



Part of throng that protested war at New York rally

Photo by Finer

THE MILITANT

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Good Vote Is Indicated For Ala. Freedom Party

Unofficial reports in the *New York Times* of the vote in Lowndes County, Ala. indicate that the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (Black Panther Party) received a good vote in its first election contest. The *Times* reports that the independent Negro candidates received only "273 votes to 677 votes" less than white candidates running for the Democrats.

Sidney Logan, Jr., Black Panther candidate for sheriff, reportedly received 1,643 votes to 2,320 votes for the white incumbent, Frank Ryals.

Other candidates for the LCFO were: Mrs. Alice Moore for tax assessor; Frank Miles, Jr., for tax collector; Robert Logan, John Hinson and Mrs. Willie Mae Strickland for the board of education; and Emory Ross for coroner. John Hulet is chairman of LCFO.

The vote for the independent black political party indicates the growth of the organization since last May, when 900 Negroes in Lowndes participated in the mass meeting to nominate the LCFO candidates.

In 1960, there were no Negroes

registered in Lowndes. Now there are 2,681 registered, compared to 2,519 registered whites. There have been all kinds of frauds at the polls in the past in Lowndes. Some of the "registered whites" don't live in the county and some even are dead.

This was the first election for virtually all of the Negroes who voted. They also had the opportunity of participating in an historic struggle to establish an independent party of their own, and contest for power against the racist Democrats and Republicans.

REAL STORY UNFOLDS

The New York Minutemen

NOV. 9—Ten days after the sensational New York arrest of 20 Minutemen in possession of "over one ton" of weapons Oct. 30, it is still possible to put together only sketchy information about the full extent of the organization's terrorist activities. Twenty men were originally arrested in various places around Queens, a borough of New York City. Charges appear to have been dropped against one of them subsequently.

It was the Queens District Attorney, Nat Hentel, who used the designation of "over one ton." "This is the biggest haul of weapons and death-dealing material seized in this area in the memory of law-enforcement officers," Hentel stated.

The weapons, collected from various homes of the arrested Minutemen, included: 125 rifles, single and automatic shot; 10 pipe bombs; five 80-mm. mortars; 12 30-caliber machine guns; 25 hand guns; 20 brass-knuckled knives; 220 knives of all kinds; three grenade launchers; 6 hand grenades; 50 80-mm. mortar shells; one bazooka; 50 camouflage suits with boots and steel helmets; 3 Molotov cocktails; and over one million rounds of ammunition.

The day of the arrest, Hentel disclosed that the Minutemen had made a "careful study of the area

Nat'l Protest Hits Viet War; 20,000 at Rally in New York

NEW YORK — The November 5-8 Mobilization for Peace in Vietnam was kicked off here with a huge rally Nov. 5, held just off Times Square. Some 20,000 people crowded onto Sixth Avenue from 40th to 42nd Sts., while others stood on 41st St. going toward Broadway.

Many people came to the rally as participants in feeder marches organized by antiwar and community groups in various parts of the city. A thousand people marched into Times Square from the West Side of Manhattan, including a big contingent of students from Columbia University and City College. Another thousand came from Greenwich Village. Other feeder marches were organized from various parts of the East Side and Midtown Manhattan.

A striking feature of the rally was the very large number of young people present.

The rally, along with the four days of antiwar activity, was organized by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, a

broad coalition of some 80 antiwar and community groups.

The rally served to kick off the weekend's activities. These included mass leafleting at churches and in communities on Sunday, leafleting of GIs at various places where they can be reached in the city on Sunday night, mass leafleting throughout the city on Monday and leafleting at the polls on Tuesday.

Tables were set up at various

NEXT WEEK: Our next issue will feature reports from around the country on the antiwar protests.

corners at the rally, and the plans for the leafleting projects were announced from the platform by Mildred Rosen of Women Strike for Peace. Those present were urged to take bundles of leaflets to distribute. There was an impressive response to this, with many people taking leaflets before they left.

The rally was co-chaired by A. J. Muste, chairman of the national November 8 Mobilization, and Al Evanoff, an official of District 65, AFL-CIO, and a member of the administrative committee of the Parade Committee.

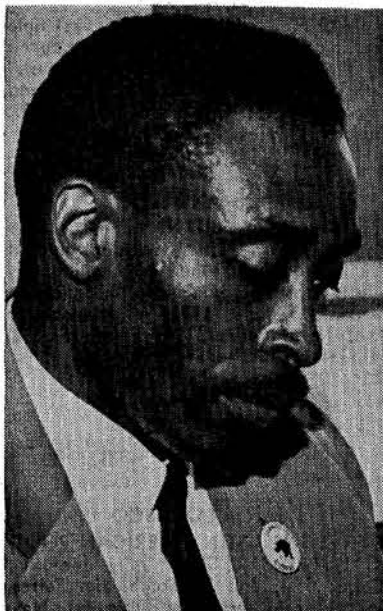
Speakers at the rally spoke out against the war in a militant way and almost all of them urged withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

The speakers included: Ruth Turner, a national officer of CORE; Ivanhoe Donaldson, New York director of SNCC; Leon Davis, president of Hospital Workers Local 1199; Sue Eanet, New York coordinator of SDS; David Mitchell, who faces a jail term for refusing to be drafted; Alan Ginsberg, the poet; Grace Mora Newman, sister of antiwar GI Dennis Mora; Edward Keating, publisher of *Ramparts*; and Prof. Conor Cruise O'Brien, former Irish Ambassador to the UN.

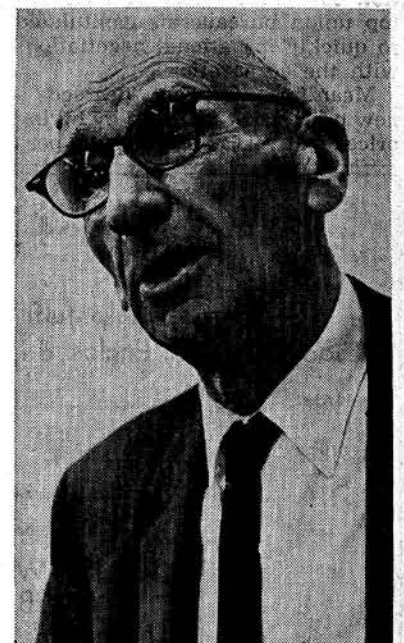
A telegram was read from Dave Dellinger, coordinator of the Parade Committee who is now in Hanoi. (See text page 6.)

Introduced at the rally were candidates for public office who responded to a request by the Parade Committee to endorse the aims of the antiwar demonstration. Those introduced were: Judy White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Leslie Silberman, independent candidate for Congress in the 12th C.D.; Herbert Aptheker, candidate for Congress in the 17th C.D.; and James Weinstein, candidate for congress in the 19th C.D.

Entertainment was provided by folk singers Barbara Dane and Fred Forest, star of the recently (Continued on Page 6)



John Hulet



A. J. Muste

around the headquarters of the *Daily Worker*." That headquarters had been bombed Sept. 4; Sept. 29 a fire-bomb attack was made on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. In both cases, the weaponry used was similar to items found in the Minuteman arsenal.

On Nov. 1, Hentel revealed that the Minutemen, divided into separate teams, were planning simultaneous attacks on four places the day they were arrested. These places were: the former Camp Unity (Wingdale) in New York; Camp Midvale in New Jersey; the Connecticut farm headquarters of the New England CNVA; and the Brooklyn campaign headquarters of Dr. Herbert Aptheker.

Planned to Kill

The New York and New Jersey camps have frequently been cited by the FBI as "Communist training camps" and have recently been subjected to smear attacks in the pages of the *New York Daily News*. According to the police, the right-wing terrorists planned to raze these areas and kill anyone on them if necessary.

On Nov. 5, the Queens authorities revealed that in one case, that of the Wingdale resort, an attack had already been attempted. Nine-gallon jugs, half-filled with gaso-

line, had been planted on the grounds and were attached to electrical detonation devices. The attack apparently failed due to faulty construction of the bombs.

The police have had the Minuteman organization under heavy surveillance at least since last March and probably since last January, 10 months ago. According to the Oct. 31 *New York Post*, their original lead on the group came from a student who was supplying them with chemicals from his college laboratory. He got "cold feet."

That was in January. By March, 110 members of the Bureau of Special Services — the New York City police version of the CIA — had either infiltrated the organization or were on permanent assignment to trail it, and document its every move through wiretapping and photography.

This is the same outfit that plants stool pigeons in left-wing and civil-rights groups. It produced Raymond A. Wood, the agent provocateur who goaded on, if not actually planned, the so-called "plot" by Negroes to blow up the Statue of Liberty last year. Wood is now a detective in Brooklyn.

The police were in on every move the Minutemen made in the (Continued on Page 4)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

In a confused situation resulting from piecemeal negotiations by various unions acting separately, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO) struck Westinghouse on Nov. 1. The IBEW charges Westinghouse with attempts to chisel on contract terms agreed to in settlements with three other unions.

The other unions are the IUE (AFL-CIO); UE (independent); and the Independent Salaried Unions, formed by white collar workers who split with UE after its expulsion from the CIO. The three represent a combined membership of about 61,400 at Westinghouse. They have recently signed contracts with the corporation providing wage increases, an escalator clause, special raises for skilled workers and added fringe benefits.

Disputed issues stressed by the IBEW include pay for skilled men, wage differentials and the handling of grievances. A key demand is for a single national contract to cover all 14,000 IBEW members at 46 Westinghouse plants. The partial national contract now up for re-negotiation covers only 22 repair plants with a total of some 800 workers. In the remaining 24 plants, where the bulk of the IBEW members are employed, there are separate local contracts with varying expiration dates.

After the strike began, the "statesmen" at the head of the IBEW, who seem to have no stomach for a fight, proposed arbitration of the dispute. Westinghouse rejected the proposal, arrogantly defying the union to battle it out.

The IBEW has struck 39 plants, exempting two that produce war materials, and others where local contracts have not yet expired. With the IBEW maintaining picket lines — on which there are many women — and with members of other unions refusing to cross picket lines, over 13,000 workers are involved in the walkout. The total includes 652 members of the Flint Glass Workers Union at Bath, N. Y., who are on strike for a new contract.

In other local disputes, 56 Carpenters Union members are picketing Westinghouse at Grand Rapids, Mich., in a controversy about overtime. Over 4,800 UE members have struck the Lester, Pa., plant in protest against the firing of a shop steward. At Athens, Ga., one of the Independent Salaried Unions has walked out, stating that the members are "unhappy with the new national contract."

Thousands remain on strike at several General Electrical plants. The embattled workers are trying to compensate through local action for ground lost because the top union bureaucrats capitulated so quickly in national negotiations with the corporation.

Meantime, GE has decreed a new profit grab for itself by hiking prices an average of over two per-

cent on 74 houseware items, such as vacuum cleaners, electric knives, etc. And the *New York Times* clamors editorially for stiffer government action to curb "misuse" of union power.

New strikes continue to erupt here and there around the country. The issues center on pay increases, discriminatory wage differentials, unsettled grievances and, in one instructive case, the length of union contracts.

At Shreveport, La., an International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers local has struck a Balfield Industries plant that produces air-to-ground weapons. The IBEW, seeking its first contract for 375 members at the plant, is demanding an initial wage increase of 40 cents an hour.

After an 18-day strike the International Association of Machinists has obtained a new contract for about 1,000 members at a trailer-making plant of the Dorsey Corp. in Elba, Alabama. The new three-year pact calls for an average increase of six percent a year in wages and fringe benefits.

Upon winning a wage increase of 30 cents an hour over a three-year period, 300 IAM members ended their month-old strike against a toy factory in Freeport, Ill.

Members of the International Longshoremen's Association are refusing to unload ships at Cambridge, Md., in a dispute over wage differentials. They are demanding that their base pay of \$2.85 an hour be raised to the \$3.54 rate paid ILA men in nearby Baltimore.

Some 3,400 members of the United Auto Workers have struck a General Motors plant at Los Angeles. The walkout followed a breakdown in month-long negotiations to settle local grievances.

UAW locals representing about 1,500 members have struck two electrical equipment plants operated by Allis-Chalmers at Pittsburgh, Pa., and Gadsden, Alabama. The main issue is a union demand for a one-year contract.

In 1964 the UAW signed new three-year contracts at five other Allis-Chalmers plants, which will expire in 1967. On that occasion, the union agreed to a two-year extension of the old contract at the Gadsden and Pittsburgh plants, foregoing any wage increase in order to help the company "improve its competitive position" in the electrical-manufacturing industry. Now that the two years are up, the UAW wants only a one-year pact so as to bring the expiration date into line with that of the other five plants.

The company has responded to Reuther's "statesmanship" by insisting that the new contract at the electrical-equipment plants run for at least three years. Simultaneously, Allis-Chalmers has announced an increase in dividend payments on its common and preferred stocks.

Ethel Preis Dies in New York

By Joseph Hansen

Ethel Preis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party since its foundation, was found dead in her apartment in New York on the morning of Nov. 7. She died, it appears, from an overdose of sleeping pills. She would have been 62 on her next birthday, Dec. 1.

Despondent since the death in 1964 of Art Preis, her husband and companion, she had been under the care of Dr. Emil Conason, a close friend of both of them. When Dr. Conason died last April, her despondency deepened. She tried bravely; but, as she confessed to those closest to her, she found the world empty without Art.

Ethel and Art were a team in the revolutionary socialist movement. Both of them were highly talented and shared interests ranging from music and painting and literature to Trotskyism.

Even in music they were a team, playing four-handed pieces on the piano until Art, who was stricken in 1940 with diabetes, could no longer manage the keyboard. In the last year of his life, after suffering the amputation of both legs and losing his hearing, he enjoyed watching Ethel at the piano. Reading the music, he participated, too.

Pennsylvania Background

Of Pennsylvania Dutch background, Ethel became interested in the early thirties in the great social upheaval in Russia. She made a tour of the Soviet Union; and, upon returning to Toledo, Ohio, she gave a report of her impressions at a public meeting sponsored by the Young Women's Christian Association. Art Preis, then a young radical just off the campus, went to hear her — that was how they met.

Not long after that, she helped Art evade arrest. Wanted by the police for helping to organize militant demonstrations of the unemployed in town, he came to her home in search of a place to hide until he could appear at an important demonstration. And that was how the team began. They were married in January, 1934.

Art had begun as a promising writer on the campus. Also a gifted speaker, he soon became well-known as an organizer of masses of unemployed and of militant auto workers. In politics, he moved rapidly to the left. Beginning as a young leader of the American Workers Party under A. J. Muste, he became a Trotskyist and eventually one of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Art's finest talent, however, was as a revolutionary journalist and he wrote some of the best material to be found in *The Militant* over the years. His final achievement was a history of the CIO, *Labor's Giant Step*, which has received high praise from experts in the field.

In saying this of Art, it must be added at once that it was Ethel who made his achievements pos-



Ethel Preis

sible. This is the simple truth. All their friends knew it. Art knew it better than anyone. They were her achievements, too.

Ethel made a deliberate decision. When diabetes began its crippling assault, Art's life became more and more endangered. Ethel took it as her special assignment to meet this insidious foe with all the resources at her command.

It was an endless 24-hour battle on a rigid time schedule of diets and medicine, day in and day out, year after year, in and out of hospitals and with long periods when their home was really a hospital. On top of everything else, during the most difficult days of the movement, when it was besieged by foes from all sides, particularly in the worst days of McCarthyism when sympathizers dropped away and financial sources dried up, Ethel worked as a bookkeeper to help keep them going.

Her Cheerfulness

Ethel's indomitable will became legendary in the party, as legendary as Art's capacity to keep producing through all the pain and agony and prison-like regime he had to follow. Still more legendary was the cheerfulness, even light-heartedness of the two. It was a tonic to be with them.

If at moments Ethel felt that the struggle was too much, that she could not bear up — and not many ever guessed that at times even she did feel like that — the inner steel of which she was made carried her through the crisis.

In the final period when it seemed again and again that Art could not last, Ethel pulled him through. Only a month before the end, she brought him to a reception sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party in celebration of the publication of his book. That was a proud moment! There Art made his last public speech, a speech of courage and enthusiasm, bearing witness to his conviction, based on deep study and intimate acquaintance with the American working class, that the victory of socialism in America and the world is inevitable.

In this speech, in which he probably knew he was saying goodbye, Art paid tribute to the heroic woman at his side, the valiant Ethel, who gave the best she had to the cause she and Art believed in.

We say farewell to Ethel reluctantly, not wishing to believe she is gone. And she isn't gone. We will always remember her as she and Art were — the bright team that carried on the fight for socialism with a song in their hearts and laughter in their eyes.

Set Memorial Meeting For Ethel Preis in N.Y.

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting for Ethel Preis will be held here Monday, Nov. 14, at 8 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum hall at 873 Broadway (at 18th St.)

The speakers will be Constance Weissman and Farrell Dobbs. Joseph Hansen will act as chairman.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

HUAC AND THE RIGHT TO DISSENT. Speaker: Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, minister Community Church of Boston. Fri., Nov. 18, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

TWO FILMS ON VIETNAM. First time in Chicago: "Land of Fire" produced by the NLF and "Time of the Locust." Two showings. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

BURN, BABY, BURN! Militant Labor Forum Theatre Party at presentation of Frank Greenwood's new play telling why Watts exploded. Fri., Nov. 18, 8:30 p.m. Masonic Temple, 1131 W. Manchester Ave. Tickets at 1702 E. Fourth St. \$2, students \$1. 269-5953.

NEW YORK

No Militant Labor Forum Fri., Nov. 18.

SAN FRANCISCO

FREE THE LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS! A rally featuring Carlos Dias, Bob Randolph, Jim Petras, Tony Camejo and Jerry Rubin. Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. YMCA 1530 Buchanan St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



Art Preis

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Explains Black Power

Carmichael's Speech at Berkeley

BERKELEY — Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, defended the concept of black power here at the all-day conference on "Black Power and Its Challenges."

"We are not going to wait for white people to sanction black power," he declared. "This country knows what black power is because it has denied it for four hundred years to black people."

Carmichael blamed the white community for allowing racism

and violence to exist in the country. "You need a civil-rights bill — not me! I know I could live with other people," he said.

The young leader characterized integration as a subterfuge for white supremacy. "Whenever a black child has to go to a white school to get a decent education, that's white supremacy."

On nonviolence, he said, "the question is, whether white people can conduct nonviolent schools among white people where they kick six-year-old children."

Carmichael explained that "the only coalition black people can have is with whites that are also against economic exploitation in this country."

"In order for racism to die, the institutions of economic oppression of the colored peoples around the world must also die. It is the institution of economic oppression upon which this country is based that is the cause of racism, and until it is wiped out, we will never be able to solve our problems."

Brown and Reagan

Turning to the California race for governor, Carmichael said: "The political parties in this country do not meet the needs of the people on a day-to-day basis. The question is, can you dissociate yourselves from those two clowns who are carrying on about the state talking about nothing? Can you dissociate yourselves from those two buffoons, Brown and Reagan, who never talk about the problems of this country? Until you do, nothing is going to happen. I mean the Democratic Party cannot — I say can not — represent us!

"Any time a party can have men like Morse and Eastland and those other supposed-to-be liberal cats, there's something wrong with that party."

"You can't move morally against men like Reagan and Brown," Carmichael said. "You've got to move politically. You can't move morally against a man like Lyndon B. Johnson because he is an immoral man — you've got to move against him politically."

Attacking the war in Vietnam, the SNCC leader said the war is "illegal and immoral." But, he

said, the antiwar movement has not yet been able to get off the campus and into the Negro community.

"What can we do to stop that war? Say, 'Hell, no!' to the draft. Say 'Hell, no, we won't go!' Black people have no right to go to Vietnam, and kill for people who deny them freedom at home. They have no right to take orders on who to kill and who to protect. This must stop. If and when we decide to kill, we will decide who we are going to kill."

"Even if I were to believe the lies of Johnson that what we are trying to give to Vietnam is 'democracy,' I wouldn't fight to give what we have here to anybody."

"SNCC isn't anti-white," Carmichael said. "It's anti-racist. We are against the murdering of black people in Mississippi, the raping of yellow people in Vietnam, brown people in the Dominican Republic, black people of the Congo. And they call us reverse racists — dig that!"

Carmichael urged the youth of America to heed the words of the famed black anti-slavery leader, Frederick Douglass. Douglass, he said, once wrote that "youth must fight to be leaders today." The militant head of SNCC added, "And God knows, we need to be leaders today because the men who run this country today are sick."

He ended with the slogan, "Move on over or we'll move on over you," and the enthusiastic audience rose and gave him a thunderous ovation.

A DELAY

Last week we announced that in this issue we would publish extracts from a speech by Fidel Castro on moral incentives and socialism and a manifesto of the Fourth International on Vietnam.

Space difficulties prevented their publication in this issue, and we plan to publish both soon.

Anti-Apartheid Fighter To Speak in New York

NEW YORK — Franz J. T. Lee, young South African Liberation fighter, will conclude an extremely successful U.S. speaking tour with a meeting at Community Center, 40 E. 35th St., Thursday evening, Nov. 17. Actor-playwright Ossie Davis will share the platform with Lee.

A representative of the African Peoples Democratic Union of South Africa, Lee has been touring the U.S. and Canada on behalf of the Alexander Defense Committee, organized to aid Dr. Neville Alexander and other imprisoned victims of South African apartheid. Lee has reached wide audiences on his tour. In the Bay Area, he was heard on three radio stations and three television channels.

In Los Angeles, he appeared at a number of meetings, including one in the Watts ghetto, and was interviewed by press, television and radio.

University Meetings

In Minneapolis, he spoke at a number of meetings, including one at the University of Minnesota. At the University of Florida in Gainesville, he was heard by an audience of more than 200 students. At the University of Wisconsin, 350 attended a public meeting.

The Negro History Round Table of Chicago arranged a symposium for him, and a public meeting was organized by Lou House, the radio commentator. Lee spoke on five Chicago campuses, including the University of Chicago.

In Cleveland, a press conference was held at the headquarters of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 500. This was widely publicized on TV and radio. He addressed meetings at Western Reserve University and Oberlin College and at the Liberty Hill Baptist Church.

In Detroit, a meeting sponsored by CORE, SNCC and other rights groups drew 250 people. In Boston, Lee was heard at M.I.T. and over a number of radio and TV shows.

Here in New York, a meeting of 600 was held at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, sponsored by numerous civil-rights groups. He has also been heard at half a dozen college campuses.



Franz J. T. Lee

Berkeley Parley On Black Power

BERKELEY — A crowd of some 12,000 attended an all-day conference on "Black Power and Its Challenge" in the Greek Theater of the University of California on Oct. 29. The conference was organized by the campus Students for a Democratic Society.

The Republican candidate for governor, Ronald Reagan, and Democratic incumbent Brown attacked both the conference and Stokely Carmichael. Reagan sent Carmichael a telegram urging him not to attend the rally. Brown said, "I wish Stokely Carmichael would stay out of California. I wish he'd not come in here at all. I think he's caused nothing but trouble." And Lt. governor Glenn Anderson joined in the smear attack, terming Carmichael's speech "abusive, intolerant, intemperate, illiberal and insulting . . ."

Besides Carmichael, other speakers included: Ivanhoe Donaldson, New York coordinator of SNCC; Ron Karenga and Brother Lennie from Watts; Rev. James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Elijah Turner of Oakland CORE.

"Burn, Baby, Burn!"

By Della Rossa

"Burn, Baby, Burn!" written and directed by Frank Greenwood and now playing Friday nights at 1131 W. Manchester, Los Angeles, is the Watts ghetto speaking again. It's a powerful and articulate production. The ghetto blacks know exactly what's wrong, and Greenwood is able to say it for them. The uprising itself isn't even brought into the play. Instead, "Burn, Baby, Burn!" through a series of episodes, concentrates on the important question — it tells why Watts exploded.

Greenwood's play is a rare and valuable opportunity for a white audience because it has no inhibitions about telling about the ghetto as it is. This is not a middle class Afro-American talking carefully to whites so they won't misunderstand.

Both the writer and the players don't seem to care much what the white world thinks about what they have to say. What they appreciated was that bitter laughter of recognition that came so often from the mostly black audience the night I saw it.

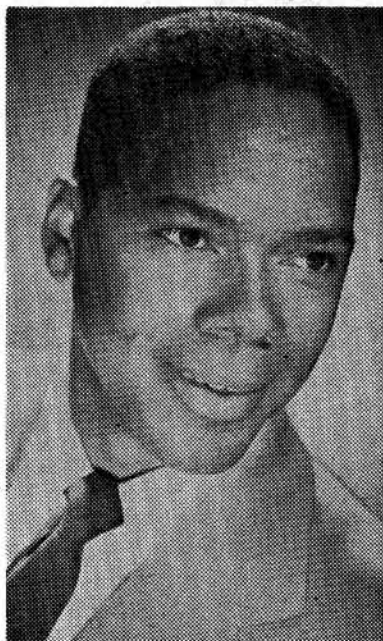
"Burn, baby, Burn!" hits at the ghetto issues — when there is a job opening, it goes to a white slouch rather than a qualified black. There is the pervasive police ugliness.

Other episodes make angry comments on the indignity and insecurity of welfare relief, schools

that let students sleep through classes, and the houses with rats and falling plaster.

Greenwood knows that it isn't just the open white racists who are the problem, and in fact, only one such racist, a policeman, is shown in the play. Greenwood shows a deeper political understanding, and again and again, "Burn, Baby, Burn!" hits at the white liberals.

The play also shows the role of



Frank Greenwood

the black Uncle Tom, who appears in many episodes, and the audience quickly joined the players in ridiculing this element.

However, even a black civil-rights leader in the audience objected to anti-Jewish overtones in the play, where most of the oppressive whites shown, the landlord and the merchants, are Jews.

Nonetheless, we must admit that Greenwood is honestly showing the ghetto as it is. Most of the "enemy whites" the ghetto comes in contact with are Jews, and therefore the two are associated in the thinking of a large part of the ghetto.

There are powerful episodes in the play, indicating the political climate of the Los Angeles ghetto today. One of these concerns the young man who refuses to be drafted into the white man's army to fight the white man's war in Vietnam.

The players are not experienced professionals, but they don't have to be. The episodes are so much a part of their lives they seem to be playing themselves.

In the background of all these scenes is an American flag — nailed to the wall upside down.

"Official economists and other pensionaries of capitalism, writhing with the cold steel of Marxian science in the vitals of their theories, hide their rage in the wrinkle of a sneer at Marx." —Daniel DeLeon.

SOCIALIST FUND

Drive Off to Good Start

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

With this issue, we publish the first scoreboard in the Party-Building Fund Campaign for \$18,000 which the Socialist Workers Party launched on Oct. 1, to run through Dec. 31.

It is heartening indeed to see that with slightly more than one-third of the campaign over, 35 percent of the money has already been collected.

This unusual and early response to the financial needs of the SWP is the result of a growing realization on the part of supporters and members that money is an essential commodity in building an organization whose program is designed to create a better world for everyone. And further, that right now, the opportunities to reach new young people with that program are better than ever before.

As you will note from the score-

board, The General does not have a quota. However, we confidentially expect that readers of *The Militant* and other friends will make their usual fine contributions. The General is very much in the running. While we set the figure of \$18,000, it was based on as minimum a budget as we could devise. Actually, we need much more to take full advantage of the current political situation, to reach out with our new young cadres to gather more and more to our ranks.

Speakers who go to the many campuses around the country report an actual hunger on the part of students for basic information on socialist theory. So we ask all readers to make use of the coupon on page 2 to do their part in this vital work.

Send your contributions to the Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Boston	\$ 1,000	676	67
Minneapolis - St. Paul	1,000	624	62
Oakland-Berkeley	1,000	589	59
Detroit	1,200	572	48
Philadelphia	450	210	47
New York	4,800	2,129	44
St. Louis	150	60	40
Chicago	1,500	580	39
Allentown	135	50	37
San Francisco	1,000	310	31
Seattle	250	50	20
Cleveland	900	115	13
San Diego	150	15	10
Los Angeles	4,000	270	7
Milwaukee	400	25	6
Newark	100	5	5
Denver	100	00	00
General		46	
Totals to Nov. 7	\$18,135	\$6,326	35

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Monday, November 14, 1966

China's Nuclear Test

The fourth successful nuclear test by the Peoples Republic of China evoked consternation throughout the ruling circles of the the capitalist countries, especially in Washington. What alarmed them was the fact that the nuclear device was delivered to the target test site by a guided missile. This implies both a development in the nuclear devices themselves to the point where they are now compact weapons, and a development of missile technology. China is now capable of reaching 400 miles beyond its borders to answer any attack, and this capability will clearly be developed fairly rapidly.

In announcing the test, the Hsinhua news agency in Peking repeated China's pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons: "The conducting of necessary and limited nuclear tests and the development of nuclear weapons by China are entirely for the purpose of defense, with the ultimate aim of destroying the nuclear weapons. We solemnly declare once again that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons."

The ruling circles in the U.S. have been hostile to the Chinese revolution from the beginning. They intervened to protect Chiang Kai-shek, and set up his preserve on Formosa. The U.S. Seventh Fleet has remained off the coast of China ever since. An iron ring of U.S. military bases surrounds China's eastern and southern border — from Korea down through Japan, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines, Vietnam and Thailand. In addition, there are the other Pacific bases, like the air base at Guam, which is already being used as a center of B-52 operations against Vietnam, and which includes China in its range of targets.

U.S. troops were used against Chinese forces in Korea, in a war aimed at the North Korean and Chinese workers' states. The present war in Vietnam is escalating toward a confrontation with China. At the very minimum, Washington hopes to keep south Vietnam a base of military operations for use against the socialist revolution in the whole area, including China.

An ominous sign of the designs of Washington was Johnson's reaction to the Chinese test. LBJ couldn't conceal the rage he felt, and warned that the test placed China in danger of the U.S. atomic "deterrent." His rage reflects the feelings of the ruling class at the prospect that China is justifiably taking the first steps to develop a counter-force to the nuclear sword Washington holds over the people of China and the world.

...New York Minutemen

(Continued from Page 1)

last seven months, at least, and they have evidence to prove what the terrorists actually did. That much is completely clear from statements they have made so far. What is not so clear, is why they waited so long before moving in on the organization when it has been collecting its massive death-dealing arsenal for several years and has undoubtedly been engaged in previous sabotage attempts.

One possible answer is that the police were not limited to a surveillance capacity in the Minutemen membership. Already, information seized in the right-wing group's files has shown that three New York state policemen were active members. One state trooper appears to have formed an upstate drill team; to have obtained weapons from the police for the Minutemen; to have recruited national guardsmen to their ranks; and to have turned over police files on the Minutemen to the organization itself.

Low Bail

On Oct. 31, the day the arrested Minutemen were released on the ridiculously low bail of \$1,000, the *New York Times* reported that "two photographers for *Newsday* complained to the District Attorney that two of the defendants had assaulted them on the way out. The photographers charged that city policemen stood by and refused to re-arrest the defendants involved."

There were other suggestions of police complicity with the right-wing hoodlums. At one Minuteman dwelling in "a middle-class

home-owning community that prides itself on keeping out of the news," crude and vulgar leaflets pretending to be from Negroes were discovered:

"Kill the white devils," these read in part. "We are going to take the white women for our pleasure. We will smash the heads of white babies against the trunk of trees. There will be a river of blood. The nonviolent revolution has failed. We shall overcome only with black power."

According to the Oct. 31 *New York Times*, the leaflets "had been distributed from speeding cars at night and had nearly created a race conflict . . . the police obtained the agreement of 'local papers' to avoid publicizing the incident until it could be presented to the public in perspective." The police agents in the Minutemen must have known the origins of these vicious leaflets.

That is exactly the kind of attitude we may expect the police to take towards the further prosecution of these bomb-slinging hate mongers.

It will be mainly a matter of preparing the public for the proper "perspective." And what is that perspective?

It is easy to imagine what it would be if a civil rights or a radical group was discovered with a fraction of the murderous weapons found in the Minutemen arsenal. The *New York Times*, however, reported the following reaction of Governor Rockefeller to the Oct. 30 arrests: "These people," Rockefeller stated, "are misguided in their patriotism."

A Hard-Hitting, Effective

Judy White Describes Impact on Young People

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Nov. 8 — Electioneering ended last night, but this morning Judy White was at her desk in the SWP campaign offices answering mail and working on a report on campaign activity and results. She took time out to talk to me about the campaign. She was as energetic and enthusiastic as the day the campaign opened three months ago.

It was her first bid for public office and the pace wasn't slow.

She spoke on the major campuses in the city, before local antiwar and community groups, and made a tour of upstate New York. In the course of the campaign, a total of eleven hours of radio and TV time was obtained for the whole SWP slate, and she appeared on a good part of it. Often she faced hostile, sharp-shooting interviewers. Everyone agrees she stood up to them wonderfully. She says, "It wasn't nearly as difficult as I expected."



Grace Mora Newman

The effect of these socialist antiwar broadcasts is apparent in the more than 200 inquiries received at the campaign headquarters as a result.

One young man wrote: "I am very interested in the workers' struggles. My mother and father plan to vote for the socialist candidate. They understand she is the only candidate that supports the end of the barbaric war we are waging against the peasants of south Vietnam."

A political science major at City College wrote that she had to write a paper on the campaign and chose the SWP as her subject because the major candidates avoided the real issues. "I watched the three SWP candidates on TV this morning," she wrote, "and was intrigued by Mr. Boutelle's comparison of your party and the Black Panther movement . . . I would appreciate as much literature as you could send me."

A young man in New Jersey wrote: "Though I started the weekend as a 'Dawk' (As *Time* would say) concerning Vietnam, I have become completely convinced we should get the hell out of there. (I must congratulate Hedda Garza for convincing me.) Anyway, I have already decided that when I become old enough (I'm only 15) I would become a member of one of the so-called leftist parties."

Another young non-voter from Brooklyn wrote in that he had watched Judy White and Milton

Herder on TV and was convinced that if he could vote, she would be his choice. He wrote: "The Socialist Labor candidate, Mr. Herder, impressed me as being sincere but too dogmatic. But Miss White showed her concern about the stupid war." He added that he felt that she had not dealt sufficiently with state issues, but that nevertheless "I respect her greatly for stating that her foremost concern, and her party's, is the war in Vietnam."

"But the big thing," Judy said as we went through some of the letters, "is the young people who have been coming here for literature and to talk."

"Kids, 12, 13, 14 years old come in," she said animatedly. "They're terribly concerned about this rotten society. One kid referred to the war as the 'crime of the century!' But it's not just the war. It's the whole society. They want to know about socialism."

She told about a meeting at Union College in Schenectady. There was a big turnout and the discussion continued for hours after the formal meeting. "A number of the students, who each thought they were the only socialist on the campus, met each other. Now they're forming a socialist club."

University Help

At Cornell University, a group of students and professors got together after her meeting and agreed to publish an ad in the campus paper stating that while they might not necessarily agree with other planks in the SWP program, they were urging a vote for its candidates on the basis of its stand for the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

Among those signing the ad were Prof. Robert Greenblatt, a leader of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, and Patricia Griffith, administrative secretary of the November 8 Mobilization for Peace in Vietnam.

Another boost was the election coverage in the newspaper of the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. The paper carried a prominent policy statement by Judy, along with those of the major candidates. At the Nov. 5 rally against the Vietnam war, Judy told me, she was distributing election leaflets to members



Paul Boutelle



Judy White

of the Teachers Committee to End the War in Vietnam. "I was really very well received," she said. "A surprising number told me they had read the article and liked it."

"We made an impact on the antiwar movement and the students," Judy added, referring to the Columbia and City College ads backing the campaign and the *National Guardian* ad.

"The *Guardian's* endorsement of our ticket certainly helped too," she said.

More than 100,000 pieces of election literature and election stickers were distributed. "Quite a few people came up to the office for literature to give out," she said, "and we had long discussions with them."

Describing the general response to the campaign, she said her experience confirmed the widespread unpopularity of the war. "Where most people disagree with us," she observed, "is that they don't feel we have a practical solution to these problems. They say, 'It's a good idea, but it can't be done.'"

"But they like our demand to bring the GIs home," she continued. "A lot of people would comment on that, 'I would wear the campaign button that says *Vote to Bring Our Boys Home*.' A woman behind the counter in the cafeteria at Southampton College when I spoke there asked me if she could get one. Up in Schenectady, a clerk in a photography shop asked for one too."

"Lesser Evilism"

Among young people, she continued, the best response was to the arguments against "lesser-evil" politics. "They can't understand how you can support any candidate who's for this war."

Judy was also encouraged by the response she got to her position in support of black power. The students, she said, are very much interested in this. And wherever there were Negroes in the audience they would speak up on it and get into big discussions with the other students after the meetings broke up into informal discussion.

But the very best response, she repeated, came from the high school students. "They had all the candidates speaking at the social science classes at Midwood High," she said. "Then they took a straw vote. I got 13 percent of the vote!" "Then some youngster told us they had a poll at Washington Irving High. She claims Rockefeller was first with 3,000 votes and I was third with a thousand. But I'd check that one out."

I asked if there was a response to her as a woman candidate for governor. "Some," she said, "but the real response was to the idea of a young candidate."

And — if I may add my own observation — the kind of an effective, militant campaigner that makes you proud of your party.

Active Socialist Antiwar Campaign

National Guardian Ad

[The following is the text of a full-page advertisement which appeared in the Oct. 29 issue of the progressive weekly, The National Guardian.]

Vote Against the Vietnam War
Judy White for Governor!

THE VIETNAM WAR is the most important issue facing voters in this election. Major social problems besetting the working people of this state, such as unemployment, equal rights, increased living costs or the threat of a harsher Condon-Wadlin Act can not be separated from the question of the war in Vietnam. Of the 365,000 American GIs estimated to be in Vietnam by the end of this year, thousands of New Yorkers alone will have been called to add their lives to the mounting casualties there.

A PROTEST VOTE against the pro-war candidates of the major parties is an important addition to the mounting popular expression of opposition to the Vietnam war. Especially in the New York gubernatorial race, which is receiving national attention, opposition to the war should be followed up with opposition at the polls. A vote can be cast in this election that will be understood to be a VOTE TO END WAR IN VIETNAM.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY slate, headed by Judy White for Governor, is centering its election campaign on the need to withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam. For this reason, a vote for the Socialist Workers Party slate will be counted as a Vote to End the War in Vietnam.

IT IS ON THE BASIS of the Socialist Workers Party's election campaign of opposition to the Vietnam war, that we, the undersigned, who do not necessarily agree with all the planks in the party's program, call for a vote for Judy White. In this campaign, a vote for the Socialist Workers Party slate is —

A VOTE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM!

Moses X. Autry, Hospital Workers Local 1199; Mr. and Mrs. Sean Barker; Melvyn Baron; Edmund Barrett; Rosalyn Baxandall; Nelson Blackstock, Atlanta Comm. to End the War in Vietnam; Ethel Blasberg, Washington Heights CEWV; Peter Bobrick, Columbia University Independent Comm. on Vietnam; Cleveland Broussard; Edward A. Butts.

Prof. Emile Capouya, author/critic; Joseph A. Casanova; Richard Chinn, Providence, Ky., Comm. for A Liberal Lending Library; Allen Churchill, author; George R. Clauter; Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Detroit Central Cong. Church; Claire Connelly; Gregg W. Conway; Prof. Robert J. Cooke, Southampton College (L.I.U.); Dr. Ephraim Cross, Columbia University.

Linda Dannenberg, Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade Comm.; Prof. Vernon K. Dibble, Columbia University; Dorothy Dickens; E. H. Emory; Patrick A. Evans, Atlanta CEWV; Simone A. Fedak, Women Strike for Peace; Mark Feinstein, co-chairman Queens College SDS; E. J. Fine, Chairman, Florida Socialist Union; Frieda Forman; Hilda Garcia; Maxwell Geismar, literary critic.

John Gerassi, co-ordinator, American Branch Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; Charles J. Gbadlo; Larry Ginsberg; Morris Goldin, co-chairman, Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action; Donna Gould, Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Robert Greenberg, LEMPA.

Patricia Griffith, Administrative Sec'y, Nov. 8 Mobilization Comm.; Antoni Gronowicz, author/



James Haughton

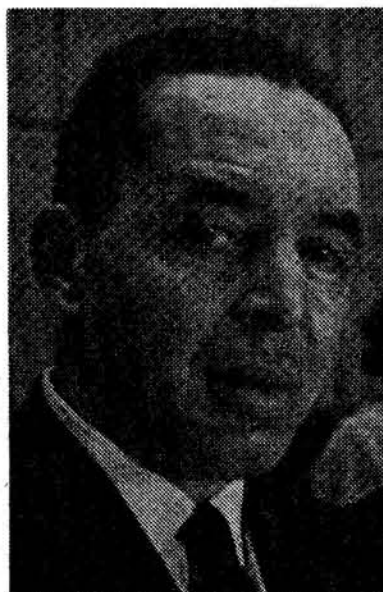
playwright; Nick Gruenberg, Columbia University Independent Comm. on Vietnam; H. E. Gubbins; Carl Haessler, exec. board member, newspaper Guild of Detroit; James Haughton, director, Harlem Unemployment Center; Michael M. Hirsch, chairman, Long Island Univ. Young Socialist Club (SDS chapter); Charles Johnson, Free (Univ.) School; Juan R. Kafka; George Kapp; Larry Katz; Chris Kearns, *Catholic Worker*.

Edward M. Keating, publisher, *Ramparts* magazine; Paul Knopf, composer/pianist; Frank Kofsky, historian/jazz critic; Edward Lee,

Atlanta CEWV; Hal Levin, candidate, Congress 12 C.D.; Donald A. Lindquist, American Academy of Political Science; Charles C. Lockwood, Detroit civil liberties attorney; Denzil Longton, Citizen's Comm. Against Napalm; Marvin Longton, Citizen's Comm. Against Napalm; William Loveland; Felix J. McGowan, *Catholic Worker*; Emma Jean Macafity, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Lawrence R. Marcus; James G. Mellen, Free (Univ.) School; Mark Mischel; Mr. and Mrs. Ofelio Morales, Comité Cultural de Hostos; Dr. Octavio E. Moscoso, Dominican independence fighter; Alex Munsell; Felix Munso, actor/author.

A. J. Muste, chairman, Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade Comm.; Michael Myerson; Scott Nearing, socialist scholar; Esther Newill, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Grace Mora Newman; Lucy Nyland; Beatrice Ostashevsky; Prof. James Petras, Univ. of Calif., Research; Jon Phelps, Vietnam Study Group; Charlotte Pomerantz, editor/author; Rufus H. Reed, Free (Univ.) School; David W. Reeder; Paul Reinman, artist; Kenneth L. Rhone; James Robertson, editor, *Spartacist*; Wilkie C. Rohr; David Rollins; Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, author/literary critic.

James E. Sallard, Jr., W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; Michael Samberg; R. Samuels, LEMPA; William Sander, faculty, N.Y. State Univ. at Buffalo; Ruth E. Schein; Barbara Schwartz, Comm. for Independent Political Action; Gerard Scime; Mary Scime; Peter Seidman, Columbia Univ. Independent Comm. on Vietnam; Martin



Rev. Albert Cleage

Shepard, M.D./Comm. of Professionals to End the War in Vietnam; Robert H. Sherwood, Spartacist League; Marvin Siegel; William Stein; Prof. John A. Strong, Southampton College (L.I.U.); Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor, *Monthly Review*; Walter D. Teague III, Comm. to Aid the National Liberation Front; Anthony Toney, artist; George H. Wells; Frederick West.

Britton Wilkie, Students for a Democratic Society, Prof. Robert Paul Wolff, Columbia Univ.; Ed Wolkenstein, editor, *Red Sword*; Jose Yglesias, author; Jack Youngerman, artist; Esther F. Zlatchin, Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

(Organizational affiliations listed for identification purposes only.)

Columbia Spectator

[The following advertisement appeared in the Nov. 7 issue of the Columbia University Daily Spectator.]

VOTE TO BRING OUR TROOPS HOME FROM VIETNAM NOW! VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS NOV. 8. Socialist Workers Candidates: Judy White for Governor; Richard Garza for Lt. Governor; Paul Bou-telle for Attorney General; Ralph Levitt for Comptroller.

We urge a vote for the Socialist Workers Party as a means of opposing the Vietnam war, while not necessarily endorsing all the planks of the Socialist Workers platform.

Rod Speel, Peter Seidman, Sam Gross, Aaron Fogel, Michael H. Agranoff, Hunter Ingalls, Thelma Ingalls, Ted Kaptchuk, R. Gebert, Carole Seidman, Nick Gruenberg, John L. Wilson, Morris Grossner, Michael Melzer, Edward Connelly, Abby Pariser, William R. Beer, Seman Bassin, Gene Rothman, David N. Stern, Joseph H. Wil-lingham, Michael Friedman, Jonathan Coppelman, Charles R. Mies-mer, Cathy Tashiro, Jonathon Meyer, Michael Edward Brown, Eugene Hamond.

Ronald L. Weitz, Becca Samuels, Joseph Solomon, Melvin Margulis, George Gruenthal, Caroline Jen-ness, David MacKenzie, Mathew Zellman, Dan Zuger, Steven S. Weiss, Joseph Stillman, Richard Rosen, Romie Sawyer, Frank Tar- laglia, Victor B. Marrow, Paul H. Rockwell, William F. Starr, Peter Bobrick, Will Stein, Roberta Speel, Albert Szymanski, John Sinisi, Michael Michaels, Clifford Satlow, Jeff Nichols, Bill Wertheim.

Melvyn Baron, Tom Foner, Stanley Klein, David Gilbert, Mark Naison, Charles Haxthausen, Richard Sober, Peter J. Gollon, Judith Schiff, Anthony Gronowicz, Sal Galleta, Ray Strysin, William Davis, Ephraim Cross, Charles Castleman, Paul Shapiro, Barbara Epstein, Jan Steenblik, Jeff Ellis, Terry McClintock, David Joel Shapiro, Shelley Blumberg, Audrey Jacobson, Leon Renmark, Louis D. Race, John A. Best, Elizabeth Paehle.



Felix McGowan

Steve Richman, Michael Dia-mond, D. Weingarten, Deirdre Franke, Joan Sprineon, Gerald W. Heil, Jr., Eric Winston, Steven Moskowitz, Robert Maso, Susan Ribner, Alan Leigenberg, Gloria Leitner, Robert Osman, Max Fra-ser, Ronald P. Fields, James Polk, Alison Fleming, Jeffrey Kaplow, Prof. Vernon Dibble, Prof. Robert Paul Wolff.

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CALL SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS, 873 BROADWAY. PHONE 982-6051.

City College Campus Ad

The following advertisement ap- peared in the Nov. 3 issue of the City College of New York paper, The Campus.

VOTE FOR PEACE IN VIET- NAM — JUDY WHITE FOR GOVERNOR. We, the under- signed, while not necessarily agreeing with the other planks in their platforms, urge a vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party as a means of pro- testing the war in Vietnam.

Martin Amster, David Ascher, Iris Benler, Marion Bloch, Fergus M. Bordewich, Marty Braff, Nick Brienza, Mark Brody, Steve Dash, Sarah Doolittle, Russ DuPree, Ar- thur Ellenbogen, Diane Fialkow, Charlotte Fischer, Maurizio Fra- caloni, James Franklin, Andy Gates, Robert Glasser.

Nancy Gould, Ruth Hess, Susan Hochberg, Michael Jackson, Jeff Jones, Evelyn Kahn, Harvey Kas- don, Pete Kaufhold, Michael Kin- sler, Lois Klotz, William Korn, Jack Kozaki, Frank Kuehnrich.

Marc Lampell, Laurence Levine, Eric Mauer, Dennis Mayer, Alvin A. Mayer, Paul Milkman, Vivian Nicholson, Mike Norton, Dan Paige, Alan Pakalus, A. Pertila.

Dina Potocki, Roberta Recht, Howard Reid, Wendy Reissner, John Riley, David Rosner, Larry Rothfeder, Reborah Rothman, Gil- bert K. Ruff.

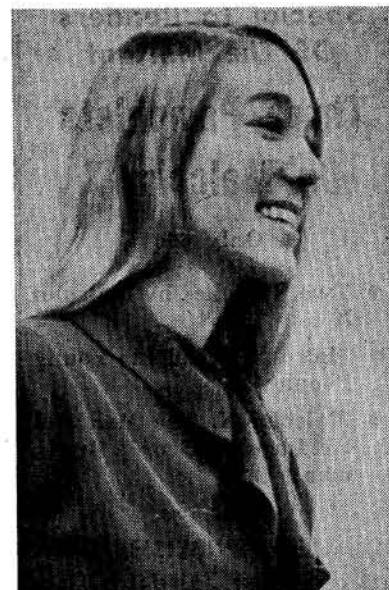
Carlos Santa-Coloma, Jonny Saul, Ivan Schmukler, Allen Stone, Artie Traum, John A. Vas- quez, Steven Weintraub, Lenore Weiss, Percy Yates, Susan Zeiger, Louis Swiren.

Faculty: Arthur Bierman, Irwin Fineberg.

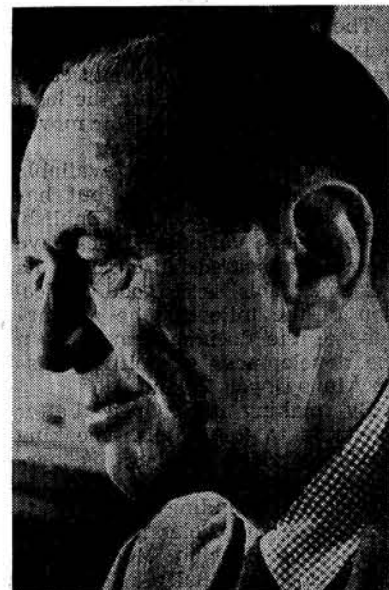
Other Schools: Ira Perelson, Brooklyn College; John M. Brati- na, Columbia University; John Cerve; David Group, Columbia; John Miller, Columbia; James R. Newton, Columbia; Michael Au- cott, Haverford College; Raymond C. Howard, Haverford; Gregory Shifrin, Hunter College; H. Gottes- man, The New School for Social Research.

Joe R. Knock, New York Uni- versity; Wilfred Lyon, Rutgers; Neal Frumkin, Stony Brook; James A. Fischer, Stony Brook; Daniel Hwang, Stony Brook; Judy Skolnick, Stony Brook; Marvin Berg, Swarthmore; Marilyn Holl- field, Swarthmore; Marnie Ryan, Vassar; Crystal Clark.

Joel Cohen, Leon Day, Pat Knock, Kevin Franklin, Doris Fredericks, Esther Fredericks, Beth Ingber, Toby Jo Platt, Susan Schwartz, Amy Winter, Norman D. Lipton.



Linda Dannenberg



Maxwell Geismar



Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein

... Protests Against Vietnam War World Outlook Features Two Soviet Documents

(Continued from Page 1)
opened off-Broadway production, Viet Rock.

Three leaflets were distributed in quantities that total close to the half-million mark. One is a general educational leaflet about why the GIs want to come home and why the war should be opposed. A second, entitled, "Do GIs Have a Right to Know?" tells of plans for escalation of the war, cites why GIs want to come home, gives figures on mass desertions from the Saigon forces and gives the facts on the Fort Hood Three case. The third leaflet, distributed at the polls, declares, "No Matter Who You Vote for Today, the War Will Still Go On." It warns of a post-election escalation and urges action to prevent it.

A city-wide teach-in, scheduled for Monday night at Hunter College Auditorium, had to be postponed and will be held on Monday evening, Nov. 14. Conor Cruise O'Brien will be chairman.

An interesting note on the press coverage of the antiwar movement was provided by the New York Times. In its first edition, the account of the Saturday demonstration reported 25,000 participants. In the later editions, the figure was changed to 10,000, with the news index still listing it as 25,000. The report itself was filled with scarcely-concealed bias against the demonstrators.

By Eric Reinthaler

CLEVELAND, Nov. 5 — A standing-room-only crowd of nearly 1,000 packed the ballroom of Cleveland's Manger Hotel at the major public rally in this city during the Nov. 5-8 Mobilization for Peace in Vietnam. After the indoor meeting, the protesters against the war paraded to Superior Avenue, down Superior Avenue to the Public Square and then to the Peace Fountain on the Mall. Cold rain and snow all day Saturday failed to prevent the largest public demonstration against the war that has taken place to date in Cleveland.

The parade was led by Rev. Gregg Taylor of the University Christian Movement; Prof. Marshall Windmiller of San Francisco



Photo by John Cloud

LEAD CLEVELAND PROTEST MARCH. Heading march that followed Cleveland antiwar rally are (left to right) Rev. Gregg Taylor; Prof. Marshall Windmiller; Lincoln Lynch; unidentified newsman talking to Darwin Johnson; and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

State College; Lincoln Lynch, Associate National Director of CORE; Darwin Johnson, brother of James Johnson of the Fort Hood Three; Dr. Benjamin Spock, world-famous pediatrician; and John McCann, Action Chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

At the conclusion of the parade at the Peace Fountain, Darwin Johnson read a moving letter from his brother, James, and the parade participants were called on to assist in the distribution of thousands of folders on the Fort Hood Three and other antiwar materials in community distribution mobilizations on Sunday and Monday. The almost continuous chant of the protesters on their parade route was "End the War in Vietnam; Bring the Troops Home."

Saturday night, the Western Reserve University Committee to End the War in Vietnam and Cleveland Friends of SNCC sponsored an antiwar "Hoot" at which the October Theatre presented an antiwar satire, "Candide."

At noon on Monday, students, staff and faculty of the School of Medicine — University Hospitals and University Circle Medical complex will gather in front of the Art Museum Lagoon on University Circle to protest the wan-

ton and brutal destruction of human life in the tragic war in Vietnam. Also on Monday, associates of the University Circle Teach-in Committee, whose coordinator is Dr. Sidney Peck, plan extensive community distributions and sale of antiwar literature.

The major Cleveland events were sponsored by the Cleveland Area County for Peace in Vietnam. The Council, an ad hoc committee, is made up of over 50 Cleveland area individuals among whom are included Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen, trade unionists, activists in the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam, CEWVs from Western Reserve University, Cuyahoga Community College, Kent State University, Cleveland State University, Baldwin-Wallace College, University Circle Teach-in Committee, CORE, SANE, Young Socialist Alliance, DuBois Clubs, American Friends Service Committee, Socialist Workers Party, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, Friends of SNCC and University Christian Movement. In addition, the National Student Association at Oberlin College supported the event and bussed in nearly 300 students for the Saturday rally and demonstration.

National Guardian Holds Celebration

NEW YORK — A thousand supporters of the progressive weekly, the *National Guardian*, gathered at a banquet at the Hotel Americana, Nov. 4, to celebrate the paper's 18th birthday.

The after-dinner program, presided over by *Guardian* editor James Aronson, heard these speakers: Jane Adams of Students for a Democratic Society; Dr. Charles Hamilton, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Lincoln University; Millard Lampell, script writer; Grace Mora Newman of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee; A. J. Muste, chairman of the November 8 Mobilization; Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of CORE; and Arthur Kinoy, noted civil liberties attorney.

In addition, there was a filmed address by Wilfred Burchett, the *Guardian's* Vietnam correspondent.

In response to an appeal by Carl Braden, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the gathering contributed generously to help defray the *Guardian's* operating deficit.

Watts and Harlem

By Robert Vernon
And George Novack

15 cents

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

Dellinger's Message from Hanoi

[The following is the text of telegram from Dave Dellinger in Hanoi that was read at the Nov. 5 antiwar rally in New York.]

Arrived Hanoi, Oct. 28. Many useful discussions, including agreement on importance of further visits. Inner city small; relatively undamaged. Island austere, but friendly. No signs black market, beggars, brothels and barbed-wire defenses against hostile population which I saw in occupied Saigon last month.

Most children and factories dispersed. Yesterday, visited small nearby Catholic village of Phuxa, where 32 were killed Aug. 13 in raid — 3 American planes. Forty houses and church destroyed.

Interviewed wounded and relatives of victims. Clearly non-military target. Isolated primitive agricultural village. Saw fragmentation bombs; no military purpose except to destroy human life.

During visit, American planes passed overhead on new raids on other villages. Vietnamese people make clear distinction between American people and barbarous governmental policy. Frequently express humanitarian concern for young Americans who, misinformed, conscripted and sent to die.

Hope Americans justify distinction by repudiating government in mammoth demonstrations Nov. 5 and 6, and whatever continuing action necessary to force government to end the bombing, withdraw troops and recognize Vietnamese independence.

Also hope that more soldiers and draft-age youth will refuse to commit war crimes in courageous manner of Johnson, Mora, Samas, Morgan, Rodd, Kiger and others. Leave tonight; extensive travel outside Hanoi; observe effects of American bombing and attitude of population.

The Nov. 11 issue of *World Outlook* contains two articles of unusual interest.

The first is the minutes of a recent discussion between Soviet historians and members of the Soviet Army General Staff on a book dealing with Stalin's course at the beginning of World War II.

The criticisms go very far. All of the participants agreed that Stalin's policies were extremely damaging to Soviet defenses, one of them even declaring that Stalin should have been shot.

While no direct criticisms were levelled at the present regime, it was telling that a complaint was registered during the session over the fact that access to key documents dealing with this crucial period is still denied to Soviet historians.

The discussion speaks volumes about the pressures existing in the Soviet Union to reveal the full truth about the terrible cost to the country of the dictator's rule and to complete the process of "de-Stalinization."

The minutes have not been published in the USSR. They were printed for the first time in *La Sinistra* (the Left), a new socialist magazine in Rome. *World Outlook* has translated the document from this source and made it available for the first time to the English-speaking world.

The other article is a "historical study" attacking Trotskyism which was published in Moscow in the magazine, *Problems of the History of the CPSU*. The author, N.P. Mikeshin, seeks to provide a new angle in meeting the political threat to the Soviet bureaucracy offered by the Trotskyists program of workers' democracy. Mikeshin

Polish 'Open Letter' Is Published Here

NEW YORK — Merit Publishers announced that it has scheduled early publication of the "Open Letter" written by Jacke Kuron and Karol Modzelewski to members of the Communist movement in Poland.

The document is of unusual importance as a programmatic declaration of a revolutionary socialist political opposition to the Gomułka regime. While defending all the revolutionary gains that have been made, Kuron and Modzelewski, two young members of the Communist movement, advocated the establishment of proletarian democracy.

Expelled from the party for expressing such heretical views, they wrote the Open Letter to explain their position.

The result was further persecution. The two were hauled up in court in July, 1965. Modzelewski was sentenced to three and a half years in prison, Kuron to three years.

The case was an international sensation and expressions of support for the two defendants came from many countries, not the least being sectors of the antiwar movement in the United States.

The Open Letter is available in a French translation, but has not yet appeared in English. Nevertheless, various articles have already appeared discussing its contents. This is a good indication of the malleability the appearance of the document marked in the development of political history in postwar Poland.

By making the Open Letter available to the English-speaking world, Merit Publishers is performing a service in helping to widen understanding of the political scene in Poland. Accurate knowledge of what Modzelewski and Kuron actually stood for should also help in winning their freedom.



Stalin

does not say a single word about the frame-up charges cooked up by Stalin in the notorious Moscow Trials of the thirties. Instead he offers what purports to be an objective, well-documented approach.

The author is concerned about the rising interest in Trotsky and his ideas. But this, he argues, is a product of imperialist designs against the Soviet Union. One of his main targets is the biography of Trotsky written by Isaac Deutscher.

Trotskyist Movement

He ends his article by taking up the present status of the world Trotskyist movement. Basing himself on the antics and absurdities of two small split-offs, one in Uruguay and the other in England, he argues that such things "testify to the definitive collapse of Trotskyism — both ideologically and organizationally."

The translator of the article, George Saunders, has supplied a number of critical notes on the issues raised by Mikeshin. By simply setting the record straight, these notes constitute a crushing reply to the lies and falsifications in Mikeshin's pretentious "historical" article.

The notes provided by Saunders are well worth reading in and of themselves. They offer an educational lesson on how shattering the truth is to the Stalinist version of history.

In addition, *World Outlook* has included an article by Joseph Hansen on the political meaning of Mikeshin's article.

Socialists and freedom fighters in general will find this special number of *World Outlook* absorbing, in view of the many problems of revolutionary theory and action that are considered.

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Letters From Our Readers

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

N. Carolina SNCC Appeal

Weldon, N.C.

We are writing to you — friends of the struggle for human dignity who have given generously of your time and energy to make real the hollow declarations of freedom and equality for black people in this country.

My sister and I have been working in Halifax County, North Carolina, for the past several months — assisting the black people of the county in a wide variety of endeavors: political action, school integration, fair employment, equal justice.

Efforts to organize black people for political action in Halifax County, and for the attainment of human rights in general, have in the past been met by highly-organized police and vigilante repression. As the campaigns for freedom have continued, the power structure of Halifax County — composed of large plantation owners and lumber and textile-mill interests — has, grudgingly and bitterly, given some ground. The resistance to constructive social change in the county has become somewhat more covert and, in many ways, more difficult with which to deal.

But the resistance is still there. The Klan, the Citizens' Council and the John Birch Society are still in Halifax County. And there is a long rough road ahead. But the black people at the grass roots are continuing their struggle for a full measure of food and a full measure of liberty.

We are unsalaried civil-rights workers. For the past two months, we have been without a car. We live with a family of 11 and have received food and very small amounts of subsistence money from people in the community. We need many things to continue our work: mimeograph paper and stencils, a telephone, gasoline for the local people who carry us around the county, leaflets, a typewriter. The people who have housed and fed us for these many months cannot afford to provide us with this equipment.

We will not be able to continue our work in Halifax County without the aid of people who care about changing this society so that every person — a sharecropper in Tillery, a domestic worker in Roanoke Rapids or a lumber worker in Enfield — can live a decent and productive life with dignity and without fear of physical and economic reprisals.

We ask, simply and desperately, for financial assistance. Even a dollar bill will mean a great deal indeed to us. All contributions will be acknowledged by return mail. They may be sent to:

Project & Finance Office, North

Carolina SNCC, Post Office Box 461, Weldon, N. C.

We thank you,

Julanne and Jan Tyler

War Crimes Tribunal

London, England

A number of misconceptions have arisen concerning the international War Crimes Tribunal on Vietnam. As some of these have found their way into the world's press, I believe it will be useful to state the situation authoritatively:

1. The French Government has made no overture of any kind indicating any disapproval whatever concerning the choice of Paris as the venue for the public sessions of the international War Crimes Tribunal next March. On the contrary, Lord Russell received a letter very recently from the French Presidential office expressing appreciation for Lord Russell's remarks on the President's speech in Phnom Penh.

The American press continues to speculate about official French disapproval, despite the fact that the French government is on record for refusing to ban the Tribunal, stating that it could only act in the event of violation of French law. It is misleading to interpret these words as hostile to the Tribunal.

2. So far, from the report attributed to Vladimir Dedijar, that the Tribunal would be held in Sweden, going uncontradicted, Dedijar himself issued a denial that these words were his or that this was true. The denial was published widely and distributed by Tansung, the Yugoslav Press Agency.

3. The constituting sessions of the Tribunal were always planned for a place other than the formal hearings involving witnesses, and these sessions will take place in London in the very near future.

It is a pity that there should be such confusion about the Tribunal's plans, but we must disclaim responsibility for inaccurate and speculative stories published in the American press before checking with us, and then picked up by the European press with an equal lack of confirmation. I very much hope that the welcome interest of the press in the War Crimes Tribunal will express itself more judiciously, so that the public may be correctly informed.

Geoffrey Coggan
Press Officer
International War Crimes Tribunal

Hits Fire-Bombing

New York, N.Y.

The dastardly fire-bombing of the SWP headquarters is a further indication that our society is not well.

It is therefore my hope that this bombing will not discourage the SWP, but that it will further the resolve of the SWP to build a healthier society.

It is with pleasure that I enclose a contribution for this purpose.

Maurice Goldman

A Protest

New York, N.Y.

I protest! As an Afro-American mother of three little boys, I am absolutely outraged at the great American society.

After dehumanizing us for the last two hundred years, they still have the unmitigated gall to expect us to blissfully fight and and further their demented chauvinistic illusions (and delusions) of maintaining their precious white world.

The whole thing is so absolutely absurd! American colored fighting Asiatic colored to perpetuate the (white) God-given privileges of the chosen people, the Caucasian race.

I wonder how the Japanese felt when he was confronted by an American Negro soldier! I wonder how the Dominican guerrillas felt when they were confronted by the Afro-American soldier! I wonder how the Korean soldier felt when he was confronted by the American Negro soldier! I wonder how the Viet Cong feels when he is confronted by the Negro GI!

A Reader

A Spreader

San Francisco, Calif.

Under prevailing circumstances I am — in an attempt to spread it, albeit thinly — sending you five of my dollars, three of which are for renewal for *The Militant*, and two for support of our SWP candidates. Thanks.

Thought for the Week

"Today, half the people in the world are ill-fed. Half the world's children of pre-school age are so undernourished that their physical and mental growth is retarded, and mortality among these children in the underdeveloped countries is 60 times as great as in more advanced nations." — The Nov. 6. *New York Times*.

I am really happy that at long last we have write-in candidates here on the Pacific Coast. The war drums are booming, but hope is ever alive that a wee small voice may reach, be it ever so few, they who are really interested in expressing, again, a wee bit of democracy into this MESS.

A.A.

The Manila Conference

Minneapolis, Minn.

The result of the Manila conference is a peace proposal by the seven-nation committee led by the U.S. to north Vietnam.

This peace proposal is an offer to pull out all troops six months after the north Vietnamese begin to withdraw. We also promised continued "military and all other efforts" to make sure south Vietnam wouldn't "be conquered by aggressive force." South Vietnam subscribed to the withdrawal offer, but insisted on "international guarantee."

The *Wall Street Journal* of Oct. 21, before the peace proposal, said the purpose of the conference is to persuade the countries partic-

ipating at the conference to furnish troops to fight in Vietnam. This would be the beginning of an international military force for Vietnam duty that eventually would permit the extraction of most U.S. forces from combat there.

What these troops will do is patrol the border between north and south Vietnam. This is to prevent the flow of north Vietnam troops to the south.

The *Journal* says that this type of patrol barrier has been studied at various times at the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department.

How long does it have to be to stop infiltration? Should it run westward into Laos, to cut off the paths and roads that make up the Ho Chi Minh Trail funneling supplies into south Vietnam? Or south, down along the Laotian border with south Vietnam? Would its construction be worth the cost?

The U.S. has unsuccessfully tried to stop the flow of troops from the north and my guess is that the government will continue at any cost.

F. Adrian Luoma

It Was Reported in the Press

Reverse Play — U.S. officials have complained that so many people abroad are opposed to the U.S. role in Vietnam because their governments permit them to be exposed to propaganda from north Vietnam and the like. Now, U.S. officials are upset about the wide popular opposition in Sweden to what the U.S. is doing in Vietnam. It goes beyond the traditional left-wing circles, they say, with the general public viewing the U.S. as the oppressor in Vietnam. They say this is due to their seeing too many U.S. television films of bombing and napalming in Vietnam.

The Guarantor — David Rockefeller, Latin America's friend at Chase Manhattan, says Latin America must guarantee private investment if it wants to prosper. We always thought LBJ and his Marines were the guarantor.

Xmas in America — The *Wall Street Journal* reports: "A New York concern offers a \$500 gift certificate redeemable in 'anti-bugging' devices against electronic eavesdroppers hidden in offices."

Note to New Yorkers — If you're tired of getting hit with whopping Con Edison bills and don't mind living in Manhattan, you can get gas and electric free by renting the penthouse at the Carlton Regency. They'll probably paint, too. \$2,000 a month.

Bird Watchers — A teacher in Riverdale, N.Y., asked her elementary school class to name the national bird. A child answered, "Mrs. Johnson."

In Pioneering America — Indoor fishing is invading the great outdoors. Resort owners on several Oklahoma lakes offer enclosed docks, air-conditioned in the summer and heated in the winter for comfort-loving anglers. They fish through holes in the floor.

Drop Dead Box — The south Vietnamese press announced that the Saigon chief of police has installed a suggestion box at the Post Office so citizens can "foil dark schemes from subversive

elements." Only the chief will be permitted to read the suggestions.

Stewing in Own Juice — The Florida Board of Health is taking court action to stop pollution of the state's lakes and streams by the citrus industry. An injunction is being sought against one combine that pumps huge amounts of citrus waste into Lake Opaka. Ten years ago, the lake was crystal clear and a favorite fishing area. Today light will penetrate no more than a foot and the surface is blanketed with a thick "bloom" of microscopic organisms. Virtually all fish life is gone.

More Evidence — It may possibly bolster the neurotic suspicions of those who think this column is waging a campaign against cigarettes, but we wish to report that radioactive fallout on tobacco leaves has been added to the list of possible causes of lung cancer. University of Wisconsin researchers report that tobacco ex-

posed to rain contains at least a hundred times as much radioactive polonium-210 as leaves protected from rain.

Clear As Mink — Boris Salomon, president of the Fur Trader's Association of Paris, says his shop will be offering "coats made of fur rather than fur coats." He asks: "Understand the difference?"

Florida Victory — The Florida Socialist Union has won campus recognition at the University of Florida in Gainesville. When the group first applied as the University of Florida Socialist Union, they were told they might not be recognized because the name might lead people to think it was a spokesman for administration policy. Another official said it probably wouldn't be recognized because its aims didn't coincide with those of the administration. Anyway, the Socialist Union won.

—Harry Ring

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U. S. Escalation Plans Revealed by Pentagon

Three days before the elections, standing beside Lyndon Johnson who was resting up in his Texas ranch (Johnson City, Texas) for a new round of operations, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara announced that U.S. troop commitment to Vietnam would grow at a slower rate in 1967 than it had this year, and tried to imply that there would be no escalation.

It was an unusual announcement in one respect: There was nothing in the papers the same day that directly contradicted it. There usually is. That was the case, you remember, when Johnson talked about stopping the bombing of north Vietnam last month on the same day McNamara announced a 30 percent increase in Pentagon orders for bombers (see *The Militant*, Oct. 3).

This time, you had to look back two whole days in the *New York Times* to see what Washington was actually up to. It was contained in a report from Washington by William Beecher, Nov. 4: According to Beecher, "[Pentagon] planners are drafting blueprints for an intensification of the bombing of north Vietnam.

"The Pentagon expects an affirmative decision by the President for a step-up." The Pentagon even specified what the targets will be: "The focus of the new assault, it was reported, would be railroad junctions and freight yards, power plants and defense factories, particularly in the vicinity of Hanoi."

That was the day after Johnson got back from his Far East "peace tour." While he was still there, there was another important step in the deadly escalation of the U.S. attack on Vietnam. U.S. Navy ships shelled the north Vietnamese coast for the first time, Nov. 2. The same day, the U.S. flew one of its heaviest bombing attacks on the north in the course of the war.

Johnson and his Asian puppets were cooking up a drastic new escalation of the war in the Manila



McNamara

summit meeting, and everyone in the world knows it. Even the American press was virtually unanimous in discounting Johnson's "peace" gestures. The *New York Times* editorialized Nov. 3: "The prospects are for a long and escalated war."

A courageous answer to the Manila tour came Nov. 2 in a joint appeal from the governments of Cuba and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea to all the workers states to send "an international force" to aid the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the south Vietnamese freedom fighters.

The two countries said they were ready to send volunteers to fight in Vietnam as soon as the Vietnamese people gave the word. They stressed the need to strengthen the "unity of the Communist world on the basis of the independence of the different parties."

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress."—Frederick Douglass.

Fort Hood Three Conviction Is Upheld by Army General

NOV. 8 — Yesterday afternoon, Lt. General William Train, commanding officer of the U.S. First Army, affirmed the convictions and sentences of the Fort Hood Three. This morning at 8 a.m., the three heroic antiwar fighters were transferred to Fort Leavenworth Prison. Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas will serve five years at hard labor there. Pvt. Dennis Mora will serve three years.

It had been hoped that since they had all been convicted of the same thing, that the reviewing officer would at the very least reduce Johnson's and Samas' terms to the three years given Mora. Stanley Faulkner, attorney for the three GIs, said today that there will be "a vigorous appeal" to the Army Board of Military Review in Washington for complete reversal of the convictions.

The three servicemen had been illegally arrested by the Army after they told a news conference last June that they would seek a court injunction against being sent to fight in "an illegal, immoral and unjust war" being waged by the U.S. in Vietnam.

After their arrest, while their civil-court action (which is still in the appeal stage) was pending, they were ordered aboard a special plane for Vietnam. When they refused to board the plane they were immediately arrested. It was made clear that the Pentagon itself was determined to make an example for the many other servicemen who want no part of this war.

After their conviction, the three were held at Fort Meade, Md., where they were subjected to the most cruel punishment. They were forced to stand from morning until night in their cells and were deprived of exercise and reading matter.



Photo by Finer

DEMAND FREEDOM FOR FORT HOOD THREE. New York youth groups picketed New York Selective Service Board Nov. 4 demanding freedom for Fort Hood Three. About 150 were on line. Seventeen staged sit-in at board and were arrested. They were freed on bail. Sponsoring organizations included the W.E.B. Du-Bois Clubs, Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, and other student and antiwar groups.

They were held in solitary confinement for various periods. When public protest would build up, they would be assigned to quarters with other prisoners. Then, later, they would be put back in solitary. One of the young men said he had been told by the officer in charge of the stockade that they would get this treatment as long as publicity about the case continued.

If the appeal to the Board of Military Review is not successful, the case will be carried to the

Military Court of Appeals, a three-man panel of federal, civilian judges. If that is unsuccessful, Mr. Faulkner will attempt to get the case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The three young men made their decision to refuse to go to Vietnam not simply as a matter of individual conscience, but because they were convinced that the U.S. war should not be supported. They were determined to influence the thinking of other GIs by their stand.

Housewives Take on Food Monopolies

By Ed Smith

One important accomplishment that housewives have already made in their national campaign against supermarket food chains is to put the food industry on the defensive. All over the country, everyone in the chain of control, from supermarket managers to top food executives, is appearing on radio and TV stations to explain why "it isn't my fault."

The leading supermarket-monopoly spokesman appears to be Clarence G. Adamy, president of the National Association of Food Chains. "No matter how much the housewife protests," Adamy recently told the *New York World Journal Tribune*, "food prices will continue their upward spiral in the coming months."

Adamy based this arrogant assertion on two arguments. For one thing, he claims, food stores have little control over food prices, alleging that they are really determined on the farms. And for another thing, according to Adamy, supermarkets work on such a small profit margin that they really can't afford to lower prices even one or two cents on the dollar because that will wipe all their income.

"There is no room for retail price reductions," Adamy told a Washington meeting Oct. 31, "because food chains, on the average, earn only 1.3 cents profit on each dollar of sales." These two argu-

ments have become the hard core of the supermarkets' answer to the picketing housewives.

As fantastic as they may sound at first hearing, they should still be answered, because an effective reply on the part of the housewives' committees will put the food chains in an even weaker position. The first and most obvious answer to both supermarket arguments is "if that's so, prove it." "Open the food corporation books and show us your facts and figures."

Open Books

According to their first line of argument, the corporations should be able to show the prices paid to farmers, to distributors, to all the middlemen they claim exist and then the final prices they pay—and the final prices they charge. The fact that the corporations haven't already done this casts doubt on the validity of their arguments and it's easy to guess why.

Many food companies own the food from the ground all the way up to the retail counter. They own or lease the farms on which it is grown, they manage the collection, packaging, freighting and every other intermediate stage. This is particularly true in the frozen foods industry. They are the growers, wholesalers and retailers all in one. Where they do happen to buy from small farmers, an examination of their books would show that they gouge the

farmers just like they do the urban consumers.

There is another important fact that opening the books would uncover, namely the price differences between different areas. It is well known that food prices in big city slums are higher than in the rest of the city. That fact was admitted by a Labor Dept. study reported in the Nov. 5 *New York Times*:

"The poor paid more for food... Prices are higher, meats and vegetables are less fresh and conditions of cleanliness are worse in small neighborhood food stores."

Knowledge of price differentiation is particularly important to the housewives' committees at this time because it may be one of the ways supermarkets will fight the boycott movement. If they lower prices in one area, they will raise them in another.

Opening the books would also clearly answer the food corporations' second line of argument, namely that their profits are only about one percent. Even without looking at the books, we can be absolutely certain that this argument is totally phony. If capitalists only made one percent on their profits in the food industry, the simple fact of the matter is they wouldn't invest in it.

The profit rate on investment throughout the country is over ten percent, and the whole food industry would collapse tomorrow

if it didn't promise financiers close to that amount of profit. And, of course, the food industry does make that amount of profit. According to the *Quarterly Financial Report for Manufacturing Corporations* published by the Federal Trade Commission, the food industry averaged exactly a 10 percent annual profit rate in the first quarter of 1966.

Profit Distortion

Adamy's 1.3 per cent figure appears to be as contrived as Johnson's "wage-price guideline." What it probably refers to is the average profit on each sale, which is not the same thing as the average annual profit. Even so, it is a preposterous claim. It is obviously not based on the original cost of the product to the food chain, which in many cases would go right back to the cost of planting the seeds; but it is based on some phony wholesale price at which the corporation has — sold the product to itself.

Opening the books would be an important gain for trade unions as well as the housewives' committees. Corporations and the government use the same kinds of hoaxes when they are arguing against wage increases that they use in their defense against the housewives' committees. Furthermore, trade unions have additional good reasons why they should be supporting the food-price battle across the country.

One of the things which could grow out of the housewives' movement is committees to police prices. Such committees are needed because of the distortions which occur in government-fixed consumer price indices. Instead of basing the consumer price index on the goods which most families actually need and on the actual prices which they pay, the government price index is based on an arbitrary selection of goods, and prices are determined through a survey of manufacturers.

Consumer-price committees would be a valuable aid to the trade-union movement in its struggle for escalator clauses. They would provide a legitimate method of cost-of-living calculation on an accurate basis. Furthermore, trade unions could better provide both the funds and personnel needed to build such committees; and the addition of the trade-unions to the boycott movement would help to nationalize it in scope.

Clarence Adamy's contention that food prices will keep going up no matter what housewives do is just plain capitalist arrogance. Housewives can make the going plenty tough for food chains by themselves. Armed with the demands for open books, consumer-price committees and aided by the trade unions, they would provide an effective counter attack on the whole profit system.