

# Poll Shows Only 49% Now Give Support to Johnson on Viet War



**NO JOKE.** Some people thought maybe it was a joke when the cold warriors at New York's Freedom House gave their annual "freedom award" to Lyndon Johnson. But 5,000 New Yorkers turned out to protest this grim joke and to demand a halt to Johnson's life- and-liberty-destroying Vietnam war.

By Dick Roberts

MARCH 1 — In the last six weeks, national support for President Johnson's handling of the Vietnam war has dropped sharply from 63 to 49 percent, according to the results of a Louis Harris poll published in today's *New York Post*. This decline comes precisely at a time when the Democratic administration is speeding full-scale ahead with plans to turn the Vietnamese battlefield into a bloody slaughter-ground of the main forces of the National Liberation Front and the masses of peasants who support it.

According to a highly informative article by *New York Times* reporter Seymour Topping, written from Saigon Feb. 25, U. S. military forces in Vietnam are already carrying out the plans of escalation which many Americans still think ought to be debated, and which most Americans think still are being debated. But unnamed "senior United States officials" told Topping, "We have at last defined our problem and we have the go-ahead on a program."

"The officials estimate," according to Topping, "that the war will last from three to seven years."

"Under the new plans," Topping continues, "the level of offensive operations is to be raised as the support capability of United States forces is expanded through the improvement of port facilities at Saigon and other harbors extending north to Danang. Additional troops are to be brought to Vietnam so that the military commanders will have sufficient forces to strike hard at Vietcong base areas.

"Air strikes at communication lines in North Vietnam and infiltration routes through Laos are to be continued. United States troops will be permitted to enter Cambodia . . ."

"During periods of maximum combat effort," Topping reveals, "it is expected that American casualties each month will average about 400 to 500 dead and about 1,500 wounded." (Emphasis added) Six months fighting at this heightened level, these figures reveal, would bring more combat deaths than in the entire course of the war thus far.

But not only has all pretense at a "middle road" military effort in Vietnam been dropped according to these sources—so has any effort towards a negotiated settlement of the conflict:

"At no stage in the political and military program," Topping states, "do American or Vietnamese officials in Saigon foresee an opening of negotiations with the Vietcong toward a peace settlement. The more optimistic of them predict that Hanoi, confronted by a military campaign and a successful pacification program, will halt the infiltration to the south and that the Vietcong will gradually disperse in four to five years."

At this point in the article, Topping alludes to what is apparently an "inside joke," made either by President Johnson himself, or one of his close associates. Whatever the source, it betrays the sickening racist mentality of the architects of this war of atrocities: "Even the most optimistic officials," Topping comments, "are uneasy about returning to Honolulu next June to meet President Johnson's demand for a demonstration of how many coonskins have been nailed to the wall." (Emphasis added.)

This use of KKK parlance for "shooting Negroes" in the highest echelon of U.S. ruling power needs no explanation. From justifying its lynch mobs in the American South to its napalm bombs and noxious gases in south Vietnam, the fundamental ideology of the

American ruling class is racist to the very marrow of its bones.

The reasons why the Johnson administration has determined on the murderous course that Seymour Topping describes, were clearly stated by *New York Times* military specialist Hanson W. Baldwin in a highly significant article in the Feb. 27 *Times* magazine section entitled "The Case for Escalation."

There are three choices confronting Washington in Vietnam at the present point, Baldwin states, and two of them should be rejected. The first course is the Gavin-Ridgway proposal, support-

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## MARCH 25-26 PROTESTS

# Antiwar Group Urges Big Turnout

The following call in support of the International Days of Protest, March 25-26, against the war in Vietnam, has been issued by the Supporters of the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter.

The Newsletter has been established by members of local independent anti-Vietnam-war committees across the country who are for the formation of a national organization of independent committees based on the demand of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

On March 25-26, there will be demonstrations against the war in cities across the nation and in many other countries. For more information, write: The Newsletter, P.O. Box 317, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

For twenty-five years the people of Vietnam have fought for their independence against foreign

# THE MILITANT

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# Confession Rocks Malcolm X Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, March 1 — The prosecution's case against two of the three men accused of assassinating Malcolm X was severely shaken Feb. 28 when Talmadge Hayer (also known as Thomas Hagan), the only defendant to have been caught at the scene of the crime, confessed. Hayer not only exonerated Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson, but he described how the crime was committed and in doing so threw grave doubt on the testimony of most of the prosecution's eyewitnesses.

Vincent Dermody, the assistant district attorney in charge of the case, tried to show that Hayer was lying to save the other two defendants.

Hayer said he had come forward to testify as a witness for the defense and to confess because he wanted the truth to be known: that Butler and Johnson did not have anything to do with the crime. He had not come forward sooner because he didn't want to confess and had waited until it was clear he needed to in order to prevent the conviction of the two innocent men.

Hayer maintained that he was not and had never been a member of Elijah Muhammad's followers—nor were his accomplices, to his knowledge. None of them had any personal motive for killing Malcolm X, but they had been hired to carry out the assassination. He refused to say how much money he had been offered. He said that the man who hired him was not a Muslim either.

Hayer refused to identify his accomplices or the one who hired them. He did drop one hint about who the latter was. In response to a question by Dermody about the identity of the man who offered him money, he said it probably would have been revealed if Williams had been successful in "continuing his interrogation." Williams is one of Butler's lawyers who has cross-examined only a

few of the prosecution witnesses. Dermody asked no questions to try to find out from whom Williams could have gotten this information.

Hayer's description of how the assassination took place is much more credible than the story the prosecution said it would prove. It contradicts the prosecution's version in ways from which neither Hayer nor the other defendants benefit, and in ways which make

NEW YORK — Herman Porter will give a firsthand account of the Malcolm X murder trial at a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum at 873 Broadway on Friday evening, March 11.

much more sense than the prosecution's version. When Dermody asked Hayer if the witnesses told the truth about him, he responded at one point: "It's quite impossible for the crime to have been committed the way they said it had." (See the article on the case in the Feb. 14 *Militant* for some of the reasons the prosecution's story is dubious.)

Hayer said that only one man, not two, had been involved in a diversion just before the shooting, and that it had not been himself, as the prosecution alleged. He and another accomplice had taken seats together in the front row on the left side of the auditorium. A man with a shotgun sat in the fourth row. Hayer admitted he had come armed with a .45 caliber automatic and had shot about four times at the prone body of Malcolm X, after Malcolm had been felled by the shotgun blast. His companion had fired at Malcolm with a Luger.

Hayer testified he knew the man with the shotgun for about

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powers — against Japan, France, and the United States. They are fighting for the right to run their own country, the same right that the American people fought for in 1776. But today the United States government stands in opposition to the vast majority of the Vietnamese people, and to the very same principles upon which our own country was founded.

President Johnson has landed 200,000 American men on Vietnamese soil in order to "settle" the affairs of the Vietnamese, and his perspective is to double that number by the end of the year. The U.S. troops, however, do not bring "freedom and democracy" to Vietnam. On the contrary they are engaged in a horrible campaign of destruction against the Vietnamese people and their country.

Daily bombing raids are conducted against both south and

north Vietnam and they often spill over into Cambodia and Laos as well. Over 700,000 refugees have been left homeless by this destruction.

President Johnson approves the use of the most horrible weapons of warfare — the indiscriminate napalm bombing of the civilian population, the torture of men, women, and children, the employment of gas and other chemicals, and the adoption of a "scorched earth" policy. A recent AP dispatch headlined "Yanks Scorch Earth to Cripple Viet Foe" (*Boston Globe*, Jan. 6, 1966) reported that U.S. paratroopers from the 173rd Airborne Brigade "crept stealthily down high dikes, and pushed through thick brush. Every house they encountered they burned to the ground. Most were of thatch but some were large with heavy wooden frames

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# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The Federal Government's 3.2 percent wage guidelines "are tougher than those used during the Korean war period," according to UAW Vice-President Leonard Woodstock. Profits, however, are "unguided" Woodstock told union delegates to a recent United Auto Workers General Motors Conference.

"In 1965," he reported, "GM made \$4,092,000,000 before taxes. This figure out to \$11,200,000 a day, \$467,000 an hour, \$7,785 a minute and \$130 a second. GM workers would have to earn a dollar a minute starting in 5851 B.C. in order to equal GM's profit before taxes."

Woodstock observed that it would take a worker earning \$8,000 a year more than half a million years to equal GM's profits for 1965.

**The Amalgamated Clothing Workers (AFL-CIO)** has announced that the union will exceed President Johnson's 3.2 percent wage guidelines when negotiations with the cotton garment industry begin in June. The 125,000 workers involved now earn an average of \$1.70 an hour.

Union President Jacob S. Potofsky indicated the ACWA would ask for as least as much as they got last year when the union won increases of 10 cents an hour which amount to about 6 percent.

**A Catholic priest, Father DuBay, of Los Angeles,** has been attempting to organize 58,000 American priests into an American federation of priests for what he calls "professional freedom." He reports that the groundwork has already been laid for two union locals.

The rebel priest, who has already been transferred four times for his activities, was recently transferred again. He accused James Francis Cardinal McIntyre of transferring priests "who don't agree with his policies." Father DuBay's latest transfer will result in his taking a pay cut from \$175 to \$125 a month.

DuBay said his union would

## Weekly Calendar

### BOSTON

**THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE:** Our One Year After the Assassination of Malcolm X. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party 1964 Presidential candidate. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### DETROIT

**THE DELANO, CALIFORNIA, GRAPE STRIKE:** Speaker: Edward Frankel of the National Farmworkers Association. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

**WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?** An analysis of the Malcolm X murder trial by Herman Porter. Fri., March 11, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**BANQUET AND HOUSEWARMING** to officially open the new headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant. Sat., March 12. Beginning at 5:30 p.m. Program at 8:30 p.m. **WHEN WE WERE 116,** reminiscences by George Novack and Harry Ring. 873 Broadway. Contrib. \$1.75.

### TWIN CITIES

**THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE 1966 ELECTIONS.** Speaker: John Sumrall, active worker in the Quitman, Miss. project. Fri., March 11 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240 Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

bargain for the establishment of grievance machinery within the church, a tenure policy to guarantee a hearing before a priest can be suspended, an end to "arbitrary and oppressive" transfers, freedom of residence for priests, and a "professional salary."

**AFL-CIO leaders** are facing another possible slap in the face from the Johnson administration when a new minimum wage bill comes before congress. Johnson is proposing an increase from the current \$1.25 an hour to \$1.40 an hour this year and up to \$1.60 an hour in 1968. A piddling additional proposal by the AFL-CIO would sandwich in a \$1.50 wage to be introduced in 1967.

The union leaders' major campaign to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act has already been defeated in the Senate and all reports indicate that their minimum wage proposals will receive the same treatment.

Still uncovered by any minimum wage laws are some 18 million American workers.

**There are now 163,500 private employe welfare and pension plans** in the U.S., most of them the result of union-negotiated agreements. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, four-fifths of these plans include welfare benefits with hospitalization heading the list. The Labor Department also reported a 20 percent increase in dental plans since 1961.

Tom Leonard

## N.Y. Antiwar Meet To Hear McGowan And Otto Nathan

**NEW YORK** — On March 11 the Washington Heights Committee to End the War in Vietnam will hold its first public forum in the Washington Heights area of Manhattan since a street meeting of the committee was attacked by a crowd of counterrevolutionary Cubans last August.

"Should we bring our boys home now?" is the subject of the forum, which will feature Felix McGowan, former Catholic priest, and Dr. Otto Nathan, noted economist and close associate of the late Dr. Albert Einstein. Other speakers will be Ron Wolin of the Veterans and Reservists CEWV, Albert Hinton of the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, and Joseph Kay, chairman of the New York Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now.

The meeting will begin at 8 p.m. at the Holy Rood Church, 715 West 179th St., near Ft. Washington Ave.

## Felix Greene to Report On Vietnam Visit in N.Y.

**NEW YORK** — Felix Greene, who recently spent five weeks in China and three weeks in north Vietnam where he had an interview with Ho Chi Minh, will discuss the Vietnam war at a meeting here Saturday evening, March 12. It will be held at the Community Church, 40 East 35th St. and will be co-sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Social Action Committee of the Community Church.

Mr. Greene's documentary film, *China*, recently completed an extended run in several New York theaters and is currently being shown in 60 other cities and towns.

# Malcolm X Speaks

*The following is from a speech Malcolm X gave in Detroit on Feb. 14, 1965, the same day his home had been bombed and one week before he was assassinated.*

### Installment 18

#### Kennedy, Africa and the U.S.

What effect does the struggle over Africa have on us? Why should the black man in America concern himself since he's been away from the African continent for three or four hundred years? Number one, you have to realize that up until 1959 Africa was dominated by the colonial powers. Having complete control over Africa, the colonial powers of Europe projected the image of Africa negatively. They always project Africa in a negative light: jungle savages, cannibals, nothing civilized. Why then naturally it was so negative that it was negative to you and me, and you and I began to hate it. We didn't want anybody telling us anything about Africa, much less calling us Africans. In hating Africa and in hating the Africans, we ended up hating ourselves, without even realizing it. Because you can't hate the roots of a tree, and not hate the tree. You can't hate your origin and not end up hating yourself. You can't hate Africa and not hate yourself.

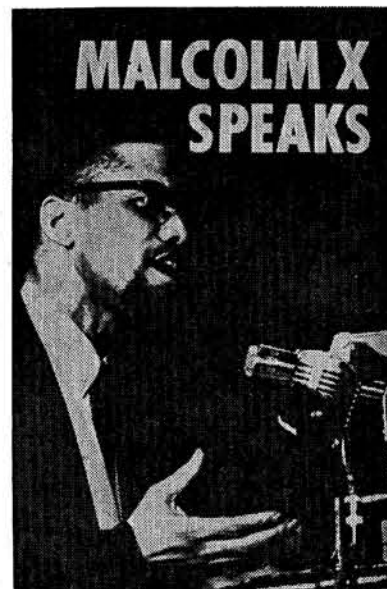
You know yourself that we have been a people who hated our African characteristics. We hated our heads, we hated the shape of our nose, we wanted one of those long dove-like noses, you know; we hated the color of our skin, hated the blood of Africa that was in our veins. Our color became to us a chain — we felt that it was holding us back; our color became to us like a prison which we felt was keeping us confined, not letting us go this way or that way. We felt that all of these restrictions were based solely upon our color, and the psychological reaction to that would have to be that as long as we felt imprisoned or chained or trapped by black skin, black features and black blood, that skin and those features and that blood holding us back automatically had to become hateful to us.

#### Inferiority Complex

It made us feel inferior; it made us feel inadequate; made us feel helpless. And when we fell victims to this feeling of inadequacy or inferiority or helplessness, we turned to somebody else to show us the way. We didn't have confidence in another black man to show us the way, or black people to show us the way. In those days we didn't. We didn't think a black man could do anything except play some horns — you know, make some sound and make you happy with some songs and in that way.

But in serious things, where our food, clothing, shelter and education were concerned, we turned to the man. We never thought in terms of bringing these things into existence for ourselves, we never thought in terms of doing things for ourselves. Because we felt helpless. What made us feel helpless was our hatred for ourselves. And our hatred for ourselves stemmed from our hatred for things African.

After 1959 the spirit of African nationalism was fanned to a high flame and we then began to witness the complete collapse of colonialism. France began to get out of French West Africa, Belgium began to make moves to get out of the Congo, Britain began to make moves to get out of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Nigeria and some of these other places. And although it looked like they were getting out, they pulled



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

a trick that was colossal.

When you're playing ball and they've got you trapped, you don't throw the ball away — you throw it to one of your teammates who's in the clear. And this is what the European powers did. They were trapped on the African continent, they couldn't stay there — they were looked upon as colonial and imperialist. They had to pass the ball to someone whose image was different, and they passed the ball to Uncle Sam. And he picked it up and has been running it for a touchdown ever since. He was in the clear, he was not looked upon as one who had colonized the African continent. At the time, the Africans couldn't see that though the United States hadn't colonized the African continent, it had colonized 22 million blacks here on this continent. Because we're just as thoroughly colonized as anybody else.

When the ball was passed to the United States, it was passed at the time when John Kennedy came to power. He picked it up and helped to run it. He was one of the shrewdest backfield runners that history has ever recorded. He surrounded himself with intellectuals — highly educated, learned and well-informed people. And their analysis told him that the government of America was confronted with a new problem. And this new problem stemmed from the fact that Africans were now awakened, they were enlightened, they were fearless, they would fight. This meant that the Western powers couldn't stay there by force. Since their own economy, the European economy and the American economy, was based upon their continued influence over the African continent, they had to find some means of staying there. So they used the friendly approach.

They switched from the old openly colonial imperialistic approach to the benevolent approach. They came up with some benevolent colonialism, philanthropic colonialism, humanitarianism, or dollarism. Immediately everything was Peace Corps, Operation Crossroads, "We've got to help our African brothers." Pick up on that: Can't help us in Mississippi. Can't help us in Alabama, or Detroit, or out here in Dearborn where some real Ku Klux Klan lives. They're going to send all the way to Africa to help. I know Dearborn: you know, I'm from Detroit, I used to live out here in Inkster. And you had to go through Dearborn to get to Inkster. Just like driving through

Mississippi when you got to Dearborn. Is it still that way? Well, you should straighten it out.

So, realizing that it was necessary to come up with these new approaches, Kennedy did it. He created an image of himself that was skillfully designed to make the people on the African continent think that he was Jesus, the great white father, come to make things right. I'm telling you, some of these Negroes cried harder when he died than they cried for Jesus when he was crucified.

John F. Kennedy also saw that it was necessary for a new approach among the American Negroes. And during his entire term in office, he specialized in how to psycho the American Negro. Now, a lot of you all don't like my saying that — but I wouldn't ever take a stand on that if I didn't know what I was talking about. By living in this kind of society, pretty much around them, and you know what I mean when I say "them," I learned to study them. You can think that they mean you some good off-times, but if you look at it a little closer you'll see that they don't mean you any good. That doesn't mean there aren't some of them who mean good. But it does mean that most of them don't mean good.

#### Barnett-Kennedy Deal

Kennedy's new approach was pretending to go along with us in our struggle for civil rights. He was another proponent of rights. But I remember the expose that *Look* magazine did on the Meredith situation in Mississippi, showing that Robert Kennedy and Governor Barnett had made a deal, wherein the Attorney General was going to come down and try to force Meredith into school, and Barnett was going to stand at the door and say, "No, you can't come in." He was going to get in anyway, but it was all arranged in advance and then Barnett was supposed to keep the support of the white racists because that's who he was upholding, and Kennedy would keep the support of the Negroes, because that's who he'd be upholding. It was a cut-and-dried deal. And it's not a secret; it was written, they write about it. But if that's a deal, how many other deals do you think go down? What you think is on the level is crooked, brothers and sisters, than a pretzel, which is most crooked.

So in my conclusion I would like to point out that the approach that was used by the administration right up until today was designed skillfully to make it appear they were trying to solve the problem when they actually weren't. They would deal with the conditions, but never the cause. They only gave us tokenism. Tokenism benefits only a few. It never benefits the masses, and the masses are the ones who have the problem, not the few. That one who benefits from tokenism, he doesn't want to be around us anyway — that's why he picks up on the token. The masses of our people still have bad housing, bad schooling and inferior jobs, jobs that don't compensate with sufficient salaries for them to carry on their life in this world. So that the problem for the masses has gone absolutely unsolved.

Next week: When I'll be worried.

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## A THOUGHT-CONTROL TRIAL

## Why Soviet Writers Were Jailed

By George Saunders

The trial of the two Soviet writers Yuli M. Daniel (pen name, Nikolai Arzhak) and Andrei D. Sinyavsky (pen name, Abram Tertz) and the severe sentences imposed on them have created an international scandal. Daniel was sentenced to five years, and Sinyavsky to seven both at hard labor. There has been widespread denunciation of the fake character of the public trial, the way the trial was reported in the Soviet press, the attitude of the Kremlin's hiring "writers" toward the trial, etc.

If the trial and the sentences were a mockery of "socialist legality," so were the earlier developments in the case. The two writers had been secretly arrested and held since September 1965. Word of their arrest leaked out only in October. Protests by European and American intellectuals, many of them on the left, placed international pressure on the Soviet bureaucrats. Then, surprisingly, a group of Moscow students (some reports say up to 200; some go as low as 20) demonstrated on Dec. 5 in behalf of Sinyavsky and Daniel.

Only under such pressures did the authorities acknowledge that the men were being held. Not until January did the Soviet public officially learn of the case, when the authorities opened a smear campaign in preparation for the trial. The men were branded as renegades and traitors. "With

such minions there can be no leniency," railed *Izvestia*.

The trial itself was not open to the general public. Only invited persons were admitted. The prosecutor placed the content of their writings in the dock: they had besmirched ideals sacred to every Soviet man, he asserted. The press echoed him. The judges ruled accordingly.

One of the works introduced into the trial was Daniel's short story, "This Is Moscow Speaking." The story begins with a decision of the Supreme Soviet. "Parallel with the rise in the standard of living . . . and in accordance with the wishes of the toiling masses," the Supreme Soviet decrees a "Day of Public Murder." On this day, according to the decree, every citizen is granted the right, within the rules prescribed by the decree, to murder any other citizen he wishes. The allusion is more than transparent. How many crimes were committed on orders from above, in the name of socialism, and under pretext of fulfilling the wishes and furthering the well-being of the toiling masses!

## No Slander

During the trial, according to Soviet reports, the judge waxed indignant over this passage. "Who can seriously believe that the Soviet government could declare a Day of Permissible Murder?" he asked.

"If it is clear," Daniel answered, "that no one could believe it, how

could you suggest any slander is involved?"

The story by Daniel is not anti-Soviet, but without doubt it is very pessimistic. Implicitly, the author tends to turn inwardly, away from "this cursed and marvellous country," writing for him being a kind of religion, a kind of opium that deadens the suffering he feels over things.

Cut off from the Soviet masses, who, moreover, are not yet expressing themselves anywhere, stifled by a bureaucracy that claims to speak out in the name of socialism, the Soviet intellectuals see no way out. In the field of culture, aside from research on stylistic forms, the intellectuals are not attracted by the rank-smelling democracy of the West, and they lack the social base to give stimulus to their rebellion.

But despite this the bureaucracy cannot bear such writings that reveal its true image. No more than in Stalin's time, will it permit itself to be called by its right name. The trial demonstrates that liberalization and democratization are not to be confused. Liberalization has not changed things fundamentally. Society must act and think in conformity with orders from above. In accordance with these orders, the intellectuals must produce works that of necessity lack life and art.

During the trial, both Sinyavsky and Daniel denied any "anti-Soviet" intent. They defended their works on artistic grounds and called for full freedom of ar-

## ... Large Turnout Urged for March 25-26

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and neat gardens. Every cooking utensil was smashed, every banana tree severed, every mattress was slashed."

Since the 1954 Geneva Conference the United States government has been building military bases and strategic highways on Vietnamese soil. Millions of dollars are spent on these areas which James Reston (editorial staff of the *New York Times*) claims are "being constructed on a scale far larger than is necessary to care for the present level of American forces. Therefore it is assumed that the buildup will continue well beyond what has been announced so far."

The U.S. base at Camranh in south Vietnam is one of the best natural ports in Asia and is being developed into another Okinawa.

It is no wonder that President Johnson cannot tell the truth about the real character of the war — about its horrors and its violation of Vietnamese freedom. LBJ, like Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower before him, has had to lie and distort the real nature of the war. A new language has been developed to make things appear to be something they are not. The hated dictator General Ky is portrayed as a gallant defender of freedom. Gas warfare

and chemical destruction of crops are described as humane methods of warfare. A program designed to destroy villages and relocate villagers in armed camps was called "Operation Sunrise." American combat troops were called "advisors" when the war was still considered a "police action." The peasants who are fighting to protect their homes and families against American intervention are reported to be enemies of the people. Even the war itself is presented as a means to peace.

Another aspect of this lying is the distortion of casualty figures by the government. Two Australian journalists pointed out a couple of months ago that the U.S. military police in Saigon was " . . . to dilute casualty figures in smaller American units by measuring them against the total force involved in an engagement even though much or in many cases most of the total force had not fired a shot or been fired at." (*New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1965)

The resumption of bombing against north Vietnam after Johnson's latest "peace offensive" indicated the sheer hypocrisy of his "peace" talk. While he was talking about "unconditional negotiations" he stepped up the bombing raids and attacks in the south. He called the United Nations into

special session while convoking a council-of-war in Hawaii to discuss new plans for annihilation and destruction and to bolster the regime of General Ky. He flew his ambassadors around the world while increasing the deployment of troops to Vietnam.

Americans have no more right in Vietnam than the British had in America at the time of our own revolution. Johnson and his administration have consistently pursued a policy designed in effect to assure that the U.S. would determine the future of Vietnam rather than the Vietnamese, and this has led the U.S. into a war whose sole purpose is to prevent the people of Vietnam from choosing their own way of life. That is why the war is so brutal and oppressive. It is a war against the Vietnamese people.

## No Stake

The majority of Americans have no desire to intervene in other countries. They have no stake in supporting a brutal and unjust war against the Vietnamese people. Neither south nor north Vietnam has attacked nor committed any other act of aggression against the U.S. What do Americans have to gain by killing thousands of Vietnamese and creating hundreds of thousands of refugees? What does the ordinary American win by backing up a military dictator whose self-proclaimed hero is Adolph Hitler?

The American youth who die in Vietnam are victims of Johnson's policy as much as the Vietnamese. To prevent the slaughter of thousands of innocent Americans and Vietnamese, the U.S. must get out of Vietnam and bring the troops home now.

On March 25-26 there will be *International Days of Protest*. Demonstrations will be held in cities all over the world. Everyone who feels that the war in Vietnam is wrong should help build these demonstrations and voice their opposition. Demand that Johnson end the war now. Demand that the right of self-determination for the people of Vietnam be respected. BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW.

## Sinyavsky's Defense Statement

On Feb. 25 the *New York Times* reported that the *Milan paper*, *Il Giorno*, had obtained and published the transcript of the statement of defense made by Soviet writer Andrei Sinyavsky. The following are excerpts from the *Times* account of the statement:

"Here I am an outsider, but I do not consider myself an enemy. I am a Soviet man and my works are not hostile."

"These are the words of Andrei D. Sinyavsky . . . used to describe himself in his statement of defense before the Russian Republic's Supreme Court sentenced him . . ."

"Mr. Sinyavsky charged that the prosecution had deliberately misread and misinterpreted his works in an attempt to portray him as an anti-Semitic, a fascist and anti-Soviet . . ."

"He also criticized the black-and-white depiction of reality by officially endorsed literature in the Soviet Union."

"According to the prosecution, literature is a form of agitation and propaganda," the writer said. "Agitation can only be Soviet or anti-Soviet. If it is not Soviet it is anti-Soviet. I cannot share this idea."

"Criticizing Moscow's preoccupation with 'anti-Soviet acts,' the writer described this standpoint as: 'He who is not with us is against us.'"

"At certain times, such as revolution, war or civil war," Mr. Sinyavsky said, "this logic can be just, but it is very dangerous in time of peace — above all when it is applied to writing."

tistic expression in Soviet literature. In this they expressed an aspiration that animates a large proportion of Soviet intellectuals.

Why did the Soviet authorities penalize these writers?

The Sinyavsky-Daniel affair is part of a larger story. It is a stage in a contradictory process of de-Stalinization, of alternating freezes and thaws, that has been going on for a decade and a half.

First, Daniel and Sinyavsky represent a section of rebel youth and intellectuals that has crystallized during the de-Stalinization process. The works of these two are vivid expressions of a whole body of clandestine or semi-legal "underground" literature, that is, manuscripts or hand-printed works that circulate widely but which the censorship will not allow to be published.

## Publish Outside

One way to get around the censor is to cross the border. In recent years a growing number of works have trickled out of the Soviet Union seeking publication in the West. The works of Tertz and Arzhak are only outstanding examples. The Soviet authorities must have decided the trickle had to be stopped before it became a flood. The severe reprisals against these two are meant as a warning to would-be manuscript "smugglers" hereafter.

That a growing defiance of the censorship has aroused the authorities' concern is suggested also by the increased number of clandestine student magazines. Recently police arrested a group of graduate chemistry students at the University of Leningrad for circulating a magazine they called *Kolokol* (*The Bell*). That was the name of the exile magazine of a Russian revolutionary of a century ago, Alexander Herzen; it was smuggled the other way — from the West into the tsarist empire.

Another student group for whose "enlightenment" Sinyavsky and Daniel may have been punished is SMOG, which organized several demonstrations for artistic freedom in 1965, including the one on Dec. 5 in behalf of Sinyavsky and Daniel. It was reported that some of SMOG's leaders were detained recently in connection with the Sinyavsky-Daniel case.

Not only the clandestine or "illegal" writers and intellectuals but also the liberal wing of the "legal" or officially published writers community is threatened. This wing is represented by the journal *Novy Mir* and its editor A. Tvardovsky, a consistent defender of artistic experiment and of the right to treat controversial subjects. (It was *Novy Mir* that published the novel of a Stalin prison camp in 1962, for example.)

The liberalizing writers around *Novy Mir* have engaged in frequent polemics with an opposing group, whose views are neo-Stalinist and who want a much

tighter rein on literature. Their chief spokesman is V. Kochetov, editor of the monthly *Oktyabr*. (Kochetov, incidentally, is ridiculed by name in works by both Tertz and Arzhak.) Sinyavsky and Daniel have been active contributors to *Novy Mir*. Sinyavsky participated in polemics against the Kochetov group, particularly in 1960-61, when he effectively defended young experimental poets against hack criticism by the Kochetovs.

Here Sinyavsky also represents an intermediary group in the Soviet literary-political spectrum. Although his basic outlook is "illegal," that is, a radical critique of the bureaucratic establishment, he is able to find footholds and ledges in the "legal" sphere, thanks to past de-Stalinizing by the bureaucracy, where he can wage a meaningful anti-Stalinist fight. Some writers stick strictly to "legal" channels, relying on gradual concessions to ultimately broaden the range of expression. But many, like Sinyavsky, hide a more radical outlook and activity behind their "reformist" workings within the system.

The fact that Sinyavsky and Daniel were secret radical critics, while acting as moderate liberals, seems to have especially angered the authorities. The harsh sentences, then, serve also as a warning to any in the *Novy Mir* group who might be following Sinyavsky's and Daniel's path, a warning not to use "legal" positions to serve radical antibureaucratic aims.

A crack of the whip over "illegal" writing, a warning signal for "legal" critics, the trial had one other meaning. It represented the realization of personal revenge for certain more reactionary sections of the bureaucracy and party apparatus who had been the chief butts of these two writers' ridicule. The secret police, certain sections of the party, the Kochetov group, etc., apparently took a special interest in "bringing to justice" these idolaters who had made such unmerciful fun of them.

But Sinyavsky and Daniel will live as heroes of the battle for freedom of expression long after their vitriolic persecutors have passed from the scene.

## New York House Warming

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party will celebrate the opening of its spacious new hall at 873 Broadway with a dinner and open house on Saturday evening, March 12.

Following the dinner a brief program will feature reminiscences on "When we were 116," by George Novack and Harry Ring.

## Antiwar Forces Seen on Rise

Spokesmen for the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter have predicted large demonstrations on the March 25-26 International Days of Protest against the Vietnam War. "In almost every major city in the United States," said a Newsletter spokesman, "and in many smaller towns demonstrators will march, distribute literature, hold teach-ins, debates and rallies against the war in Vietnam. These demonstrations will be similar to those held last Oct. 15-16, when 100,000 people took part. All indications point to a much larger turnout this time."

Two buttons are available from The Newsletter. One button reads "BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW!" in large letters and "Read the Newsletter" along the rim; the other reads "BUILD MARCH 25-26 DAYS OF PROTEST" and "Bring the Troops Home Now." Both sell for 25c each; 20 or more, 15c each. Write: The Newsletter, P.O. Box 317, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

# THE MILITANT

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Monday, March 7, 1966

## Dominican Double Cross

U.S. occupation forces, which are allegedly there to preserve "freedom," are standing quietly by in Santo Domingo while a right-wing military dictatorship is being fastened on the people.

According to the "settlement" forced on the Dominican Constitutionalists at the point of a U.S. gun, the leaders of both the military and the Constitutionalists were supposed to leave the country. This was pure fraud. Constitutionalist leaders left while the militarists contented themselves with sending a few junior officers abroad.

Now, interim-President Garcia-Godoy, a U.S. appointee, has named two top generals to his cabinet. Dominicans described this as "a virtual coup d'etat without the overthrow of the government."

In a monumental display of hypocrisy, it is being explained that Garcia-Godoy's only alternative to include the generals in his government was to use force against them and he is resolved to avoid the use of force. That statement might well be accompanied by the news photo of last month showing one of his palace guard shooting a student demonstrator in the back.

But the hypocrisy is not merely Garcia-Godoy's. His course is being dictated by the real power of government — the U.S. occupation force. This force suddenly became remarkably hesitant at "interfering" in Dominican affairs. For example, it was only a few months ago that they decided that Col. Wessin y Wessin was getting in the way of what they wanted to do and they simply took him at gunpoint and flew him out of the country.

The hard fact is that the step-by-step handing of the power over to the military is in accord with U.S. policy and plans. When the people of Santo Domingo were armed and ready for battle the U.S. could not impose a new military dictatorship on them except by a most ferocious battle — one that they did not consider tactically advisable at the time.

Instead they imposed their crooked deal on the leaders of the Constitutionalist movement so that they could achieve a step at a time what they could not do at one blow — fasten a murderous new dictatorship on the Dominican people.

## ... Malcolm X Murder Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

one year at the time they participated in the assassination Feb. 21, 1965. He said the man was dark skinned, very husky, and had a beard. Johnson, who has been accused of firing the shotgun, has a very light complexion. Hayer explained he was willing to describe the man because he had already been described by an earlier defense witness.

Ernest Greene, a 21-year-old former Muslim, had appeared as Butler's eyewitness on Feb. 24, and testified to seeing a stout, dark, bearded man shoot Malcolm X with a shotgun.

Dermody recalled the testimony of the first "secret witness" from whose testimony reporters had been barred. The secret witness had testified that Butler had been involved in a scuffle near the stairway that leads from the entrance of the ballroom down to the entrance of the building. The witness claimed to have knocked Butler down the stairs and that Hayer had jumped over Butler on the way out.

Hayer denied seeing any scuffling near the stairs or seeing anyone knocked down the stairs. "I was shot. I didn't do any jumping," he said. When asked about it again, he said: "I couldn't jump over anybody." Hayer was shot in the leg.

In his cross-examination of Hayer, Dermody harped on the fact that Hayer had lied when he testified in his own behalf on Feb. 23 and denied having any part in the crime. He also tried to show that Hayer was a Muslim. This is an important point in the case, for if Hayer is not a Muslim there is every reason to believe he told the truth in his confession, and that the Muslims were not involved in the assassination.

The question raised by Hayer's confession is who paid for the murder of Malcolm X? While it

is generally assumed that Elijah Muhammad's organization wanted Malcolm out of the way it should be borne in mind that those who profited the most from his revolutionary voice being silenced was the ruling class of this country.

Dermody has not proved so far that Hayer was a Muslim. Cary Thomas, the first eyewitness, claimed to know that Hayer was a member of the Jersey City mosque, though he testified he'd never been to that mosque. Vernal Temple, the second eyewitness, claimed to have seen Hayer function as a guard in the Harlem mosque and strike someone, who was causing a disturbance, a karate blow on that occasion. Now, Dermody is trying to show that Hayer was a member of the Newark mosque.

Dermody has produced two photographs of groups in karate garb, apparently including Hayer. Franklin (X) Durant testified Feb. 24 that he, a member of Mosque 25 in Newark, had taken the photos at a bazaar held in the mosque during the spring of 1963. He identified Hayer in the photos and said Hayer introduced himself as Talmadge, but went on to testify that Hayer was not a member of the mosque. He said most of the others in the photos were not Muslims to his knowledge. Durant said he never saw Hayer in the mosque on any occasion after that. Reportedly, the karate exhibition was put on by a karate school in Newark, but this was never brought out in the testimony.

A number of other witnesses have testified for Butler including: Gloria (11X) Wills and Juanita (8X) Gibbs who said they spoke to Butler at his home on the telephone just after the assassination, between 3:05 and 3:30 p.m. Dr. Kenneth Seslowe testified to treating Butler for an infection of the veins in his right leg on the morning of the assassination.

# Fourth Int'l Challenges

The following open letter to Fidel Castro was sent on Feb. 1 by the United Secretariat, the highest body of the Fourth International. The translation is by World Outlook.

We have just read the full text of your closing speech at the First Tricontinental Conference, as published by *Prensa Latina* Jan. 20, 1966. On the one hand this speech is imbued with an incomparable revolutionary spirit, as when you proclaim that "for Cuban revolutionaries the battleground against imperialism covers the whole globe," when you promise that "revolutionary movements in any corner of the globe can count on Cuban combatants," when you tell the American imperialists once again that the only way they can gain peace is to get out of Vietnam, when you call upon the Latin-American revolutionists to extend armed struggle to an ever growing number of countries in order to make it impossible for the imperialists to concentrate their forces against the revolutionary forces of a sister people. Reading this part of your speech we feel in solidarity more than ever with this orientation and line of action.

But on the other hand the speech also levels systematic, slanderous attacks against Trotskyism, the Trotskyist movement and the Trotskyist program as a whole, attacks whose unjustified nature is felt by us with the deepest indignation and revulsion.

The "dossier" you placed before the participants at the First Tricontinental Conference and offered to world public opinion is made up of amalgams and linkages which collapse at the slightest touch under objective examination.

You make much of the assertions of one Felipe Albaguante, according to whom Che Guevara was quite likely assassinated in Cuba. You present this person as the "leader of the Mexican Trotskyists" on the basis of a dispatch issued by the UPI, an imperialist press agency. But this Felipe Albaguante is not the "leader" or even a member of the Mexican Trotskyist organization. This is not his first provocation; he made a provocative declaration on Nov. 26, 1963, attributing Oswald's assassination by Jack Ruby to the Communist Party. On Nov. 30, 1963, Comrade Pierre Frank, speaking for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, denied in the most categorical way that this person had anything whatsoever to do with Trotskyism and the Fourth International. This declaration was sent to Cuba, to you personally, as well as to many other Cuban officials.

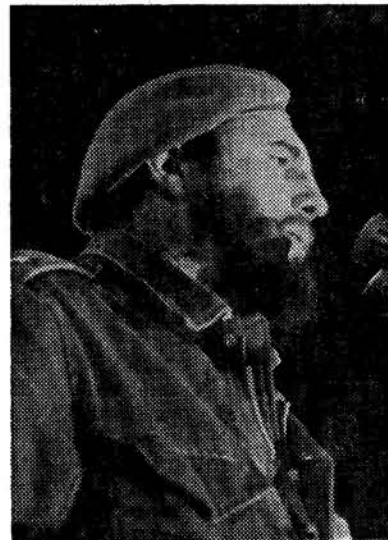
If it was a question of ascertaining the truth, and not of taking the UPI dispatch as a pretext for attacking the Trotskyist movement, you could have asked your research services — which are efficient — for material about the provocateur Albaguante; and these services would then have brought our Nov. 30, 1963, statement to your attention.

### Gilly Articles

You link up the declaration of this person with the articles by Adolfo Gilly published in the leftist weeklies *Marcha* and *Nuovo Mondo* as well as in the *Monthly Review*. It must first of all be pointed out that the excerpts from Gilly which you refer to say nothing at all about Che Guevara's alleged assassination; they say only that Che Guevara left Cuba because of political differences with you. To place on the same plane provocative declarations about Che's alleged assassination and the hypothesis of differences between Che and you

is to manufacture an amalgam. This is a dishonest method of engaging in polemics and leveling accusations. You likewise manufacture an amalgam when you place on the same plane the provocative declarations of Albaguante and a quotation from the newspaper *La Batalla*, organ of the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista), which does not belong to the Fourth International and which spoke only of differences between you and Che Guevara.

You next make a link between Gilly and a group that calls itself Trotskyist which split from the Fourth International and which is led by one Juan Posadas. You focus attention on the irresponsible criticisms which this group directs at Cuba and its government, particularly with regard to Che's leaving Cuba and the alleged inadequate aid Cuba gave to the Dominican revolutionists. You know that the irresponsible positions of this group are not at all the positions of the Fourth International, the organization founded by Leon Trotsky, organized on a world scale, represented



Fidel Castro

by magazines, periodicals and officially edited bulletins in a great many countries and which are sent both to Cuba and to its representatives abroad. These publications printed an article by Comrade Joseph Hansen, editor of the Trotskyist newspaper in the United States, *The Militant*, entitled "A New Field of Battle for Che Guevara," which gives a responsible interpretation of Che's departure from Cuba.

### Official Position

On Jan. 20 we again sent you our official position expressly on Che's leaving Cuba. It is now your duty to make clear to the international revolutionary audience that only a small faction of splitters adopted an irresponsible attitude on this question, the official bodies of the Fourth International and the overwhelming majority of the international Trotskyist movement showing themselves on this occasion as always to be stubborn defenders of the Cuban Revolution. Unfortunately this rectification will not be forthcoming because your good faith was not abused. The text of your speech leads one in fact to draw the conclusion that you are utilizing the confusion in order to try to discredit and attack the Trotskyist movement as a whole. To take but one example — you well know that the organ presenting the views of the Italian Trotskyists is not the one with an insignificant circulation which you cite (*Lotta Operaia*) but *Bandiera Rossa* which has been in existence for almost ten years, which has a circulation in the thousands among the vanguard of the workers movement, including the Italian Communist Party, and which was the first Italian publication to reproduce

the Second Declaration of Havana.

How else can the scandalous passages of your speech be interpreted where, for example, you say, "this discredited thing, this antihistoric thing, this fraudulent thing which emanates from individuals so known to be at the service of Yankee imperialism, as is the program of the Fourth International." (*Prensa Latina*, p. 11.) Or again, in relation to Guatemala:

"What the Fourth International thus committed was a true crime against the revolutionary movement, to isolate it from the rest of the people, to isolate it from the masses, by corrupting it with the stupidities, the discredit and the repugnant and nauseating thing that is Trotskyism today within the field of politics. For if Trotskyism represented at a certain stage an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in later years a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction." (*ibid.*, p. 11-12.)

### Shameful Act

It is shameful, Comrade Fidel Castro, to utilize your prestige and the admiration and affection which the revolutionary masses of the entire world feel for the Cuban Revolution to dig out of the dustbin of history the slanders and lies that no one dares to utter, even in the Soviet Union itself, after the twentieth and twenty-second congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Trotskyism has become "a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction"? At what time? What are the proofs? Stalin assassinated the majority of the members of the Central Committee of the CPSU of Lenin's day, tens of thousands of Old Bolsheviks, including Leon Trotsky himself, the founder of the Red Army, under the vile and slanderous accusation of being "agents of Nazi imperialism." At the end of the war, the archives were opened, tons of documents were searched from top to bottom with the participation of Soviet judges, the Nuremberg trials took place — not a document, not a line, could be produced in support of this slanderous accusation. The twentieth congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union revealed that the "confessions" made by Stalin's victims were wrung from them through torture and other barbarous and inhuman means. No reasonable person gives the slightest credence any longer to these slanders. And it is you, the great leader of the Cuban Revolution, the man who said that the revolution above all needs the truth, who is exhuming these infamous slanders buried by history!

After the terrible experience with Stalin, no one will accept accusations without proofs no matter what the authority of the accuser. Take care that your irresponsible accusations do not turn against you and — despite our efforts — gravely discredit the magnificent, the immortal Cuban Revolution itself.

For contrary to what you seem to imagine, the world Trotskyist movement today is no longer a handful of persecuted people without an audience, without influence, unknown and isolated from the masses. Thanks to its heroic resistance to the murderous assault of Stalin and Stalinism; thanks to its courageous and enduring participation in all the mass movements, Trotskyism today is widely known and recognized by the revolutionary vanguard in many countries. And this vanguard will address numerous questions to you which you will find it embarrassing to answer, Comrade Fidel Castro:

# Castro to Confrontation on Charges

Is Comrade *Hugo Blanco* a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction" — *Hugo Blanco*, who organized the poor peasants in his own country, led them in occupying the land stolen from them by the proprietors, brought them to resist arms in hand the repressive measures undertaken by the army and the proprietors, thereby actually launching the Peruvian Revolution to which you attach so much importance in your speech?

Are the Trotskyist militants of Bolivia "vulgar instruments of imperialism and reaction," the militants at the head of the armed miners who dealt the first military defeat to reaction in their country in the battle of *Sora-Sora*? Is Comrade *Cesar Lora* a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction," this trade-union leader foully murdered by the reaction whose funeral procession, attended by thousands of miners, constituted a veritable challenge to the military dictatorship? Or Comrade *Hugo Gonzales Moscoso*, whose arrest was protested by thousands of students and workers in *La Paz* in a spontaneous strike?

Is Comrade *Kanai Pal* a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction," *Kanai Pal*, the Trotskyist deputy in the legislature of *East Bengal*, arrested for his intransigent fidelity to proletarian internationalism, for his refusal to support the bourgeoisie of his own country against the Chinese workers state?

Are the Trotskyists of the United States, who were among the first to raise the banner of defense of the Cuban Revolution within the very heart of the main imperialist stronghold in the world — are they "vulgar instruments of imperialism and reaction"? What about Comrade *Farrell Dobbs*, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, who made defense of the Cuban Revolution the main plank in his electoral campaign in 1960 and toured the entire country, speaking out in defense of this Revolution?

## Support Revolutions

Are the French Trotskyists "vulgar instruments of imperialism," they who were the first in their country to organize political and material aid for the Algerian Revolution, at a time when the French Communist Party considered the leaders of this revolution to be "putschist adventurers"?

Are the Trotskyists "vulgar instruments of imperialism" — the Trotskyists who are organizing, aiding and promoting committees today in forty countries of the world to mobilize the masses with the aim of forcing the unconditional withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam in order to help the National Liberation Front and the Vietnamese Revolution to win?

No, Comrade *Fidel Castro*, for the first time, no one will believe



IN CUBA. *Farrell Dobbs* (at the right), national secretary of Socialist Workers Party during his 1960 tour of Cuba. On his return he made defense of Cuban revolution a central theme of his presidential campaign against anti-Cubans *Kennedy* and *Nixon*.

you when you launch this slander; and it will ricochet — through your fault — injuring the prestige and the hearing given the Cuban Revolution throughout the world.

To give a semblance of political justification to your unjustifiable attack upon Trotskyism, you touch briefly on the case of *Guatemala*, insinuating that "where a vast revolutionary front has united the immense majority of the people and has closely grouped different sectors of the population around the liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism, to Trotskyites this is absurd, it is counterrevolutionary."

We give whole-hearted support to the guerrilla movement in *Guatemala*. We do not know who is responsible for the division that has occurred in this movement, although your account would imply that the responsibility does not lie with *Comandante Yon Sosa* but with *Comandante Turcios* since you praise him because he "broke away from the '13th of November Movement.'" At least it is a strange way to uphold the idea of a united anti-imperialist revolutionary front — glorifying a split in this front under pretext that it is impossible to collaborate with anyone who collaborates with Trotskyists. Whatever the case may be, we object most strenuously to your insinuation that the Trotskyists, in *Guatemala*, *Vietnam*, or anywhere else consider the establishment of a united anti-imperialist front to be "absurd" or "counter-revolutionary." This is an added slander.

The Trotskyists, the revolutionary Marxists, are partisans of the broadest united anti-imperialist front, of the sincere collaboration of all the forces within the colonial revolution ready to deal blows against the imperialist enemy. But they add two lessons from history, two lessons formulated by *Lenin*, two lessons that the whole course of the revolution since 1917 has continually confirmed.

First, the party of the working class and the poor peasants must under no pretext give up its organizational independence within this united anti-imperialist front, for only the proletariat and poor peasantry are capable of fighting imperialism without reservation or hesitation up to the very end. Second, if — under pretext of constituting a united anti-imperialist front and winning over the "national bourgeoisie" to this

front — the program, the slogans, the forms and methods of action are shaped to fit, not the aspirations of the masses and the possibilities open to them, but unity with the "national" bourgeoisie, then leadership of the anti-imperialist movement is abdicated and what is constituted in fact is a "bloc of classes" with the bourgeoisie and under its direction. The outcome is defeats and disasters of the bloodiest kind.

Without going further back, it is sufficient to cite two recent cases. In *Brazil* the whole movement was subordinated to the directives and initiatives of a *Goulart*, who could only capitulate before imperialism. In *Indonesia* the same kind of bloc, named *NASEKOM*, ended in the massacre of 100,000 Communists and the imprisonment of another 100,000 militants. These two cases show that the teachings and warnings of the Trotskyists in this respect are not without foundation.

This is also what the Cuban people clearly proclaimed in the *Second Declaration of Havana*, thus putting down as false the policy pursued by the Communist parties and confirming the correctness of the theory of permanent revolution:

"In the present historical conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience has demonstrated that in our countries, even when their interests run counter to those of Yankee imperialism, this class has always been incapable of resistance due to fear of the social revolution and the exploited masses."

As early as 1905, *Trotsky* said the same thing in his theory of permanent revolution. Wherever the revolutionary workers movement took the leadership of the revolution, guiding it uninterruptedly up to the victory of the socialist revolution it has triumphed. This was the case in *Russia* in 1917, in *Yugoslavia* in 1945, in *China* in 1949, in *North Vietnam* in 1954, in *Cuba* 1959-60. Wherever it has abdicated, handing over this leading role to other classes or to other social forces, the outcome has been a bloody defeat. This is what the Trotskyists, armed with the lessons of a half century of revolutionary experiences, have continually proclaimed.

Your attack against the Trotskyists will objectively reinforce the opportunists in Latin America who in practice reject the teach-

ings of the *Second Declaration of Havana*, the teachings of the Cuban Revolution, and who continue to peddle the "peaceful road" and an "alliance with the national bourgeoisie." And this can have grave consequences for the Latin-American revolution.

You dared, finally, to characterize the program of the Fourth International and the organization itself as "antihistoric" and "discredited."

*Stalin* and the Soviet bureaucracy attempted to discredit Trotskyism. In 1937, at the time of the infamous *Moscow Trials*, *Trotsky* hurled his celebrated prophecy in the faces of the masters of the *Kremlin*: "The revolution will open all the secret archives, review all the trials, rehabilitate the slandered, raise monuments to the victims, swear an everlasting malediction on the executioners. *Stalin* will disappear from the scene under the weight of his crimes as the gravedigger of the revolution and the most sinister figure in history." At the time, *Trotsky* hardly had an organization, his friends and partisans were being murdered in great numbers; *Stalin* stood at the head of one of the world's principal powers which emerged victorious in the second world war.

But a quarter of a century later *Trotsky's* prophecy has largely come true. Today in the *USSR* and among the Communist parties, despite the monstrous falsifications launched against *Trotsky*, despite the difficulties that militants often experience in trying to gain access to Trotskyist literature, between *Trotsky* and *Stalin*, it is certainly not the former who is "discredited" but rather the one who besmirched the banner of socialism by organizing such crimes as the "purges" and setting up concentration camps about which millions of the citizens in the workers states today know at least a part of the truth.

## Marxism of Today

Trotskyism, an antihistoric undertaking? It is the Marxism of our epoch, and those who wish to develop in a creative and living way the Marxist analysis of the problems of contemporary imperialism, of monopoly capitalism, of the colonial revolution, of the construction of socialist society, are continually obliged to drink at this spring.

Trotskyism, an antihistoric undertaking? But since the second world war, from *Chile* to *Japan*, from *Great Britain* to *Argentina*, from *Ceylon* to *Belgium*, from *Greece* and *Italy* to the United States, young socialists and communists, the vanguard of the young workers and students, keep moving in large numbers toward Trotskyism.

Trotskyism, an antihistoric undertaking? Trotskyism is the struggle for the international extension of the socialist revolution, for the overthrow of the capitalist regime in all countries, for the organization of a dictatorship of the proletariat based upon genuine democracy for the workers and poor peasants, for the organization of the workers state on the basis of democratically elected committees of workers and poor peasants, for the elaboration and democratic control of planning, for the management of the plants by the workers themselves, for the free play of art and culture, for the withering away of the state, of classes, of the market economy. Trotskyism is the untiring struggle to recreate a new mass Communist International. Trotskyism is simply the conscious expression of the march of history in our century. For no force in the world can definitively prevent the realization of our program, other-

wise, neither the well-being nor even the survival of mankind can be assured in the long range.

The Fourth International has never ceased to defend all revolutions, no matter what the attitude of the leadership toward Trotskyism. We completely identify ourselves with the Cuban Revolution and with its repercussions in Latin America and in the world, whatever you may say or do against us, Comrade *Fidel Castro*. Nothing can stop Trotskyism, the Fourth International. But your imitation of the Soviet and Chinese leaders in the employment of amalgams, of epithets like "agents of imperialism," instead of political discussion, injures the Cuban Revolution.

To the *Fidel Castro* of Jan. 15, 1966, the Fourth International and all revolutionists will reply with the *Fidel Castro* of March 13, 1962, who at the University of *Havana*, denounced the doctoring of documents and the falsification of history, who proclaimed that "the revolution must be a school of unfettered thought" and who said:

"How can we, in the presence of a new generation, a generation which is beginning to study, which is thirsting for knowledge, which is thirsting to read, which is thirsting to embark on the study of history, which is thirsting to embark on the study of Marxism, how can we put on that generation blinders so large that we will not permit them to read the full text of a historical document . . . ?"

They will reply with the *Castro* who, in the same speech declared:

"The revolution has to induce men to study, to think, to analyze in order to possess profound conviction, so profound that there will be no need to have recourse to such tricks [like the falsification of documents] . . . It is simply because of this, because we have faith in our ideas and in the people that we are not so cowardly as to be able to accept such a thing."

And to the *Castro* who has just declared that Trotskyism has become "a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction," the Fourth International makes the following challenge: that he submit his proofs before a tribunal of the Cuban people; five of the most representative leaders of the Fourth International are ready to stand before such a public tribunal and answer the accuser before the people of all Cuba. Thus the people of Cuba will discover that the entire activities of the Fourth International are devoted to but one aim: the victory of the world socialist revolution!

United Secretariat of the Fourth International

## Text Available Of Castro Speech

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

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

## N.Y. Forum Slated On Havana Parley

NEW YORK — "The Tricontinental Conference: New Stage in Cuban Politics?" will be discussed by *Harry Ring*, staff writer for *The Militant*, at a meeting of the *Militant Labor Forum* on Friday evening, March 18. In addition to the conference itself, he will discuss the *Havana-Peking* rift and *Castro's* attack on "Trotskyism." The meeting will be held at the *Militant Labor Forum Hall* at *873 Broadway*.

## NKRUMAH'S OUSTER

## The Ghana Coup d'Etat

By Dick Roberts

The forces of world imperialism eagerly chalked up a new victory in the latest of a series of setbacks for the African revolution with the Feb. 24 ouster of Ghana's president Kwame Nkrumah, the liquidation of his Convention People's Party (CCP), and the imprisonment of Nkrumah's closest supporters. The African leader was on a Vietnamese peace mission to Peking and Hanoi at the time of the coup.

No sooner had the news "reached" Washington, than G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, called a news conference to announce that "good and favorable" relations could be had between the U.S. and the new military regime. Although the State Department subsequently announced it was "still too early to comment on the question of recognition," the *New York Times* stated Feb. 25 that Washington was moving towards recognition "with deliberate speed scarcely concealing its pleasure."

The reason Washington didn't make an immediate statement of support for the generals, the *Times* continued to explain, was "for fear of giving grounds for suspicion and for what were regarded as inevitable charges that the United States was involved in the coup."

However, the *Times* added, "The timetable may now be speeded up in view of Mr. Nkrumah's threat in Peking today to return to Ghana soon to reassert his authority as head of the government."

Nkrumah's threat of return was not taken lightly in Accra either. By Feb. 27 martial law was established in the streets, and armed troops were deployed in strategic areas — particularly at the airport. The Accra Radio announced that supporters of Nkrumah were being rounded up, and there was word of murders of his followers.

But it was also apparent that much of the Ghanaian population took the ouster in stride, and some sections were strong supporters of it — particularly the traditional chiefs whose immense



Kwame Nkrumah

powers before independence had been greatly stripped away by the Nkrumah government.

A certain amount of the popular apathy, however, was a response to the increasing centralization of Nkrumah's rule and its separation from the aspiration of the masses in the years since he led the country to independence, in 1957.

In March 1959, Nkrumah took direct control over the appointment of senior civil servants and appeal judges and made himself sole judge on security matters. A censorship bill in 1960 muzzled the final opposition newspaper, and in 1962, a Detention Act was passed permitting Nkrumah to imprison his opponents up to 20 years without trial. The CCP was made the sole legal political party in January 1964, and its leaders were installed in all major government posts.

During the same period, Nkrumah built an intensive cult of personality, erecting statues of himself everywhere, and accompanied by official adulation from the press. Among other things, Nkrumah called himself "Our Great Leader and Redeemer" and "The Great Builder and Projector of the African Personality."

In part, this demagoguery was designed to obscure from the populace the consequences of attempt-

ing to develop the nation within the world capitalist market. While Nkrumah made many progressive changes, including the development of one of the largest educational systems in Africa and the construction of modern housing for the workers, much more money was lavished on fantastic schemes to develop the country industrially in combination with unscrupulous Western investors.

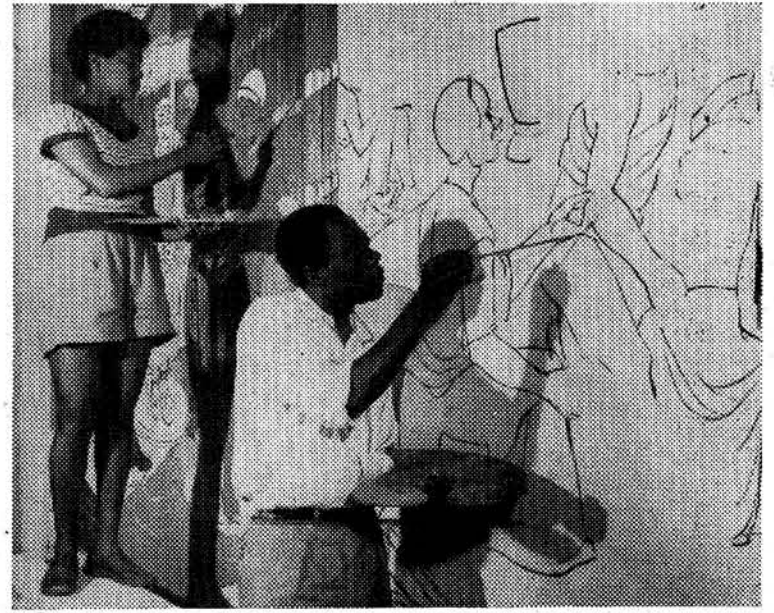
The multi-million dollar Volta River dam, which was completed in 1964 and half financed by the Ghanaian government, had as its main purpose the supplying of power to the privately owned Aluminum reduction plant in Tema. This plant was constructed by the Volta Aluminum Company Ltd. (VALCO), 90 percent owned by the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation and 10 percent owned by Reynolds Metals Company. The project gave western finance capital direct control of Ghana's valuable bauxite deposits.

At the same time, Ghana remained heavily dependent on cocoa production, which accounted for about 60 percent of her export income in 1963, and which is tied to the world market price of cocoa. A drastic reduction in the price of cocoa since 1957-58, has therefore left Ghana with totally inadequate funds to purchase needed foreign products. The price had dropped from \$1,504 a ton in the first days of independence to \$504 a ton last fall.

## Sought Loans

Nkrumah's first response to the impending financial disaster was to seek huge foreign loans, both from the Soviet bloc and from Western nations. When these were turned down, however, Nkrumah mainly responded by requesting the masses to support an "austerity" program — the main point of which was ceasing to purchase imported food items upon which much of the populace depended.

The result was an inflation in which local food prices in some parts of Ghana rose 400 percent between March 1963 and December 1964, alone, with an average national rise of 36 percent. But "belt-tightening," "sacri-



INDEPENDENCE SCENE. Artists in Accra painting hotel mural as they prepared celebration of establishment of independent state of Ghana in March 1957. The road since then has been a difficult one, culminating in present military coup.

ifice," internal lack of democracy, and demagoguery, are not the type of things that bother the imperialist circles. From inflationary Brazil under the military dictatorship of Castelo Branco to Nguyen Cao Ky in inflationary and war-torn Vietnam, the imperialists have dozens of such types in their retinue.

Their hatred for Nkrumah, the economic strangulation of the country which they imposed, and their support to his ouster, stems from Nkrumah's outspoken criticism of imperialism, from his friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and China, and his unbending support for a united Africa — which they know full well could ultimately lead to the release of the whole continent from the world capitalist market.

Even while accepting imperi-

alist aid and sponsoring foreign investments, Nkrumah had been a consistent critic of neocolonialism.

Nkrumah had become a bitter critic of the UN intervention in the Congo, after originally urging Lumumba to request it; he opposed the war in Vietnam; and most recently, he had spoken against Britain's failure to prevent the emergence of a white-supremacist state in Rhodesia. In this connection, Nkrumah announced two months ago plans to set up a "people's militia" separate from the army, which could be used against Prime Minister Smith's Rhodesian regime.

The plan did not go over very well in Ghana's army circles, and may have been one of the factors contributing to the military takeover.

## ... The U.S. War in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

ed by the leaders of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in their recent debate with the Johnson administration.

"This policy would lead nowhere," Baldwin argues. "It would mean an indefinite continuation of the war, with no prospect of winning, no possibility of clearing and holding the long-established Vietcong strongholds in the south . . . It would mean indefinite stalemate — deferred defeat, defeat on the installment plan."

Then there is the policy of immediate and total withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam. "Such a course," Baldwin states, "would mean not only that the United States had decided to abdicate as a great power, not only that it was dropping the global struggle to contain Communism, not only that it reneged on its pledged word, but that it conceded complete defeat and was reconciled to withdrawal from Asia and the Western Pacific."

"Such a course would surely condemn south Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to Communism, and probably would eventually doom Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines. The consequences in Japan would be incalculable. This course," Baldwin concludes, "has not even been contemplated." (Emphasis added)

## What Winning Means

Finally there is the choice of escalating the war, which Baldwin defends and which had been the implicit choice of the Johnson administration. Baldwin defines what this would mean: "Winning means," he states, "the defeat and break-up of the main-force Vietcong and north Vietnamese units in south Vietnam, the reduction of terrorist and guerrilla attacks to unimportant statistics . . ."

"To win requires escalation," he continues, "but escalation alone will not insure victory. The time element is all-important. The build-up in Vietnam must be rapid . . . This is an added reason

for a limited mobilization [of the country] and a call-up of the guard and reserves . . .

"The additional troops would be used, with the Vietnamese forces, not only defensively, but offensively — in search-and-destroy and search-and-clear missions while U. S. air power harried Vietcong bivouacs and sanctuaries." Baldwin then explains that escalated bombing of north Vietnam is necessary to prevent possible "sanctuaries" for the NLF forces, and he concludes:

"There is no easy way out of the Vietnam dilemma. But most top military and State Department officials are convinced that victory is possible — though not with one hand tied behind our back." (Emphasis added.)

Any clear-sighted person can see the consequences of the war plans which Johnson is undertaking as Baldwin describes them. Already hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese civilians have been killed and made homeless, and several thousand GI's have been killed, and the U.S. has not even made a dent in the "Vietcong main forces."

Battle after battle, bomb after bomb, leads one to the unqualified belief that the imperialists, plan of "winning" in Vietnam will lead to genocidal destruction of the Vietnamese population and tens of thousands of American deaths, and this will take years and years of bitter combat.

This is the price which Johnson is willing to pay to defend his word in Southeast Asia, but it is not a price the majority of American people are willing to pay. The one solution which Baldwin regards as unthinkable in the citadel of war, is the only solution which makes any sense whatsoever, the only solution which will end this slaughter once and for all, and give the Vietnamese people their just right to determine their own future after two decades of struggle: "Immediate Withdrawal from Vietnam; Bring the Boys Home, Now!"

## World Events

## Missing H-Bomb 'Trigger'

The "trigger" on that H-bomb lost in Spain is plutonium, the Feb. 20 *New York Times Magazine* revealed. The trigger alone can wipe out a city like Hiroshima. Unexploded, the radiation can still be acute. "Plutonium is one of the most toxic materials known to man." The 10-kilogram package remains a constant hazard, particularly if it disintegrates in the Mediterranean.

## Slay Colombia Rebel Priest

The announcement Feb. 17 by the Colombian government that the army had slain the rebel priest Camilo Torres Restrepo touched off bitter student demonstrations in Bogota. The priest was reportedly shot in a battle between guerrillas and the army.

Torres created a sensation in early January this year when he announced he had joined the National Liberation Army. The son of an upper-class family, he had been a sociology professor and chaplain at the National University. His strong criticisms of social and economic conditions in Colombia brought him into conflict with the Catholic hierarchy. Last summer, after he refused to leave the country, he was defrocked. He then made a tour of Colombia calling for the overthrow of the government.

## Rebels' Wives Imprisoned

Taken hostage by the Belaunde government and held under shocking conditions at the Chorrillos prison in Lima since last spring, six wives of leading revolutionists engaged in the guerrilla struggle in Peru started a hunger strike Feb. 11.

They are demanding that the government either officially confirm or deny the rumored execution of Guillermo Lobaton, one of the leaders of MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left). Government sources have spread the story that Lobaton, who headed one of the active guerrilla fronts, was killed. The MIR has issued denials from the underground. One of the six women is Jacquelin Lobaton, the wife of Guillermo.

## Indonesia Soaked in Blood

The purge launched by Indonesia's reactionary generals in their efforts to crush the Indonesian Communist Party has virtually drenched the country in blood. Consider the report in the Jan. 29 *London Economist*:

"Estimates of the number of killings since October range from 87,000 — officially admitted by the president — to gossip of 350,000. Ghoulish rumours of log-jams of bodies in the rivers of Solo and Malan have reached Jakarta but there is no official confirmation or

denial. Army sources estimate the deaths of between 185,000 and 250,000. In the East Java district of Malan a welfare organization has already registered 400,000 children orphaned since October . . ."

## Njono Denies 'Confession'

Indonesia's generals are staging a show trial to pin the blame for the attempted September 30 coup d'etat on the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The trial got off to a spectacular but bad-smelling start Feb. 14, when Njono, the first defendant, repudiated a "confession" forced from him by the authorities.

Njono is a member of the central committee of the now outlawed PKI and president of the 20-million member SOBSI (All-Indonesia Central Organization of Trade Unions). If the rumor is true that D.N. Aidit, head of the PKI, was murdered by the generals, then Njono is the most important defendant in this trial.

The fact that a false confession was extorted out of Njono is interesting in light of a report by *Asahi Shinbun*, Japan's biggest paper, that D.N. Aidit allegedly signed a 50-page confession before being shot. *Asahi* also printed a photo of Aidit surrounded by officers as he "edited" the purported confession.

—George Saunders

# 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.]

## International Solidarity

London, England  
I have recently attended a meeting in London demonstrating against the American role in Vietnam.

We, (citizens of London), were most pleased to be able to hear a sensible analysis of the struggle of the Vietnamese people over the past twenty odd years by Professor Lynd of Yale University. We were shocked to hear that Professor Lynd's passport had been confiscated. Although it was evident that Professor Lynd's voice was too loud for the State

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**WHY KREMLIN REPUDIATED STALIN** — The Kremlin bureaucracy came to the 29th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, the first since Stalin died almost three years ago, not to pay homage to their leader and teacher but to repudiate the dead tyrant publicly. They did so because Stalin had outlived his usefulness to the bureaucracy. From an asset to the bureaucratic caste, the tyrant's very name, his criminal record and bloody reign had turned into an intolerable liability. Stalin's rule had become so universally hated and discredited in the eyes of the Soviet masses that the bureaucratic caste stood only to lose by remaining identified with him.

Stalin's heritage left his successors with no solutions for the multiple, complex economic and political problems they have to cope with at home, within the Soviet bloc, in relation to the "neutralist" countries and in relation to the imperialists. On the contrary, Stalin and his heritage remain the biggest obstacle Khrushchev and company have to surmount. At the 20th Congress the bureaucrats unloaded Stalin in order to free their hands in trying to adjust themselves to their new conditions and tasks. Not a single Russian delegate had a good word to say for Stalin. This is in sharp contrast to the 19th Congress when none dared take the floor without grovelling before the "beloved leader."

Khrushchev, the main reporter, mentioned Stalin's name once — to take note in passing that he had meanwhile died. He then proceeded to launch an attack on the cult of Stalin, without mentioning him by name . . .

Coupled with the repudiation of Stalin they offered a number of material concessions to the Soviet toilers . . .

The bureaucracy did not make these material, legal and political concessions to the Soviet masses out of the goodness of its heart. Especially the repudiation of Stalin. It marks the first major political concession imposed by mass pressure upon Stalin's successors. And it was the most difficult one for them to make . . .

By his pointed attack on the Trotskyists "and others as the most malignant enemies of the people, champions of the restoration of capitalism," Khrushchev tried to fix rigid and inviolable limits to the repudiation of Stalin's past. However, political concessions by a totalitarian regime set in motion processes which have a logic of their own. — March 5, 1956.

Department.

Many of us in England have failed miserably in following your courageous lead in opposing the escalation of American colonization in the third world. And we congratulate you on forming a movement such as yours amidst a hostile and alienated society.

The courage that you have shown in voicing the truth, has moved us deeply.

There are many movements afoot in our country, and we are watching closely developments in the third world.

I feel sure that in the coming year you will learn of our support for your movement. And your movement will feel united amongst the citizens of the world, in opposing the forces of tyranny that are cremating the people of Vietnam with the torch of liberty.

Many of us in England give our solid support to your cause in the year ahead.

J.F.

## Malcolm X Serial

New York, N. Y.  
I appreciate the serialization of *Malcolm X Speaks in The Militant*. I would like to know if you are running the full text of the book, or only a portion?

Reader

[Only a portion. Our serialization is "excerpted" from the book, as the caption which accompanies each installment states. This is partly because of space problems, and partly because some chapters of the book were originally printed in *The Militant* in 1964 and 1965, while Malcolm was still alive.—EDITOR.]

## Castro and Trotskyism

Entwistle, Alta., Canada  
Enclosed please find \$10 for renewal of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* for one year.

We have in Canada a committee for the defense of Cuba and it has done considerable work toward that end.

Castro's speech accusing Trotskyists of being agents of imperialism was quite a shock. It makes one wonder if the attack on the Fourth International was a condition for continued support from the Soviet bureaucracy. Castro did not help the Cuban revolution with this speech, as there is not one grain of truth in it.

J. G. B.

## Vietnam Fight

Chicago, Ill.  
Just last Friday a fight broke out between two young workers in their twenties. It occurred after work in front of the small factory where the two are employed. The one young man had been challenged to a fist fight by the other for his outspoken criticism of U.S. aggression against Vietnam. The challenger maintained that the trouble in the south was caused by "outside agitators" but, felt the U.S. government had all the right in the world to be in Vietnam. This young man is from Alabama.

The other young man felt that the U.S. government should use the power of its military to insure freedom at home, before attempting to supposedly bring "freedom" to Vietnam. The outcome was indecisive. However the Southerner was bigger and did give more punishment yet he still couldn't win.

I write this only to show that some Americans have decided to speak out against this horrible war at any cost — even if it means having to have a fist fight every day. That's the least we

can do considering the hell that oldsters, men, women and children of Vietnam are taking day and night.

Pieter Romayn Clark

## Ghetto Draftees

New York, N. Y.  
For most of New York's ghetto youth the draft is an inevitable part of the late teens. Many used to await their call eagerly. Some even quit school and enlisted at 17. For these young men, the service was a way out—a way out of the ghetto, a way to see the world at government expense. It put off the pressure of looking for a miserable low-paying job; it solved the problem of the next meal and a decent pair of shoes. For those who had already married, there was a guaranteed monthly allotment for dependents. But with the build-up in Vietnam, there is a new mood developing. As one young mother in Harlem put it, "It sure ain't such a good deal anymore."

Last year Pedro Ortiz, an East Harlem youth, was studying armed forces manuals and planning to take a special course to be sure he made the grades for enlistment. But he's changed his mind. "I've been thinking about it and reading the newspapers. Here's how I figure it, if you want to know. Why should I go down there and shoot a guy I don't know and he doesn't know me — what for? I don't know why I

should go down there and get shot for no reason at all.

"My brother José was sent to Fort Dix last month. When they call me down," Pedro asserts, "they'll have to listen. I'm going to put up a fight and tell my side. I'm going to tell them, 'You have one of my brothers already. I have another little brother who's sick with asthma. Who's going to help pay the bills when he comes home from the hospital? They need me here.'"

Juan, a friend of Pedro's who has been ordered to report next month, interjected, "I don't approve. I don't approve of anything about it. I hope I don't get sent over there, but you know, face it, nine chances out of ten I will."

Pedro, however, will soon face the draft. Although he wasn't failing any course or truanting, he was kicked out of school two weeks ago as the result of an argument with his guidance counsellor and is currently unemployed. He will be 18 next month.

As with Pedro, the only occupation of many of New York's ghetto teen-agers is "waiting for the draft." Today this is a dangerous occupation.

Debbie Hilquist

## Renewed Aid Appeal

Providence, Ky.  
Recently a letter requesting aid for the Committee for a Liberal

Lending Library was printed in *The Militant*. Since then we have received several replies. We are in need of much more.

We are trying to establish a storefront operation. We are trying to initiate a mail library service for those as far as 92 miles away who are pleading for service. We are trying to work for a unified Negro voting block which can get laws passed for its betterment; to draw the "poor white" community into a block to work with the Negroes; to organize an "End the War" protest march March 25-26 in Evansville, Ind. and Henderson, Ky. All this takes money.

We are in debt to several book companies and some printers. Money again!

So at a meeting last night we voted to try a new method to raise funds. To everyone who sends \$3 or more we will send an assortment of peace and progress materials and a bulletin on the Committee's activity every month or every two months.

This does not mean we do not seek contributions of under \$3. Even half-dollars are welcome. This also does not mean we are no longer asking for books or literature. We still seek the things we mentioned in our letter.

Richard Chinn, Chairman  
Comm. for a  
Liberal Lending Library  
600 Third Ave. So.  
Providence, Ky 42450

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Note to CIA?** — Washington officials expressed doubt that de Gaulle would really pull out of NATO. "Also," a *New York Times* Washington dispatch said, "the possibility is raised here that on April 4, 1969, the date when NATO can be revised . . . General de Gaulle may no longer be directing the destiny of the French people."

**America** — The New York Police Department says the detective who walked onto the stage at Town Hall while an anti-Vietnam war meeting was going on and tried to sing "God Bless America" is now on sick leave. Joel Oppenheimer, the poet who ran the detective off the stage, commented: "They'll put that detective on sick leave for six weeks and then he'll be back in action, packing a gun. God bless America with that cat on the loose."

**Grin and Bear It** — Luci Baines Johnson says she won't work after she marries Air National Guardsman Patrick Nugent because "Paddy won't hear of it." Mr. Nugent is drawing but \$93.90 a month for his Washington desk job with the Guard but when he finishes his hitch in April he reportedly has a job waiting with the Senate Commerce Committee. Perhaps that will pay a bit better.

**Sweet Charity** — A & P heir Huntington Hartford held a charity ball in New York for the Foundation of Modern Art which he set up to finance his Gallery of Modern Art. The ball had to be held at a local hotel after Mr. Hartford's efforts to book the French liner, *France*, fell through. Just the same, all the society people present agreed it was a great shindig. Commented dress designer Jo Copeland, "It's so refreshing to be associated with a charitable event that's not a disease."

**Pants Pay** — George and Lynn

Stuart, New York garment manufacturers who made their pile in ladies' trousers, own two Rolls Royces. One is described as featuring two telephones, two bars and a stereo set. The chauffeur tidies around with an ostrich duster.

**Cab Fancier** — Nubar Gulbenkian, 71, an oil millionaire likes to sit upright in the back seat of a car with his bowler on. He discovered he could do this in a London cab and promptly ordered one. With extra trimmings and no meter it cost him \$9,800, about double the regular price.

**The March of Civilization** — An Italian firm has perfected a battery-powered fork that automatically winds up spaghetti.

**Progress Report** — The Florida Welfare Board has decided to place more trust in people who apply for aid. Statements by applicants will be accepted without the documentation of age, length of residence, etc., now required

and often taking months to obtain. The state has a backlog of 10,000 welfare applications, some pending more than a year. An application for welfare in Florida rarely takes less than a month to process.

**Ghettos Not Luxury-Gluffed** — After an extensive study a Madison Avenue marketing research outfit discovered that it isn't true that Negro ghetto dwellers spend all their money on such status symbols as Cadillac cars. The *New York Times* reports: "In general, the report finds, that the Negro market currently is practical — and convenience oriented. It is keyed to quality and variety in everyday items. Indulgence items are scarce."

**In the Aisles?** — In a pitch for new customers, an ad for Braniff airlines, announces that their hostesses change uniforms as often as four times on a single flight.

—Harry Ring

## FOR NEW READERS

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

## THE MILITANT

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## Thought for the Week

"When you're dropping bombs you've also got to tell people you're dropping some bags of fertilizer." — An American official in Saigon explaining to the *New York Times* why Johnson's talk about social reform in Vietnam shouldn't be taken too seriously.

## A MILITANT INTERVIEW

## From Air Base to Tent City

By Harry Ring

Last week a New York civil rights activist phoned to ask if *The Militant* would like to interview eight young people from Mississippi who had participated in the occupation of the Greenville Air Force Base last month and who were now living in a tent city.

We readily agreed and I was assigned to do the interview. I felt a bit uneasy since I had never tried to interview eight people at one time. However, when the group arrived at our office and we sat down to talk I found there was no problem.

Seven of the eight were under 21 and rather shy. But the eighth, Mrs. Johnnie Mae Walker, 32, is a wonderfully articulate person and while she and the group insist they have no spokesman it became quickly apparent that she is a spokesman in the best sense of the word.

Mrs. Walker described how the idea for the move-in on the army barracks developed at the Poor Peoples Conference called by several civil rights groups and attended by some 800 Mississippians in Mt. Beulah Jan. 28-31. There were a lot of people there who have been forced off the plantations, some who took part in a Mississippi Freedom Labor Union strike last May, others who are the victims of mechanization.

What happens, Mrs. Walker explained, is that a plantation owner will get some labor-saving equipment and simply force workers off his land. A man will show up, she said, and just cut off the electricity at the shacks. Then the local store cuts off credit. There's nothing left to do but get out.

## Flew In Troops

When the participants in the Poor People's Conference got to the Greenville Air Force Base they started setting up stoves and beds but the leaders didn't really expect they would be able to stay for long. "We knew the troops would come," Mrs. Walker said. "They got there in less than 24 hours. Flew them in."

"The idea wasn't just for a demonstration," Mrs. Walker explained, "We wanted to stay there. There's a lot of barracks there not being used. The government says it's concerned about poverty and we didn't have no place to go so we decided to move into the base."

"Then a general came from the Air Force Base at Biloxi. Said we'd have to leave. Said he was acting on orders from the Commander-in-Chief. Everyone knew who that was. Said if we didn't go peacefully they'd have to remove us. But we didn't have no



Johnnie Mae Walker

place else to go so we decided they'd have to throw us out."

While they were being evicted, Mrs. Walker had a heart attack. With newsmen and TV cameramen on the scene, the army officials were apparently concerned not to have a fatality and an army doctor was rushed in. Mrs. Walker refused to let him treat her.

"They talk about humanity," she said in icy anger, "the way they treat us. I said, 'Don't let him touch me.' I didn't want to be a part of this country and I didn't want this country touching me.' So they put me in an ambulance and took me to a clinic in Greenville."

She rested at the clinic for five hours and then left.

Why so soon? I asked. She shrugged. "We had 180 people and no place to put them."

First they moved to a tent city at Mt. Beulah, but it was too cold and wet there, she said, and people were getting sick.

Then a private citizen offered them 60 acres near Philadelphia, Miss. and 70 to 80 of them set up a tent city there.

Recalling that Philadelphia is where the three young civil rights workers were murdered in 1963, I asked if they didn't anticipate trouble.

"Trouble? I don't think so," she replied. "They don't want to come near us. People have a very violent reaction to that stuff. They're tired of being pushed around."

## 80-Acre Offer

So they're staying in their tent city and have set their sights on a much bigger goal. They have been offered another 80 acres of timberland adjoining the 60 acres they now have and they would like to build a regular city there and establish some kind of an industry, perhaps one that could make use of the available timber.

It was the hope of realizing this goal that brought these young people to New York. They are looking for publicity and some way to begin to raise the kind of money that would be needed to set such a project off the ground. Among the eight are the Boyd sisters, four teen-agers who sing spirituals very beautifully and the group thought they might be able to perform before civil rights groups and others to help their project along.

Meanwhile they have the problem of simply keeping the tent city dwellers going. I asked what the people down there are eating. One of the young men shrugged and replied: "Rice, beans, fat-back, water."

Contributions are needed to help the tent city dwellers in their im-

mediate needs and for their long-range goal. Contributions may be sent to the Poor People's Conference, Box 366, Edwards, Miss.

I asked Mrs. Walker to tell me something about herself. She's been active in the movement since 1961 — "SNCC, CORE, SCLC, whoever's been doing anything."

In 1963 she lost her job as a presser in a cleaning and dyeing store in Hattiesburg after she registered to vote. Since then she's worked full time for the movement, teaching adult literacy and political education classes in Freedom School and joining in whatever was going on.

She has two girls, 11 and 13, but doesn't see them too often recently. She hasn't been back home since the Poor People's Conference a month ago.

How do they manage? "God knows," she replied. "The community takes care of them best they can. The older girl is active in the Mississippi Student Union and she understands what I'm doing. The little one wants to know why I'm gone. I tell her I'm fighting for what my mother should have fought for — so they won't have to go through what I went through."

## \$17 Million A Day

We got onto the subject of Vietnam. "How in the world," she exclaimed, "can this country spend \$17 million a day there when a third of this country is starving to death?"

"One lady at the barracks said her son is 18 and soon he'll be ready for the draft. She said she's going to discourage him from going. If I had a boy I'd do the same thing."

"You know," she continued, "small things happen in this country that people don't even notice. They take a Negro, put him in uniform, teach him to kill and he's a 'man.' It's over and he's



"LET MY PEOPLE GO." Boyd sisters of Holmes County, Miss., in a moving rendition of spirituals at New York Militant Labor Forum Feb. 25. They appeared along with Mrs. Johnnie Mae Walker on behalf of fellow residents of tent city which they established after being thrown off Greenville Air Force Base by U.S. troops. After Mrs. Walker spoke a collection was taken. Despite fact that the particular meeting was a small one, nearly \$140 was contributed.

a plain ol' 'boy' again — no job, nothing.

"According to the government," she explained, "even though we didn't have homes, we were wrong to move into that air base. It's the same with the people in Vietnam. From the government's point of view, what they're trying to do is wrong."

"But I don't see things the way the government does," she added. "Those people over there are fighting for the same things I am."

I asked about the whites in Mississippi, if there was any change. The youngsters felt not. But Mrs. Walker said there might be the beginning of a change.

"The white people in the South — the poor ones — they've got a problem, but they're afraid to deal with it," she said. "In Mississippi there's more poor whites than

colored. But the Negroes, in the last three, four years, have had the courage to do something about it."

"There's few things the white man is learning," she said. "Some of them never knew how bad they were being cheated on the farm until we did something about it."

She told a moving story of a little step in the right direction made by one poor white. "We had a relief line in Baseville, Mississippi," she recalled, "the people from up North sent food for the hungry people there. This white man came and got in that line with all the colored people. It took a lot of courage for him to do that. First we didn't know what to do. We debated for 30 minutes whether or not to give him anything. Then we came to the idea that if a man's hungry, feed him."

## THE INDONESIAN EVENTS

## Sukarno in Move Against Right

(World Outlook) — The deep instability of the Indonesian situation received dramatic confirmation with Sukarno's success Feb. 21 in removing General Nasution from a position of central authority to which even Sukarno himself had been forced to bow since Oct. 1.

It appeared that Nasution was firmly in the saddle; that Sukarno was being retained as a figurehead; and that the generals would proceed along the reactionary course they had begun, eventually bringing Indonesia fully into the orbit of U.S. imperialism.

Reactionary sectors of the students who had spearheaded the drive to physically liquidate all the key figures in the Indonesian Communist Party, staged demonstrations on behalf of Nasution. A crowd of some hundreds marched on the presidential palace Feb. 24, but instead of receiving support from the army, as on previous occasions, troops fired in their direction, killing three of the participants. Some were wounded by bayonets.

## "Funeral March"

On the following day, the reactionary Indonesian Student Action Front organized a "funeral march" of some 10,000 participants. The demonstration protested the killing of the three students the day before, shouted against Sukarno's "new Communist cabinet," and called for the reinstatement of General Nasution.

The army did not join in the

demonstration. Instead, troops kept machine guns trained on the crowd.

Sukarno followed up by banning the student organization and ordering a curfew in Jakarta.

Two factors account for this abrupt alteration in the relative positions of Nasution and Sukarno.

The first is that no improvement of even the most ephemeral kind occurred in the steadily worsening economic situation in Indonesia after the generals seized the helm on Oct. 1. Inflation, for example, has continued

to slash deeply into the standard of living.

Nasution and his entourage had no program whatsoever offering even a plausible way out. Their program consisted of nothing but the grossest kind of anti-Communism accompanied by a fearful blood purge. There was nothing attractive about this. Thus the generals represented only narrow class forces and failed to advance a demagogic platform that might have widened their appeal.

The second factor was a split among the generals. This is clearly evident in Nasution's incapacity to counter Sukarno's latest moves by a military coup d'état, for example. Part of the officer caste, for whatever reasons, cooled off on General Nasution and swung behind Sukarno, enabling him to strengthen his hand somewhat.

Already Sukarno has given intimations that he would like to restore the Communist Party as a counterweight to the army. But this may not be easy. The party was decimated by the purge. Those who survived are undoubtedly mulling over the lessons, and one of the lessons is not to depend on Sukarno.

The situation in Indonesia remains highly fluid and Sukarno's new lease on life could prove to be quite temporary. The ultra-reactionary forces are not exactly out of the running. If Nasution proves incapable of playing the role of military dictator, there are other candidates eager to move forward.

## Ali Takes Dim View Of Vietnam War

The standing of Muhammad Ali, world's heavyweight boxing champion, hit a new low among boxing officials and Johnson administration fight fans, while reaching a new high among Americans opposed to the war in Vietnam, when he refused to back down on his objection to being given a 1-A draft classification.

When told about his new draft status, the famed fighter said, "I'm a member of the Black Muslims and we don't go to wars unless they are declared by Allah himself . . . I don't have no personal quarrel with those Vietcong."



Sukarno