's ever-changing political scene demand a flexible world outlook. The static and dogmatic policies of China have angered and insulted many nations like India who wish to maintain friendly relations. Common sense should point out that any government, Right or Left, can be guilty of aggression. The exile of Trotsky and the Moscow Purge Trials only served to give a bloody reputation to the entire left-wing movement. Slavish obedience and praise to

China is not constructive. We should continue to support China in her just causes; but all of her actions are not in the interests of the workers the world over!

Richard M. Woodruff

## For Solidarity

Providence, Ky.

Appalled by the recent attacks of the "establishment" on our freedom of expression, appalled by the arrest of Bill Epton and others who dare speak out, appalled by the fascist attacks on the DuBois Club headquarters in San Francisco and the Clubs around the nation, the Committee for a Liberal Lending Library stands in solidarity with those other groups who have already given their sympathy and support to the fight for our freedom to think and express our opinions.

We believe the freedom of one is inseparable from the freedom of others. Freedom taken from one is freedom taken from all. It is the duty of all radical groups to take a position against those who would enslave our brains and chain our tongues.

## Thought for the Week

"A small nation of handsome people, ravished by civil war, is being brutally and self-righteously slaughtered — in the name of freedom — by the richest, most grotesquely overarmed, most powerful country in the world." From a message by critic Susan Sontag to a literary "read-in for peace in Vietnam" at New York City College April 22.

We agree fully with the stand taken in 1834 by William Swaim, then editor of the *Charlotte, N.C., Patriot*. He had printed in his paper several antislavery articles which aroused the hate of the "locals." Several took the position that the state government should suppress the *Patriot* for "subversive" teaching.

To this, he replied, "Before we will relinquish our right to think, to speak, print, and publish our own deliberate opinions in regard to public men and public measures, we will renounce existence itself. Take away our rights as free men and life has no charm for us! We shall deal plainly with the people, not caring who may be affected by our course. We would rather bask for one hour in the approving smiles of an intelligent and undecieved people, than

to spend a whole eternity amidst the damning grins of a motley crew of office-hunters, despots, demagogues, tyrants, fools and hypocrites."

We hope that there will always be a courageous, intelligent and undecieved people to speak out when our government is wrong.

In the hope, and work, for a better world.

Richard Chinn, Chairman  
Committee for 3 L

## Renewal

Richmond, Calif.

Enclosed find my check for a one-year renewal to *The Militant*. I don't want to miss a single copy of my favorite radical paper. Thanks for reminding me of the expiration of my subscription.

C.M.C.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**SOVIET LAW JOURNAL ASSAILS STALIN 'CONFESSION' SYSTEM** — The Kremlin magazine *Soviet State and Law* has denounced the practice, prevalent in the Soviet Union under Stalin, of basing convictions in court on mere confessions. In the issue that appeared April 22 it singled out Andrei Y. Vishinsky, main prosecutor in the Moscow Frame-Up Trials, for attack, accusing him of having developed the infamous system of "proving" guilt by confession.

On the same day, *Pravda* mentioned Alexei Ivanovich Rykov without the slanderous invective usually attached by the Stalinists to his name. Rykov was one of the main victims in the March 1938 Moscow Frame-Up Trials who "confessed" to all the monstrous charges cooked up by Stalin's secret political police that were levelled at the defendants by Vishinsky.

These two actions portend a major concession by the Stalinist bureaucracy — acknowledgment of the falsity of the purge trials. If that concession is actually granted, it would seem impossible for the bureaucracy to avoid rehabilitating the names of Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov to one degree or another.

This course seems indicated by the number of Old Bolshevik victims of Stalin already rehabilitated, by the admission that Tukhachevsky and some 5,000 top Red Army officers were shot on frame-up charges, and the public recognition by Kremlin officials that Stalin undermined the defense of the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II and actually paved the way for the onslaught of the German imperialist armies . . . — April 30, 1956.

## 20 Years Ago

**PROTEST ARREST OF INDONESIAN FIGHTER** — In a front page article, the April 6 *De Tribune*, weekly organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Dutch section of the Fourth International, reports the arrest of Tan Malakka, Indonesian revolutionary leader, and calls for mass working class protest under the slogan "Free Tan Malakka."

*De Tribune* castigates the justification of his arrest by the democratic papers *Het Parool* and *Het Vrije Volk* as well as by the Stalinist *Dee Waarheid* which "expressly condemns Tan Malakka as a Trotskyist and approves the persecution directed against him by the Dutch imperialists and their Indonesian vassals." — May 4, 1946.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Headline of the Week** — "U.S. Plots Asia Peace" — *The Albertan*, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

**American Way** — We finally understood why Senator Dodd (D-Conn.) is so enthusiastic about hunting down "subversive" foes of "our way of life." An associate of his explained that the \$100,000 raised for the needy Senator at banquets featuring Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey were in line with "an old American tradition." He explained that the Senator couldn't possibly get along on his \$600 a week salary and needed the gifts. Our only question is, isn't it subversive to complain about low wages?

**Vietnam Side Effects** — San Francisco *Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen reports: "Heart patients are in an uproar because the Vietnamese war has skyrocketed the price of quinine from about \$45 for 1,000 tablets to close to \$100 — IF you can get it. Vietnam has been a prime source of the product. Some drug firms have already removed it from their catalogue." Caen also reports: "Further shades of the war: Victory Gardens are beginning to sprout again! Particularly in the Haight-Ashbury area, where a well-organized boycott against zooming food prices is under way."

**Storage Item** — If you've switched from scotch to table wine to meet the rising cost of living, you may be interested in Abercrombie & Fitch's new electrified wine chest. Keeps the bottles at the proper temperature. Only \$650 in a plastic finish. With walnut veneer, \$700.

**Definition** — A young Roman Catholic peace activist told an

April 15 San Francisco gathering of psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers: "If you're a psychiatrist and you call me 'sick' or 'mixed up' because I'm in a small minority that is willing to challenge what 'everybody in the neighborhood' goes along with, then there's something wrong with your profession. It defines sickness according to popularity."

**Flexible Attitude** — In a laudatory profile of Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield in *Parade* magazine, Jack Anderson wrote: "Though Mansfield scorns the flexible morality of many politicians, he is an excellent politician himself."

**Thrifty Housewife** — A dispatch from Oyster Bay, L. I., in the *New York Times*, reports that Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney "has five children, six houses and a ruby tiara that once belonged to Empress Elizabeth of Austria . . . Each of the Whitney houses has an additional kitchen especially equipped for her. The latest is in a corner of the 55-foot ballroom of her recently purchased home here. The rambling, white Tudor house has 14 rooms and a servants' wing surrounded by 53 acres of lawns and trees, a swimming pool, stables and two greenhouses . . . The family and household staffs

are shuttled in a chartered plane between homes." Mrs. Whitney is wild about discount shops and dime stores. She says, "Maybe it's because I have all those children."

**Like the Neanderthal Period?** President Johnson sent a message to the Daughters of the American Revolution hailing their "dedication to the great American past."

**Fore!** — In deference to those who feel that we've been paying too much attention to the hazards of smoking, we wish to report the information contained in a Royal-Globe Insurance Company press release: "More than 33,000 disabling accidents occurred on golf courses in the past two years. In over one-third of the mishaps cited, victims were hit by golf balls. Another ten percent were struck by golf clubs."

**Disturbed** — Nat Hentel, Queens, N. Y., district attorney, suggested that judges should undergo periodic psychiatric examinations. He said there have been cases of "psychiatrically disturbed" judges sitting on the New York bench. The proposal drew a reaction from State Supreme Court Justice Albert Bosch. He said it was "degrading."

—Harry Ring

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## ANTIWAR MOVEMENT KEEPS GROWING

### Ultra-Rights Not Doing Well

By George Novack

It would appear logical, as the example of France during the Algerian conflict suggests, that the official launching of war against a colonial revolution would at first give considerable impetus to the most rabid jingoist elements within the imperialist aggressor country. This has not happened so far with the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

In fact, the opposite has taken place. The escalation of military operations has been met by an escalation of opposition to the war and an upsurge of radicalism. The initiative has been taken by the critics of the Johnson administration from the left.

The leadership of the Republican Party, which should normally set the pace for the more conservative wing of public opinion, is split three ways over the question of the Vietnam war. Its chief spokesman in the House of Representatives, Gerald Ford of Michigan, accused the administration April 19 of "shocking mismanagement" of the war, blamed the political crisis in south Vietnam on the Honolulu conference, and called on the President to use more air and sea power against north Vietnam. His line has been that of ex-Senator Goldwater.

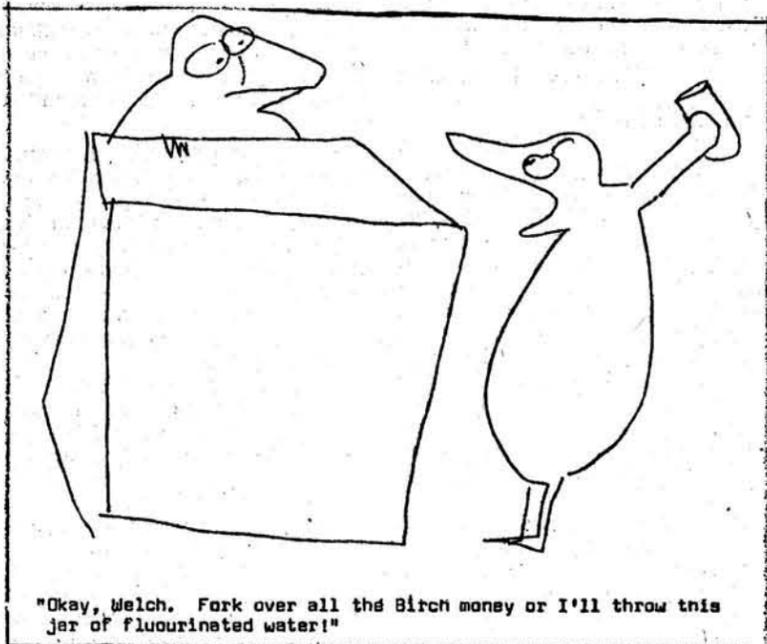
On the other hand, Republican Senate leader Dirksen of Illinois backs Johnson's policy. Still other prominent members of the party such as Senators Cooper of Kentucky and Aiken of Vermont advocate moves toward negotiations to bring about peace and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

#### War Parties Split

Both of the capitalist political machines are divided from top to bottom by the war issue. This absence of unity in governing circles has handicapped the counter-mobilization of the pro-war camp against the antiwar movement.

This deadlock is due to the widespread unpopularity of the war which is shared for differing reasons by many strata of the American people. Unlike the French colonialists, the American warmongers and superpatriots have no traditional sentimental ties between the mother country and colonies to exploit. No one in the U.S. believes that remote Vietnam is "part" of its dominions and should by right be possessed by it.

The present intervention is justified on very different military or ideological grounds. It is supposedly required by a global strategy to contain the spread of international Communism and the influence of Red China, thereby protecting "freedom" and "democracy" in southeast Asia. But these rationalizations keep losing persuasiveness as the south Viet-



namese display their dislike for the Saigon military regime.

Another factor that has weakened the ultraright in the present situation was the stunning defeat of Goldwater's presidential bid in 1964. This setback was all the more demoralizing because it deflated the great expectations aroused by his nomination at the Republican convention. It has taken time for the hosts of reaction to recover from this shattering blow.

Nonetheless, the John Birch Society, the most influential, "respectable," and fast-growing spearhead of the ultraright forces, is not idle. On the contrary, it has been stepping up organizing activities and expanding its recruitment in preparation for the next opportunity to move forward on a national scale.

According to an article in the April 20 *New York Times*, the society now has nearly 100,000 members. Its stronghold is California which boasts of 12,000 to 15,000 members. The John Birchers are heavily financed by rich businessmen, like its founder Robert Welch, and has 75 full-time field coordinators at work around the country.

#### Birch Stronghold

Its Eastern center is in New Jersey, an industrial state with a large Catholic population. Membership there is reported to have quadrupled in the last 12 months and it now ranks second in growth to California. There are an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 Birchers in New Jersey, grouped in about 400 local chapters or cells.

The Birch movement is based and built on a program of extreme procapitalist and semifascist reaction. It is against welfare legislation and for no restrictions on "free enterprise." It is savagely anti-Communist and covertly anti-Semitic and segregationist. It opposes the United Nations and sees the "international Communist conspiracy" burrowing into the highest echelons of the U.S. government all the way from Eisenhower to Chief Justice Warren of the Supreme Court. Its undisputed boss, Robert Welch, pictures the U.S. as a vast "insane asylum" over which the "worst inmates" are in charge.

Fed on such delirious teachings, local John Birchers conduct sustained attacks from the right on local authorities, libraries containing "seditious" literature, progressive school boards, parent-teacher associations, mental health programs, fluoridation of drinking water, UNESCO, and the moderates in the Republican Party.

The Birchers have assiduously enrolled members among police forces from New York City to

southern California. They have appointed themselves public defenders of the "forces of law and order" against Negro complaints of police brutality and demands for civilian review boards of cases of mistreatment of citizens. Their slogan, blazoned on posters and auto bumper stickers, is "Support Your Local Police."

Some Birchers in New Jersey and California train with the Minutemen, a small paramilitary force that is preparing to lead guerrilla warfare in case the Communists take over the U.S. But the majority of the members come from well-to-do suburbanites and small property owners who are alarmed by the least signs of liberalism or social welfare which they regard as forerunners of socialism and communism.

The Birchers do not represent a formidable force or any imminent threat to the status quo. The economy is booming, McCarthyism is out of favor and witchhunting does not receive the response and official support it enjoyed during the Korean war and its aftermath. Its activities serve rather as a reminder that the organized forces of ultrareaction remain intact, despite their electoral rout in 1964. They stand as an auxiliary reserve, ready for action with a new turn of the tide. As it is, they are tolerated but not encouraged by the capitalist rulers.

Their incapacity to take the offensive on the war question even in New Jersey was highlighted by the first anniversary celebration of the "teach-in" at Rutgers State University April 19. Last year, history professor Eugene Genovese set off a furious academic and political controversy by denouncing American intervention in Vietnam and declaring his solidarity with the National Liberation Front. The demand for his dismissal became the central issue in the 1965 gubernatorial campaign in that state. The Democratic incumbent who refused to accede to this pressure won by a wide margin.

This year before an audience of 3,000 students, Genovese boldly repeated his stand: "I said here a year ago, and say now, a Communist ascendancy in Vietnam is not to be feared but welcomed."

He went on to say: "The American people have nothing to gain from Johnson's Hitlerian foreign policy" which "bordered on genocide."

He demanded that the U.S. get out of Vietnam. His words were warmly applauded.

Outside the gymnasium, a lone member of the local Catholic War Veterans walked back and forth carrying a sign that said: "Rid Rutgers of Reds."

### Pacifists Get Treatment In 'Democratic' Saigon

By Dick Roberts

The expulsion of six American pacifists from Saigon April 21, provided a new example of the kind of cop justice which has become the norm for the U.S.-backed south Vietnam government. Without prior warning, the pacifist team was prevented from holding a one-hour silent vigil in front of the U.S. Embassy. They were thrown in a patrol wagon, driven to the airport, dragged into a plane and then flown to Hong-kong. In the process a U.S. reporter was beaten.

The U.S. Embassy, meanwhile, did nothing to prevent this. A U.S. spokesman commented, "If they violated Vietnamese law, then the Vietnamese authorities took the necessary action."

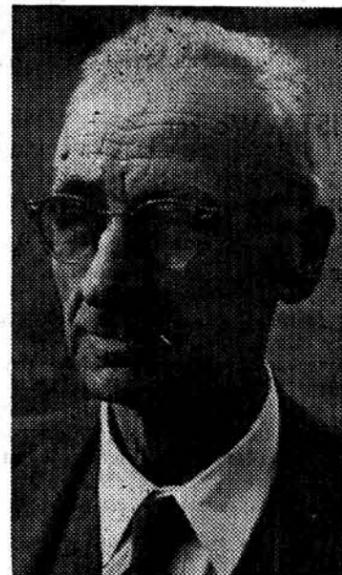
But you can bet your bottom dollar Washington followed every move of the pacifist team with the keenest attention. The last thing in the world LBJ could stomach right now would be an American led anti-U.S. demonstration in Saigon.

#### Previous Protests

Only ten days earlier, Saigon students had battled club-swinging cops, tear gas and smoke bombs to hold demonstrations demanding "Down with American Imperialists," and "Stop Killing Our People." A new demonstration, inspired by the American visitors, threatened to blow the lid off the patchwork compromise now holding Ky's government together.

A. J. Muste, the 81-year-old chairman of the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, was the leader of the pacifist group. The other members were Bradford Lyttle, chairman of the New England Committee for Non-violent Action; Prof. William Davidon of Haverford College; Karl Meyer, an editor of the *Catholic Worker*; Barbara Deming, an editor of *Liberation* magazine; and Sherri Thurber.

A rigged demonstration at a news conference failed to fool either the Muste team or the millions of people around the world who followed their actions. Held in a heavily guarded room of the Saigon City Hall, April 20, the



A. J. Muste

news conference was "disrupted" by pro-government students, who threw some eggs at the pacifists.

But even the *New York Times* noted that these students must have been "recruited" for this purpose by the government.

Muste, who had had more dangerous things than eggs thrown at him in the course of his 50-year career as a militant labor leader and pacifist, stated "the police laid a trap for us in City Hall." Davidon, agreeing that the harassment had been rigged, pointed out that the south Vietnamese people "gave their silent support to the antiwar protest!"

#### Muste to Speak in N. Y.

NEW YORK — Three of the U.S. pacifists who were recently expelled from Saigon will report on their experience at a meeting here Monday, May 2, 7:30 p.m. They are A. J. Muste, Bradford Lyttle and Prof. William Davidon. The meeting will be held at Community Church, 40 East 35th St., under the auspices of the Committee for Non-Violent Action. The CNVA had organized the trip to Saigon.

### Russell Charges U.S. Inches Toward a Nuclear Attack

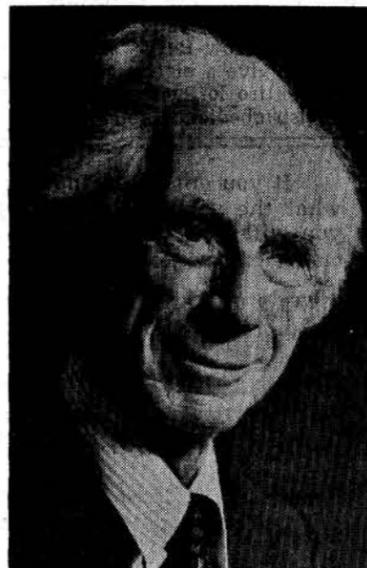
President Johnson's fresh expansion of the war in Vietnam shows that the rulers of the U.S. "know no limits" and are inching towards a "nuclear attack on Vietnam and China," Bertrand Russell declared April 14. In a statement to the press, the noted philosopher said:

"The U.S. Air Force attack on north Vietnam has reached dimensions unattained since the atomic bombing of Nagasaki. Let mankind be warned: the rulers of the United States know no limits. Step by step, they are moving towards a nuclear attack on Vietnam and China.

"They are cornered rats, who lash out because of their defeat by the people of Vietnam. They plan to repeat their attack, employing 1,400,000 pounds of explosives.

"We must stop them. In every country, people must find the appropriate means. Whatever it is possible for men to do to weaken U.S. imperialism — from Guatemala to Iraq — must be done.

"Only world resistance can stay the hand of these war criminals." Russell's warning was given added significance with the bellicose declaration by the State Department April 29 that "there is no sanctuary" for planes resisting U.S. aerial aggression over north Vietnam. The State Department indicated it was ready to carry the aerial warfare into China, a move that would bring the world dangerously closer to the nuclear catastrophe which Russell warns against.



Bertrand Russell



Barry Goldwater