

# THE MILITANT

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## D. A. Presents Case In Malcolm X Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Jan. 25 — The trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm X began with the opening statement by the prosecution, presented to the jury on Jan. 21. Vincent J. Dermody, the assistant district attorney in charge of the prosecution, explained that an opening statement in which the prosecutor states what he expects to prove in the case is required by law. A summary of Dermody's statement follows:

In 1952 Malcolm X became a member of the Black Muslims, which was under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm X became a minister and established Mosque No. 7 in Harlem. On Nov. 23, 1963 Malcolm X was suspended from his duties as a minister and remained suspended thereafter.

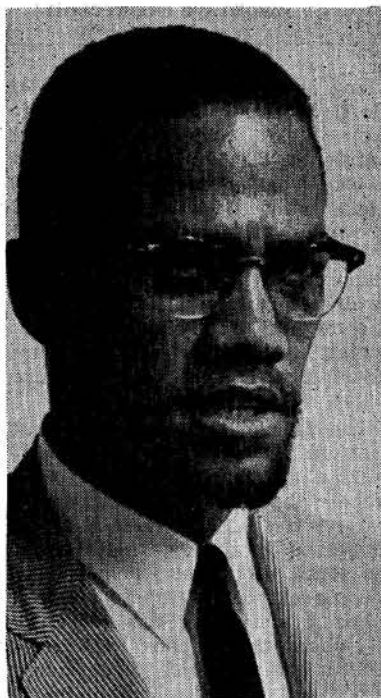
In March 1964 Malcolm X broke away from the Black Muslims and formed his own organization. It was known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity and also as the Muslim Mosque Incorporated, and had its headquarters at the Hotel Theresa. He attracted many people including Black Muslims. He held weekly rallies, invariably at the Audubon Ballroom.

### Describes Events

On Feb. 21, 1965 at about 3 p.m. Malcolm X started to address an audience of about 200 people at the Audubon. The three defendants, all active members of the Black Muslims, were in the auditorium. Talmadge Hayer (also known as Thomas Hagan) and Norman (3X) Butler were seated together, each with an automatic pistol. Thomas (15X) Johnson was seated alone, with a shotgun.

By a prearranged plan, Hayer and Butler created a disturbance. Hayer shouted about Butler trying to pick his pocket. At this point Johnson approached the stage and fired point blank at Malcolm X. In the confusion, Hayer and Butler rushed toward the stage and each fired shots into the prone body of Malcolm X.

Johnson dropped the shotgun on the floor and slipped away. Hayer and Butler were pursued by sev-



Malcolm X

eral people but Butler managed to escape. Hayer was shot in the leg; he was caught and beaten. Police rescued him.

An autopsy showed that Malcolm X died of pellets from a shotgun, and bullets from a .45 caliber automatic and a 9 mm automatic. Police recovered the weapons and ballistics experts will testify that they were the ones used to kill Malcolm X.

Butler was arrested Feb. 25, 1965, and Johnson was arrested March 3.

The defense attorneys have the option of also making an opening statement. Only Peter L. F. Sabatino, Hayer's lawyer, chose to do so. In brief, Sabatino said that he would show the following:

Hayer was arrested on Feb. 21 and held incommunicado for almost three weeks. He was not arraigned or brought into a court of law for several weeks. He was not allowed to see an attorney or

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## In Reply to Castro's Attack on "Trotskyism"

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## LBJ Steps Up Drive Against Viet Forces

By Dick Roberts

JAN. 25 — In the midst of what gives all appearances of being a split in the ruling class over how best to prosecute the war in Southeast Asia, one point has emerged over which there is absolutely no disagreement in Washington — to continue their campaign to destroy the forces of the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam in the shortest possible time, and to build up an invincible stronghold of U. S. military bases.

Under the cover of the so-called peace offensive, U. S. troops have been pouring into south Vietnam by the thousands, bringing the total land forces to over 190,000. At the same time, saturation bombing of the countryside has continued without let-up, and plans are underway to increase the number of B-52's, which have been flying from Guam to targets near Cambodia every day since the Christmas truce.

Congress is about to pass a \$4 billion supplemental appropriations bill to finance the war through June. Defense Secretary McNamara announced on Jan. 17 that the Defense Department would seek a new increase of 113,000 men in the strength of the armed forces. This increase, over and above that sought last summer, will bring the total military strength up to 3,093,000 military personnel and 1,093,000 civilians.

McNamara's request followed by eight days the statement from the director of the Selective Service System, Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, that plans for next year's draft would probably not exceed those of the Korean War. The highest draft in 1965 was a little over 40,000. The Korean War level registered monthly draft calls as high as 80,000.

The present designs of Washington in south Vietnam were summed up in one sentence by the



U. S. MARINE stands guard on women, children and old people in south Vietnam village. Washington is escalating war against south Vietnamese.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Earl G. Wheeler, testifying before a congressional hearing Jan. 22: "Our objective out there," Wheeler stated, "— and this is General Westmoreland's strategy — is to defeat, together with the Vietnamese forces, the main-force Vietcong units and the North Vietnamese forces that have been introduced."

The disagreement in Washington, which was brought to a head Jan. 24 by Senator J.W. Fullbright's attack on the administration's Vietnam policy, centers on the question of whether to resume the bombing of north Vietnam, and to appear to leave open the door for

negotiations with Hanoi, or whether to drop the whole "peace offensive" and re-escalate the war against north Vietnam immediately. There is no disagreement over the decision of indefinite occupation and continued military build-up in south Vietnam.

Since Jan. 21, Johnson and his chief appointees have been in the process of easing out of the "peace offensive" with about the same amount of concern for truth that they displayed in opening the offensive a month ago — none whatsoever. The President himself set the tone of the propaganda he wants to see used in a not too

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## Answer to the "Peace Offensive"—Bring the GI's Home!

By Fred Halstead

One effect of the so-called "peace offensive" has been the spreading of the illusion that the U. S. escalation of the war has been halted at least temporarily by the suspension of the bombing in north Vietnam. But this is an entirely false illusion.

Suspension of the regular bombing of north Vietnam is not the same as de-escalation of the war. It is nothing more than suspension of the bombing of north Vietnam.

For the antiwar movement in the U. S. to adopt an attitude of assuming that unless and until the bombing of north Vietnam resumes, the escalation of the war has not resumed, would be dangerous folly. The unassailable facts are that under the cover of a smokescreen propaganda campaign about "negotiations," the U. S. has proceeded with a gigantic escalation which already has 190,000 U. S. troops in south Vietnam and

the preparations proceeding for sending 113,000 more.

In spite of these facts, there has been something of a lull in the activities of the antiwar movement within the U. S., due in part at least to a wait-and-see attitude toward the so-called "peace offensive." A widespread mixture of suspicion and hope has prevailed within the ranks of the antiwar movement in this country since Christmas.

In this situation it is the clear duty of the antiwar movement, and especially of its prominent spokesmen and leaders, to expose the falseness of these hopes by telling the truth about the escalation in the south, and to prepare the movement to escalate its own activities in the most effective possible way.

Clearly the most effective answer to the current escalation is the demand to bring the troops home from Vietnam now. For this

simple, easily understood, and broadly popular demand hits the central problem right on the head. No amount of twisting by the warmakers can get around it the way they get around the demand for "negotiations" and even turn it to their own advantage.

It is also clear that as long as U. S. troops remain in Vietnam the self-determination of the Vietnamese people is being violated. No amount of doubletalk by Johnson, Rusk, etc. will change that fact. Even those within the U.S. power structure who advocate a more "moderate" course in Vietnam maintain — along with Johnson — that U. S. troops must remain in south Vietnam until a government acceptable to the U.S. is firmly established there. The editorial in the Jan. 23 *New York Times*, for example, speaks of "achieving a representative administration in Saigon prior to American withdrawal." That is, a gov-

ernment determined by the presence of U. S. troops and representative of U. S. interests.

There are no end of commentators and advisers these days pointing out that on the face of it, the statements by Washington and Hanoi and even the south Vietnamese National Liberation Front, are not very far apart. They all say they are for "self-determination," for the Geneva agreements, etc. But a world of difference remains: for the Vietnamese self-determination means the withdrawal of foreign troops, and for the U. S. government "self-determination" means leaving the U. S. troops there.

It is in this context that the report by Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden on their recent trip to Hanoi should be viewed. As published in the January issue of *Viet Report*, it says: "On the one hand, as we were told over and over again, the NLF

and DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] require, as a precondition to negotiations, an unambiguous decision by the United States to withdraw all its troops from Vietnam. On the other hand, they would seem to be prepared to leave the United States considerable freedom in choosing how to demonstrate by concrete steps that this decision has been made. Every indication is that there is no explicit requirement of the physical withdrawal of all United States troops prior to negotiations."

Assuming that Lynd and Hayden have here correctly sensed the Vietnamese position does this mean that the antiwar movement in the U. S. should refrain from demanding the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops?

Absolutely not. The Vietnamese may feel it necessary to seek an end to the fighting under conditions which are short of full

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# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

400 subway motormen were the first members of the Transport Workers Union to hear a report on the contract still being negotiated with the New York City Transit Authority.

Although the New York transit strike is over the TWU and the TA are still negotiating on how to divide the money "package" agreed to.

Other transit workers will probably receive similar briefings at separate meetings instead of having the entire contract aired at a general membership meeting.

Following these briefings at which no votes are taken, transit workers will vote on the contract via a mail ballot.

**"In a very forthright fashion, the 400 delegates to the recent B.C. [British Columbia] Federation of Labor convention took issue with the top officials of the AFL-CIO for their support of the President Johnson policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.**

**"In the resolution which passed unanimously, they urged the Executive Council of the CLC [Canadian Labor Congress] to use their influence to dissuade the American leadership of the AFL-CIO from continuing their dangerous anti-social position. They also proposed that all differences between countries be referred to the United Nations and condemned the use of unilateral force and unilateral intervention in the affairs of independent nations."**

Quoted from Dec-Jan. *On The Level*, monthly paper of Vancouver, B.C. Local 452 Carpenters Union and Local 1928 Millworkers Union.

**A growing labor shortage resulting from increased war production and stepped up draft calls**

## Weekly Calendar

### AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

### CHICAGO

**IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOTIATIONS.** A socialist view of the debate in the antiwar movement. Lew Jones, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, Feb. 4, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, Rm. 204, 302 S. Canal. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

**THE DETROIT SCHOOLS.** Panel discussion: Gwendolyn Mallett, Mary Ellen Riordan, Evelyn Sell. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

**THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH: How the People of the Colonial World Live and Why They Must Revolt.** Based on the book by Franz Fanon. Speaker: Theodore Edwards, KPFC socialist commentator. Fri., Feb. 4, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

**BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARFARE RESEARCH** at the University of Pennsylvania. Reporter: Robin Martin, of the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Fri., Feb. 4, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway (at 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Save the Fridays of Feb. 11th & 18th for Memorial Meetings for Malcolm X. Speakers: George Breitman, Clifton DeBerry, Robert Vernon and Tapes of Malcolm X.

### TWIN CITIES

**INDIA — LAND OF FAMINE.** Speaker: Charles Scheer. Fri., Feb. 4, 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240 Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

is the topic of research by the newly created federal Manpower Requirements Committee. In a pilot study of Milwaukee, Wis., it noted that the "normal" skilled labor force had been exhausted and that unskilled service workers would have to be brought into skilled jobs.

Implicit in the report was the fear that this change in jobs would generate increasing pressure for wage increases.

Despite this increasing shortage, the U.S. Labor Department reports that unemployment in Negro communities such as Watts, Harlem, and West Oakland is "dangerously high."

**10,695 charges of unfair labor practices were filed with the National Labor Relations Board last year. The NLRB says more than 70 percent of the charges it handles involve illegal firing of workers engaged in union organizing campaigns.**

According to the Jan. 19 *Wall Street Journal*, this is an indication of growing company campaigns to keep unions out of their plants. One of the private organizations used by the bosses in their anti-union campaigns is the American Association of Industrial Management. Included in its discussion meetings are ways "to combat union organizing drives." Attendance at these meetings by company executives has risen to 1,000 compared to some 400 in 1963.

The *Journal* reported on the successful efforts of the Carpenter Steel Co. to defeat an organizing campaign by the United Steel Workers in Reading, Pa. In the two days prior to the election, the company president gave seven anti-union speeches at different plant locations. "In addition," said the *Journal*, "the plant's 2,000-odd workers were bombarded with letters, bulletin board messages and posters alleging all the advantages of non-unionism."

Another anti-union gimmick used by the Consolidated Aluminum Co., Jackson, Tenn., was a phonograph record of a plant manager's voice which was distributed to workers for playing in the home. It warned workers not to gamble their future on the unions and give up "our freedom for the control of union bosses."

**More than 10,000 members of Local 301, International Union of Electrical Workers went on strike against the General Electric Co. in Schenectady, N.Y., on Jan. 20.**

The strikers were protesting against poor working conditions and the suspension of two workers by the company last November.

# ... Drive to Crush Vietnamese

(Continued from Page 1)  
carefully phrased remark to reporters while cruising to Independence, Mo., in the Presidential airplane Jan. 21.

"I think every schoolboy knows that peace is not unilateral," Johnson told the reporters aboard the plane. "It takes more than one to sign an agreement. It seems clear to all that what is holding up peace in the world today is not the United States," the President continued. "What is holding back the peace is the mistaken view on the part of the aggressors that we are going to give up our principles, that we may yield to pressure, or abandon our allies, or finally get tired and get out."

One thing you have to admit about Johnson's grade-school interpretation of the war is that there's nothing ambiguous about it. First, you see, there's the United States in Vietnam and then there's the aggressor (Hanoi); second, any agreement that the U. S. makes must be between it and the aggressor; and third, the U. S. is going to stay put in Vietnam no matter what the aggressor hopes or thinks.

### Spelled Out

Just in case anyone missed the point, however, Secretary of State Dean Rusk spelled it out a little more diplomatically in a Washington news conference about the same time Johnson was headed to Missouri to pay tribute to his old buddy Hiroshima Harry. Rusk opened the news conference by stating that there had been no response from Hanoi to the 29-day "peace" campaign.

Reporters pointed out that the UN Secretary General, U Thant, had indicated that if the U. S. would make a concrete proposal allowing the National Liberation Front a place in the postwar government of south Vietnam, it would lead to actual negotiations. Rush replied:

### Double Talk

"Well, I think that our view is that the government of south Vietnam is a matter which should be determined by the people of south Vietnam themselves. We, ourselves, have supported and continued to support the idea of free elections in which the south Vietnamese people can make these decisions rather than have these decisions made for them by imposition from the outside. What is needed here is a proposal from Hanoi . . ."

How Rusk's and Johnson's flagrant distortion of the facts is supposed to square away with the detailed summary of the situation in Vietnam in the Mansfield Report, is anybody's guess. According to Mansfield's statement, which was the result of an extended study by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the present force of the People's Army of north Vietnam in the south is 14,000.

The total strength of the Saigon

## No Recruits In Danang Area

Explaining to New York Herald Tribune correspondent Beverly Deepe why U.S. forces are bottled up in the Danang area, a U.S. official said: "The biggest headache is that we can't move our Vietnamese troops and cadre out of this 20-square-kilometer collection of hamlets until we have villagers here who can defend the area. There's not one young man here between the ages of ten and 36 whom we can recruit."

Vietnam by the Saigon government can continue to be held for the indefinite future, let alone extended, without a further augmentation of American forces on the ground."

Where Mansfield and Fulbright disagree on Vietnam policy with the views expressed by Johnson and Rusk is on the question of how long to maintain the peace offensive and how to go about it. Highly conscious of the overwhelming opposition to the Vietnamese war by the masses of people all over the world, Mansfield and Fulbright feel that it is necessary for the Johnson administration to make some sort of concession towards peace, at least by not resuming the bombing of north Vietnam.

They are well aware of the hypocritical stance of the "peace offensive" and have urged Johnson to make approaches to the NLF itself. Their concern with public opinion is probably heightened by the feeling expressed in the Mansfield Report that any force really capable of crushing the NLF will involve a gigantic escalation of troop commitment, an escalation which would no doubt reinforce the antiwar feelings of the American people as draft calls cut deeper and deeper into the ranks of young men.

### No Word on South

While leaning towards an extension of the "peace offensive" for these reasons, however, this group of Democrats has not said one single word against the continuation of the war in south Vietnam. They favor indefinite U. S. occupation of this country, and they will go along with such reinforcements of ground troops as the Pentagon feels is necessary to maintain U. S. bases.

This military occupation will guarantee that a pro-U. S. dictatorship can be maintained in Saigon, and without saying so, they know that it would give U. S.-Saigon forces time to roundup all supporters of the NLF and either murder them or throw them in prisons. This was the course followed by the U. S.-backed South Korean dictatorship during the heavy U. S. military occupation of that country after the Korean War.

The advantages to Washington of voicing at least part of this debate in public are obvious. They hope it will side-track some of the criticism of the Democrats' failure to tell the truth about Vietnam.

# ... Bring Troops Home

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sovereignty — as they did in the original Geneva agreements. That is up to them since it is they who are under the napalm. But it is another matter for American citizens in the antiwar movement in this country to give any credence whatsoever to the claims by the U. S. government that it has any right to negotiate anything about the future of Vietnam.

Equally important is the fact that the duty of the American antiwar movement is to be as effective an instrument for bringing massive pressure against U. S. involvement in the war as possible. The decisions of the movement should be made on this criterion, and not on the criterion of what the diplomatic maneuvering of the moment may be.

All wars, of course, end in some sort of negotiations, and in that sense no one is opposed to negotiations as such. But it is important to note that the effectiveness of the antiwar movement — to be an important factor in ending the war — does not depend on its ability to advise the administration as to what face-saving devices may exist in this or that diplomatic move or negotiations procedure. Its effectiveness depends

on its ability to appeal to masses of Americans to oppose the war, and to create an objective fact of massive opposition which can help force a decision for U. S. withdrawal.

There are those within the peace movement in this country, however, who are bending every effort to have the movement devote its energies to "gaining the ear" of the administration, to concentrating on appealing to the liberal politicians to come out a little more boldly for "negotiations." These elements — and they include the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Communist Party — have been involved in a determined campaign to muzzle the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops within the movement, on the grounds that this demand is too "radical."

What they really mean is that the demand for immediate withdrawal is too unequivocal to be accepted by the liberal capitalist politicians who want to have their cake and eat it too, who want to pretend to be sympathetic with the antiwar movement while they are supporting the war. For the movement to tailor its demands to those liberal politicians would be to become truly irrelevant.

## EAST COAST EAST COAST

# SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND

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In New York

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#### GEORGE NOVACK

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#### HERMAN PORTER

Staff writer, *The Militant*, on  
"IMPACT OF VIETNAM WAR ON THE U.S. ECONOMY"

#### JACK BARNES

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# ... Malcolm X Trial

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any member of his family during that time.

Hayer denies categorically that he was a member of the Muslim movement, said Sabbatino. He went to the Audubon Ballroom alone and out of curiosity. The person who shot him, Sabbatino said, had a criminal record and would naturally seek to claim in self-defense that Hayer shot Malcolm X. The identification of Hayer as one of the assassins was by a mob, he concluded.

Testimony of the first important eyewitness, Cary Thomas, began the same day, after a presentation of diagrams of the building and auditorium in which the shooting took place. Cross-examination of Thomas is not yet completed after his third day on the witness stand.

In response to Dermody's questions, Thomas testified that he had witnessed the murder and seen it unfold just as Dermody's opening statement said it had. Thomas said he knew the three defendants to be Muslims and had seen each of them several times in Harlem's Mosque No. 7.

Thomas told the following story: he had seen Johnson sitting at the back of the ballroom when he arrived at about 2:20 p.m. on Feb. 21. He went over to Reuben Francis after he saw Johnson. When Malcolm X began to address the audience Thomas was seated in a booth on the left side of the chairs which faced the stage. Hayer rose from his chair directly in front of where Thomas was sitting. Hayer said: "Man what are you doing with your hands in my pocket," to Butler who was seated next to Hayer. Hayer had an automatic pistol in his hand. He turned and faced Thomas directly.

Then there was a gunshot and Thomas saw a man standing near Malcolm X facing the stage. The man turned around and Thomas saw it was Johnson holding a sawed-off shotgun.

After that, Hayer and Butler ran toward the stage. Thomas saw them both at the stage with their backs toward him. Each was making the same pumping motion with his hand, as if firing a gun. Though he had never actually seen a gun in Butler's hand, he saw "shells being ejected from the pistol falling on the floor."

Cary Thomas has stuck to this story through all the cross-examination so far. Though he is doggedly certain about his observation of these events and his memory of them, his knowledge of the other circumstances surrounding the assassination is extremely faulty and his memory of almost everything else connected with the case about which he was questioned is outrageously bad.

Thomas described his background under questioning by the defense: He has also been known as Abdul Malik and Cary 2X. He is 35, married, with four children, but had not seen his wife during the two years before the assassination.

He has owned at least one gun ever since he was 15 and usually carried one on his person. He had one with him at the Audubon but did not use it then. He was in the army from 1947 to 1953 and was court-martialed some 10 times, sometimes for serious crimes like possession of a pistol with intent to do bodily harm. He was given an administrative discharge for bad conduct.

He was a user of heroin for three years, and a pusher. He was convicted of possession of narcotics in 1961 in Boston. The two year sentence was suspended and

he was placed on probation.

Thomas said that he joined the Black Muslims. He testified first that he joined officially and received his X from Chicago in December 1963, and left in November 1964. Later he said he didn't recall the date he joined. At another time he testified that he had never been in Mosque No. 7, where he was a member, after November 1963.

He testified that he couldn't remember whether Malcolm X was the minister when he joined. There were several ministers he said, but he couldn't remember the names of any of them. One time he said he attended meetings for about one year before he joined. Another time he stated that he'd been going for two years.

Thomas declared that he left the Black Muslims when Malcolm X did. He said he was a member of Malcolm's organization for about a year. (Malcolm X was killed not quite one year after he broke with Elijah Muhammad.) But Thomas never discovered that Malcolm formed two organizations — one religious, the Muslim Mosque Inc., and one non-religious but dedicated to winning "freedom, justice and equality" for black people in America, the Organization of Afro-American Unity. He still thinks they are the same organization — that the OAAU was partly religious — even though Malcolm X made the distinction repeatedly. The OAAU was not formed until many months after the Muslim Mosque, which was an orthodox Islamic organization.

### Peculiar Muslim

Though Thomas claimed to be a member of the Black Muslims, his testimony showed he didn't act like one. He remained separated from his wife and children during the entire period, even though the Muslims place stress on the importance of family life. He testified he was sent to Bellevue Hospital (which is often used for psychiatric observation) because he was drunk. This incident occurred in 1963 after he supposedly joined the Muslims. Muslims have a strict taboo against alcohol.

The most important contradiction in Thomas' testimony revealed so far involves a reversal of the role of the defendants in his story. According to records read at the trial, Thomas testified before the grand jury on March 3, 1965, that Johnson and Butler, not Hayer and Butler, rushed toward the stage after the shotgun blast. Thomas claims that this was a slip made because he was nervous and in fear of his life. At the time of the assassination, the police told the press that Hayer was the one who had fired the shotgun. When they changed their minds is not clear.

In his testimony before the grand jury, Thomas identified Hayer as a member of the Jersey City mosque. Under cross-examination he revealed that the only basis for this was that he had seen Hayer with members of the Jersey City mosque several times. He could not recall the dates, even approximately, when he had seen any of the three defendants in the Harlem mosque, though he claimed to have seen each of them several times.

Thomas was picked up on March 2, 1965, and held by police as a material witness in a civil jail.

While in the civil jail he was indicted for arson and transferred on June 4 to a regular prison in Queens.

## U.S. PRESS SILENT

# Blood Bath in Indonesia

By Fred Halstead

Since last October the Indonesian army and right-wing terrorists have perpetrated one of the worst peace-time fratricidal blood baths in history. It is comparable — though on a larger scale — to the reprisals taken by the French capitalists against the Paris working class following the Paris Commune in 1871.

"More than 100,000 Communists and their sympathizers have been killed in Indonesia in the last three months, according to information available here," reported Anthony Lewis from London in the Jan. 13 *New York Times*. The *Sunday Times* of London on Jan. 2 said that "figures given of the number killed vary between 20,000 and 200,000 but fairly conservative estimates by Western diplomats put the figures at around 100,000."

The London report continues: "European engineers, businessmen and other foreign travelers returning from up-country speak of rivers filled with floating decapitated corpses . . . It is reliably reported that on the island of Bali alone between 3,000 and 4,000 were killed in the past ten days . . . There is no sign at present that the army intends to take over formally, though in practice its writ runs nominally everywhere outside of Jakarta. In Sumatra there is in effect a military state within a state."

Indonesian President Sukarno admitted Jan. 15 that 87,000 persons were known to have been killed since Oct. 1 in the chain of islands that make up the country, almost all of them members or sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) or of mass organizations affiliated with it. Sukarno said the death toll "was bigger than that in the current Vietnam war."

On the basis of these figures the terror in Indonesia constitutes the worst orgy of counterrevolutionary political murders anywhere in the world since Hitler. All this bloodletting against civilians has taken place without the slightest protest from the governments or the press in the capitalist world, including the United States. This is in sharp contrast to the outpouring of official statements, headlines and editorials protesting the execution of a mere 500 convicted murderers and torturers by the revolutionary Cuban regime in 1960.

### Distinct Gain

On the contrary, the *New York Times* comments that the Indonesian developments are viewed in Washington as a distinct gain for U.S. foreign policy.

The wave of counterrevolutionary terror was begun by the army after an unsuccessful coup on Sept. 30 by a few so-called left-wing officers headed by Lt. Col. Untung, in which six right-wing generals and a small number of other persons were killed. The army hierarchy responded with a coup of its own, taking power in fact, if not formally, throughout most of the country, and delivering a devastating blow to the PKI. The PKI was the largest single party in the country, the largest Communist Party in the capitalist countries, and held posts within Sukarin's coalition government.

The PKI was aligned with Peking, and its leaders had operated under the line of "revolution by stages." Following this policy, they formed coalitions and blocs with the "national bourgeoisie" and restrained the workers and peasants from proceeding with revolutionary measures that would be objected to by the native capitalists and landlords. Each time the masses surged forward, the PKI leadership sought to channel the struggle against the single target of foreign imperialism. Since the Sukarno government maintained friendly relations with China and



Mao Tse Tung

struck a generally anti-imperialist pose in international relations, the PKI leadership supported it, took responsibility for its actions, and avoided pressing the class struggle internally within Indonesia for fear of breaking up the coalition.

This line was described last April by PKI Chairman D. N. Aidit in an interview with Wilfred G. Burchett reported in the Dec. 18 *National Guardian*. Burchett asked Aidit about the PKI's position on land reform, and Aidit replied:

"That is a big question. We consider the two main tasks of our period: the struggle against imperialism and that against feudalism. Priority is for the struggle against imperialism. This means not only the territorial aspects of imperialism, but also the struggle against its economic bases inside the country. The government, of which we are a part, is united on this aspect, those who are against it do not dare to oppose it openly in any case. This is the point on which maximum unity is possible. To place too much emphasis on the anti-feudalist struggle would weaken this unity within the coalition government.

"The government is like a two-layer cake with progressive and reactionary forces co-existing, but sometimes one layer or top, sometimes the other. The reactionary forces are still very strong and active; but the relationship is changing in favor of the progressive forces. Even so, if it had been left to parliamentary debate and cabinet decisions, we would never have been able to carry out the three great waves of expropriation of imperialist property . . . These were genuine mass actions; the people moved and just took over the imperialists' property, facing the government with a fait accompli which was then confirmed by presidential decrees. This could have been done — and our party and its affiliated organizations played a leading role — because it fell within the framework of the priority task of anti-imperialism . . .

"To have carried out the anti-feudal struggle in a similar way would have been inappropriate if not impossible, and this applies to the thorny question of land reform."

Burchett says, paraphrasing Aidit: "He said the basic question of land tenure had not been touched because this would have brought headlong 'confrontation' between the two layers of the cake. He indicated that Sukarno, while willing to go to any lengths in the anti-imperialist struggle, would have been cool to drastic measures regarding peasant-landlord relations."

Aidit continued: "What we have done is to organize the peasants, educate them, make them clearly see wherein lay their problems. We introduced, and had accepted by Parliament certain measures to alleviate their lot, such as cancel-

ing back debts and fixing a ceiling on land rents. The peasants know all about this, for them we are 'their party.' The main thing is that they are organized and among the most politically conscious elements of the population."

It was this line of "peaceful coexistence" with the Indonesian capitalist class and landlords practiced by the PKI leaders which failed to prepare the workers and peasants to struggle against their own Indonesian oppressors, and paved the way for the success of the counterrevolutionary drive.

The inflation and poverty continued to worsen and the economic and social crisis could not be resolved by the Sukarno coalition because the solution required measures opposed by the wealthier Muslims, the landlords and capitalists. Meanwhile the army, center of counterrevolutionary forces, was being quietly strengthened by the U.S. On Oct. 1, it made its move to begin resolving the crisis in favor of reaction by drowning the mass organizations of the peasants and workers in blood. In this hour of need, Sukarno proved to be no help whatever to the PKI and he stood by while the slaughter proceeded. The PKI itself, having failed to prepare the workers and peasants for such a struggle, was unable to even defend itself.

### Believed Killed

"The belief among informed analysts here," reports Lewis from London, "is that virtually all the leaders of the once powerful Communist Party of Indonesia have been killed or captured by the Indonesian military forces. While there is no definite word of the party's chairman, D. N. Aidit, it is thought that he is dead."

The total membership of the Indonesian CP was once reported at three million, the largest in the capitalist world. Lewis says it is now down to 150,000. The party also used to have three million in a People's Youth wing and a following of 20 million in mass organizations of workers, peasants, women and government workers. This is a large force, of which considerable may remain. The revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries has seen many instances since the Second World War of remarkable resurgence after partial defeats. The defeat in Indonesia may not prove to be a long-range one, but in terms of lives lost alone, it is already one of the worst tragedies ever suffered by a workers' movement.

All the more reason that it should be carefully studied, the facts honestly faced, and the costly lessons learned. But there has been a playing down of the news, not only in the capitalist world, but by news media from the Chinese and Soviet-bloc countries as well. And in the news releases and periodicals coming into *The Militant* office, there has as yet been no report of campaigns of protest by the world's Communist parties over the slaughter in Indonesia.

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### Malcolm X Speaks

Our regular feature, excerpts from the book Malcolm X Speaks, was not run this issue because of space problems. We will resume this feature next week.

# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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Monday, January 31, 1966

## The Havana Conference

The documents approved by the Tricontinental Conference, which ended in Havana Jan. 15, are not yet available in New York. From the reports, however, it is possible to form a preliminary judgment of this gathering. There is no doubt that it marks a step forward for the revolutionary struggle in Latin America.

Some 430 delegates, representing all kinds of groups from 74 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America participated. Both Moscow and Peking sent representatives.

One of the main values of the conference was the opportunity it offered guerrilla fighters from a number of countries in Latin America to discuss their problems and to exchange experiences. Together with their Cuban hosts they set the tone, which was extremely militant, the emphasis being on "armed struggle" as a requisite for success in the battle for national freedom and socialism. The organization of effective aid for the Vietnamese freedom fighters also occupied the delegates.

The fervor of the conference can be gathered from the declarations of figures noted up to now for their avoidance of "armed struggle." Thus Cheddi Jagan, former prime minister of British Guiana, declared that "the war in Vietnam and the Dominican crisis prove to us that the peaceful road is closed . . . the only road left open to us is armed struggle."

Salvador Allende, leader of the Frente Revolucionario de Acción Popular, who was defeated in the last presidential elections in Chile, was moved to say that "the possibility is not excluded of an insurrectional struggle in Chile."

Of more interest was the stand taken by the Kremlin's delegation. They did not spare words in favor of "armed struggle."

The delegations of the pro-Moscow Communist parties in Latin America toed the line. Until very recently the concept of "armed struggle" was viewed in these circles as an unfortunate quirk of Castroism, if not a "Trotskyite provocation."

Even the delegates of the pro-Moscow Brazilian Communist Party, long notorious for its opportunism, joined in supporting the line of "armed struggle."

The leaders of these parties, along with Cheddi Jagan and Salvador Allende, can be expected to do little about converting their leftist phrases into action. But it is a different matter with the rank and file who expect words to be matched by deeds. The crisis which many of these parties have been undergoing can be expected to deepen, with the chances considerably improved for an outcome in the revolutionary direction.

The Cuban hosts of the conference succeeded in getting both Peking and Moscow to subordinate their differences for the sake of displaying a united front on the main theme of unity against the imperialist enemy. This aim was considerably facilitated by the complaisance of the Moscow delegation in verbally going along with the sentiment for armed struggle. Maladroit attempts of the Chinese delegates at factionalism met with rebuffs.

As Cedric Belfrage put it, "Unity against imperialism triumphed over internal Left disputes . . ." Writing from Mexico City, the former editor of the *National Guardian* said:

"In Peru the guerrillas' leadership (including the original leader Luis de la Puente, killed in action) is 'Trotskyist'; in Guatemala, guerrillas led by Luis Turcios (who headed his country's delegation) have split with those led by Yon Sosa, whom Turcios accused of harboring 'Trotskyist elements.' But neither those matters nor Moscow and Peking 'lines' were raised in the conference hall . . . The absence of ideological dispute was above all due to the Vietnam shadow hanging over the deliberation."

The effort to maintain a façade of unity in a conference where deep differences were present was highly dubious in our opinion. The major aim of the conference — to strengthen the struggle against imperialism and for socialism — might have been better advanced by clearly acknowledging from the beginning that differences did exist but that the conference was being held on a nonexclusionist basis with provisions made for discussion of the differences in panels or workshops for those interested. This would have opened the way for a free discussion and a greater clarification of some extremely important issues.

As it was, the effort at presenting a united front of all tendencies was broken finally by no one less than Fidel Castro himself, although in a speech delivered after the conference and with no opportunity provided for examination of the facts or a reply by those under fire. (See the articles in this issue concerning Castro's assertions about "Trotskyist elements.")

The conference as a whole, however, gave no satisfaction to Washington. The delegates from the 27 Latin American countries who were present will return to their battle fronts freshly inspired and heartened. The Vietnamese, who have been standing up so heroically against the imperialist effort to deny them victory in their struggle for freedom, will certainly feel less isolated. And we in the United States who are fighting for socialism can take encouragement from this strengthening of the front in the entire area south of the Rio Grande.

By Joseph Hansen

Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of the speech made by Fidel Castro at a mass meeting Jan. 16, following the Tricontinental Conference in Havana, a speech in which he attacked "Trotskyism." Due to Washington's blockade of Cuba it is not easy to obtain material quickly from the nearby island where the first great revolutionary socialist success was won in the Western Hemisphere.

Consequently I must rely on the quotations and interpretations provided by a special dispatch from Havana published in the Jan. 23 *Worker*, the voice of the American Communist Party, a notoriously unreliable source.

In extenuation, it is not likely that the *Worker* left out much on this point, which it handles as if it were about all Castro had to say in his speech, and as if it were the most important thing that happened at the Tricontinental Congress — as indeed it may have been from the viewpoint of American Stalinism.

### Why Guevara's Silence?

Introduced with a few paragraphs about the unity achieved at the gathering, the account carries the headline, "Castro Hails Unity Gained At Tricontinental Conference."

The emphasis placed by the *Worker* on what Castro said about "Trotskyism" is understandable. Since the heyday of the Moscow frame-up trials in which Trotsky and his followers figured as the main victims, the most vilely slandered victims in all history, the struggle of the *Worker* against "Trotskyism" has become arduous indeed what with the revelations at the Twentieth Congress about Stalin's monstrous crimes. An attack like this by no one less than

Castro is no small windfall. But why did Castro lend himself to such needs?

Castro's attack against "Trotskyism" appears completely disproportionate on the face of it. Some "elements," allegedly of "Trotskyite" persuasion, spread the rumor that Che Guevara was murdered by Castro. Why didn't Castro send a message to Che reporting the rumor and the damage it was doing to the good name of the Cuban government? Che, taking a page from the works of Mark Twain, could have drawn up a statement to be read at the Tricontinental Conference saying, "The report of the circumstances of my alleged death have been greatly exaggerated . . ."

And Che could have added a few words about the significance of the Havana conference and his esteem for Fidel, not to mention the importance of organizing guerrillas throughout Latin America.

Wouldn't that have been a much more appropriate, credible, and inspiring answer to the rumor than the not-very-original nonsense about "Trotskyism," a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction," being at the bottom of it all?

### Flimsy "Proofs"

The "proofs" cited by Castro to back his assertions are equally flimsy. The journals that attracted his attention include *Marcha* of Montevideo, *Il Nuovo Mondo* of Rome and the *Monthly Review* of New York. But not a single one of these publications is "Trotskyite" — Castro and/or the *Worker* to the contrary. The North American audience may not easily be able to judge for themselves with regard to *Marcha* and *Il Nuovo Mondo*. They can, however, run a spot check on the *Monthly Review* without much trouble.

## The 'Worker' Report on Castro's Speech

The following is the report from Havana printed in the Jan 23 *Worker*, on what Fidel said about "Trotskyism."

Greeted by stormy applause was Castro's denunciation of the Trotskyites as agents of imperialism. What the Fourth International committed, he declared, was a crime against the revolutionary movement, intending to isolate it from the rest of the people by corrupting it with stupidities.

He said his ire was aroused by Trotskyite articles "accusing Cuba of not giving Ernest Guevara a hearing and even making the vicious insinuation that Castro, his comrade in arms, murdered him."

Castro cited articles by Adolfo Gilly in the *Monthly Review* of New York, in *Marcha*, the Spanish Trotskyite weekly, and in *Nuovo Mondo*, the Italian Trotskyite newspaper, as well as an article by Felipe Alba Guante, the Mexican Trotskyite, in *El Universal*.

Gilly, in his article Oct. 22 in *Marcha* had claimed that Che Guevara had left Cuba because of differences with Castro over the Chinese question.

Castro, in his speech revealed that Guevara had an understanding with the Cuban revolutionists from the very outset that "when the struggle was completed in Cuba he would have other duties to fulfill in another place, and we always gave him our word that no state interest, no national interest, no circumstances would lead us to ask him to remain in our country or hinder him from carrying out that wish, that desire, and we fully and faithfully kept that promise made to Comrade Guevara."

Cuba's enemies, Castro said, have mounted a worldwide campaign to discredit Cuba by using Guevara's departure as a pretext. It was necessary for Che to depart secretly, he noted, and this

gave the imperialists a chance to use this circumstance. Then Castro held up a news-clipping, as one item among many, and said:

"This item is a UPI cable dated Dec. 6, 1965, which reads, 'Ernesto Guevara was murdered by Cuban prime minister Fidel Castro following orders from the USSR, declared Felipe Alba Guante, leader of the Mexican Trotskyites, in a statement made to *El Universal*.' He adds that Che Guevara was liquidated because he insisted on aligning Cuba with the Chinese line. This set the tone of a campaign which Trotskyite elements began to launch everywhere simultaneously."

Castro considered Adolfo Gilly's accusation that Cuba did not support the Dominican Republic to be particularly villainous. He pointed out that Gilly said this at the very moment when the U.S. authorities sought to justify intervention by claiming that Leftists and Communists heading the Dominican revolution were trained in Cuba.

### Castro on Gilly

Castro spoke of Gilly's article in the *Monthly Review* as "villainous."

"This person," he said, "had the vileness to accuse the Cuban revolution of not having given active aid to the revolution in the Dominican Republic," he said (sic).

"What does 'active aid' mean? Did they expect that Cuba, whose weapons and resources are well known, could stop the landing of U.S. troops in the Dominican Republic?"

"Cuba has weapons to defend itself and has these defense weapons in an infinitely inferior number with relation to the imperialists, and these gentlemen are so despicable, so shameless that they blame Cuba for not having prevented the landing, because what else does 'active support' mean?"

The *Monthly Review* is an unfiliated socialist magazine. Under the influence of the Cuban Revolution, which it strongly supports, it has become increasingly independent in recent years. The articles by Adolfo Gilly published by the *Monthly Review* certainly did no harm to either the Cuban or Guatemalan revolutions.

While one could disagree with Gilly on specific points, the articles were perceptive and informative and for that reason alone of value. There can be no doubt at all that the author is a loyal supporter of the Latin American revolution as a whole and an active participant in it. His articles were much appreciated — and not only by North American socialists.

If Gilly made a statement in *Marcha* that was open to misinterpretation or was even wrong, he could be answered in a reasoned way, as Castro attempts to do in considering Cuba's capacity to do more for the Dominican revolutionists than was done. What purpose is served by dragging in "Trotskyism" as an epithet in a way reminiscent of Stalinist practices before the Twentieth Congress? It can only injure the cause of united action against the common imperialist foe.

The reference to "Alba Guante" and the play given him by *El Universal*, one of the main bourgeois papers of Mexico City, is even shakier. Agence France-Press, reporting Castro's use of *El Universal* as a source, lists his name as "Alvahuante" and says he claims to be a "former secretary of Leon Trotsky." Alvahuante or Alba Guante is nothing of the kind. What interest this individual has in giving himself a "Trotskyist" past and presenting himself as a current "Trotskyist leader" remains obscure. Even more obscure is the interest of the Mexi-

"All that Cuba could do under those circumstances, all that it could have done and should have done, it did."

He added that asking Cuba to prevent this landing "is like asking Cambodia in Southeast Asia to prevent bombings of North Vietnam and to prevent the occupation of South Vietnam by Yankee imperialism."

Cuba, he said, does not have "millions of men under arms, it is not a country having nuclear weapons, because here our weapons are moral and the number of millions is not infinite, the number of men is not infinite, but the dignity and the decorum of this people is infinite."

Castro assailed the "infiltration" of Trotskyites into the Guatemalan revolutionary movement. One, he said, became the editor of a newspaper which copied the program of the Fourth International "from head to tail."

"What the Fourth International thus committed," he thundered from the rostrum to the delegates from three continents, "was a true crime against the revolutionary movement to isolate it from the masses by corrupting it with the stupidities, the dishonor and the repugnant and nauseating thing that is Trotskyism today within the field of politics."

"If Trotskyism, at a certain stage represented an erroneous position but a position within the field of political ideas, in later years it became a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction."

"These gentlemen reason that, for instance, with regard to South Vietnam, 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 counter-revolutionary."

# Castro's Attack on "Trotskyism"



LEON TROTSKY in 1921, when he was head of Red Army of young Soviet Republic, with some of his staff.

can bourgeois press in giving prominence to his declarations, which could not injure the world Trotskyist movement more if they were deliberately planted by the CIA.

### The Posadas Group

Castro's references to "infiltration" by "Trotskyites" into the Guatemalan guerrilla movement involve a complex situation. Genuine differences over perspectives exist among the guerrilla leaders. The differences hinge on their attitude toward the so-called "national bourgeoisie." Up to now, Yon Sosa has stood for complete independence. His opponents, evidently under the influence of the Guatemalan Communist Party, have pressed for a softer posture.

The issue is clearly one that affects the revolutionary struggle in many countries besides Guatemala.

It is in fact of decisive importance to success, as the course of the Cuban Revolution well illustrates.

A complicating factor in the Guatemalan situation is the role of representatives of the Posadas group. This is a split-off from the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. The Posadas group calls itself "Trotskyist" and even makes out that it constitutes the "Fourth International."

The leader of the group, J. Posadas, holds that a nuclear war is inevitable and even desirable. "The nuclear war is at the same time the revolution," he writes typically in the December 1965 issue of *Red Flag*. He predicts that New York and London will be annihilated in the coming nuclear war and that this will touch off

the revolution. "When the masses of the world will see, will learn that 'New York is destroyed' all the faith in the capitalist system and in the bourgeoisie and in the strength of capitalism will vanish."

Posadas holds that an attack on Moscow will further strengthen the revolution: "On the other hand as we have said the bombardment of Moscow will be the rising of the world proletariat and will provoke the revenge of the world and European proletariat."

The threat of radioactive fallout does not worry Posadas very much. He agrees that it is "necessary to find measures to combat radioactivity . . . to try to localize the centers of radioactivity . . ." But the solution to the problem, as he conceives it, should not prove to be overly difficult. As the nuclear war develops into revolution, committees of the people must be set up. Among their tasks will be: "Going from zone to zone, in order to eliminate pests, insects, cockroaches, flies, typhoid and radio-activity."

Such "stupidities" have been utilized by the Stalinists to smear the Trotskyist movement. They do not mention Posadas, since that would give the game away too easily. They give credit, instead, to the phony "Fourth International" label used by Posadas.

Castro's references to the "Fourth International" are of this nature. Posadas happens to have a few followers in both Cuba and Guatemala whose ultraleft stupidities do isolate them from the masses. To say that they constitute a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction" is, however, a slander.

### Guevara's Attitude

Is Castro well informed about the attitude of the world Trotskyist movement toward the Cuban Revolution? In his speech did he simply uncritically utilize materials prepared for him by graduates of the Stalinist school of falsification? There is not much purpose in speculating about this. The point is that Castro should know better. Che Guevara, for instance, took the time to gain accurate knowledge of the attitude of the world Trotskyist movement toward the Cuban Revolution.

Guevara, of course, did not become a Trotskyist. But from an attitude depreciative of Trotskyism as a whole, he did change. The Posadas group, whom he knew first hand, gave him a very bad impression. His views about Trotskyism altered as he gathered more facts and talked and argued with genuine representatives of the Fourth International.

Thus it was that Che Guevara said of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader who has now spent some three years in prison without a trial:

"Hugo Blanco is the head of one of the guerrilla movements in Peru. He struggled stubbornly but the repression was strong. I don't know what his tactics of struggle were, but his fall does not signify the end of the movement. It is only a man that has fallen, but the movement continues. One time, when we were preparing to make our landing from the *Granma*, and when there was a great risk that all of us would be killed, Fidel said: 'What is more important than us is the example we set.' It's the same thing. Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example, and he struggled as much as he could. But he suffered a defeat, the popular forces suffered a defeat. It's only a passing stage. Afterward will come another stage."

Che Guevara said this in Algiers in an interview July 23, 1963, that was published in the Aug. 3 issue of *El Moudjahid*. He was not talking about a follower of J. Posadas but of one of the leaders of the Fourth International.

It would be interesting to know what Fidel Castro's views are

about this statement by Che Guevara praising a genuine Trotskyist leader who has been held without trial for almost three years in the prison at Concepción because he sought to follow the example set by the leaders of the Cuban Revolution.

### Why Did Castro Do It?

Why did Castro decide to cap the Tricontinental Conference with an attack against "Trotskyism"? As we have indicated, it is not likely that he did it unwittingly, merely because his "ire was aroused" by material compiled by one of the agencies of the Cuban government or possibly the delegation which the Guatemalan Communist Party keeps in Cuba. Two other possible explanations remain:

(1) It was a political concession made in the Kremlin's direction. Peking, too, it should be noted, is receptive to attacks on "Trotskyism." D. N. Aidit, head of the Indonesian Communist party, was given to occasional diatribes against "Trotskyism" in the days before he led his party to disaster. These diatribes were carefully reported by Peking's news media.

If this was what motivated

Castro, it marks a departure from the principled political course he has sought to follow up to now. It would indicate that Cuba's position has become greatly weakened vis-a-vis the Kremlin.

(2) It was designed as "camouflage" for the decided emphasis placed by the Tricontinental Conference on the need for "armed struggle." The extreme militancy of the declarations made at this gathering are almost certain to be estimated in many quarters, including the Kremlin, as a step in the direction of Trotskyism. What better way of countering such accusations than by opening an attack on "Trotskyism"?

The trouble with this is that it does not pull the wool over the eyes of the Moscow bureaucrats. But it does tend to sow confusion and disunity among the militants engaged in the revolutionary struggle.

Whatever Castro's reasons, the move injured the efforts to achieve unity on a correct program in the difficult battle against imperialist intervention and aggression. It is to be hoped that he will soon see the necessity to rectify his stand on this important question.

## Fourth International Asks Castro to Rectify Assertions

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International sent the following letter to Fidel Castro protesting an attack against "Trotskyism" made by the Cuban prime minister in a speech Jan. 16. The letter, sent from Paris, is dated Jan. 20 and signed by Pierre Frank in behalf of the highest body of the world Trotskyist movement.

\* \* \*

To Comrade Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Socialist Cuba, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. Dear Comrade,

From the Jan. 18 issue of *Le Monde*, we learned about your polemic against "some Trotskyist elements who, according to the bourgeois press of Mexico, Guatemala and Italy, reportedly stated that 'Che' Guevara was assassinated by the Cuban government."

From an Agence France- Presse dispatch of Jan. 17, we also learned that one Alvahuante, who is completely unknown to us, but who claims to be a "former secretary of Leon Trotsky," was quoted by you as asserting that "Che Guevara was liquidated by the Castroist regime."

We must make clear that only the Fourth International represents the continuity of the thought of Leon Trotsky and the organization founded by him. It has nothing in common with scattered individuals and irresponsible groups. It has never departed from an objective attitude with regard to tendencies and governments that claim to be for the proletariat; it will certainly not do so in the case of socialist Cuba which it has not failed to defend energetically in all countries where it has sections or friendly organizations.

We state that at no time or in any place have we published slanders such as those alluded to by you. Our press handled the departure of Comrade Guevara from Cuba in a completely different way, very responsibly, as you can judge for yourself from the enclosed article, "A New Field of Battle" for Che Guevara, written by our friend J. Hansen, editor of *The Militant* in New York, which was reprinted in our official magazine *Quatrième Internationale* (November 1965).

More than once, Comrade Fidel Castro, you have proclaimed quite correctly that the revolution needs the truth. Your declaration against the Trotskyists at the end of the Tricontinental Conference was widely reported in the world press. In the name of the truth we ask you to rectify your declaration and to make clear that these accusations were not aimed at the Fourth International. The latter has always stood at the side of the Cuban revolutionists in their struggle for socialism and for the Latin-American revolution.

With our internationalist Communist greetings,  
For the United Secretariat of the Fourth International:  
PIERRE FRANK

## What the Trotskyist Press Said About Guevara's Leaving Cuba

The following article on Guevara's departure from Cuba is typical of the statements made by the Trotskyist press. It has been translated from the December issue of the Argentine magazine *Estrategia*, edited by Nahuel Moreno:

As we went to press, world public opinion was surprised by Ernesto Guevara's letter resigning his Cuban citizenship and his posts in the Cuban government and in the Communist Party of that country.

We came to two conclusions over the news:

First, against the campaign of the writers in the pay of imperialism and the exploiters, we reject any insinuation that Guevara was "purged" by the Cuban regime and its undisputed leader, Fidel Castro. In our opinion, as we characterize the regime and its leader, the persecution of revolutionary militants or leaders, whether Cubans or foreigners, is excluded.

Second, if "Che" Guevara is in another country helping the revolutionary process, as can be gathered from his letter and Fidel's report, we can only say that as always Guevara is showing that he is a revolutionist to the marrow, acting in accordance with his concepts to death itself.

The editors of this magazine feel impelled to make these two observations because for years we have polemicized within the revolutionary Castroist ranks themselves, of which we are proud to count ourselves a part, against the public conceptions of the Cuban leadership and specifically Che Guevara (see *Estrategia* No. 2 in particular).

This means that once more we must repeat that we consider Fidel and "Che" Guevara as the greatest victorious revolutionary leadership — speaking morally and politically — that history has given us since the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

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# Lessons of the New York Transit Workers Strike

By Farrell Dobbs

Young people today have had little chance to perceive the inherent social power of the working class. All their lives they have seen the unions dominated by a gang of bureaucrats who truckle to the capitalist class. These misleaders of labor support the brutal imperialist foreign policy of the ruling class. They give only lip service to the Freedom Now struggle of the Negro people, the vast majority of whom are workers.

At the point of production the bureaucrats act to cripple the union power, usurping workers' democracy to impose their own dictatorial rule over the union membership. They keep labor tied to capitalist politics, leaving the governmental power in the hands of greedy banks and corporations.

Under these conditions doubts arise as to whether organized labor is really capable of playing a progressive social role. Such doubts are also sowed by would-be theoreticians who claim that the unions can never again play their one-time militant role. Citing the labor bureaucrats' default in organizing white collar workers they falsely interpret it as "proof" that the unions have nothing to offer that growing category of wage earners.

Detractors of labor point to statistics about a relative decline of industrial workers in proportion to the population as a whole. Like a con man short-changing his victim, they juggle these figures



George Meany

around in an effort to show that history is rendering unionism, impotent. Again, and once again, the Marxist view of the revolutionary potential of the working class is proclaimed obsolete.

History itself has a way of refuting such theoretical fantasies. A graphic example is the New York transit strike that stands forth as a high point in union struggle after many years of relative labor quiescence. There are important lessons for young people, both workers and students, to learn from the example set by the transit workers.

Some 36,000 strikers tied up public transportation in a city of eight million and the powers-that-be couldn't move a single train or bus in public service during the

walkout. Clearly it was not the sheer weight of numbers that gave the transit workers this impressive strength. The decisive factor was the key functions they perform within the city's economic structure. Similarly in national terms, it is not the relative numerical weight of the workers in terms of the population as a whole that determines their strength as a social force. It is their strategic role in the total economic complex, plus their distinctive characteristics as a relatively homogeneous social class.

Numerical strength has primary importance in terms of class solidarity among the workers involved in a given struggle, rather than in the relative size of the embattled force. The problem of solidarity begins with the strikers themselves, and it extends from there to a quest for broader labor support according to the needs of the fight. As we shall see, it was in the broader union sphere, especially among the top AFL-CIO bureaucrats, that class solidarity with the transit workers was criminally violated.

Within the Transport Workers Union the ranks stood solid throughout the strike. Not a peep came from inside the TWU that Republican Mayor Lindsay, or his Democratic collaborators at City Hall, could use to smear the strike. It was a case of aroused workers who fought for just demands and who stood united in their common needs as class broth-

ers. They fought off strikebreaking attempts of the kind that, especially in recent years, have nipped in the bud many efforts by workers to defend their interests.

This time the TWU officials didn't capitulate without a fight as they have done before. Instead of making a deal for a union contract on City Hall's terms, they fought at least until the union had won a partial victory. Some TWU officials even showed a spark of the militancy they probably had in earlier times before they got on the bureaucratic gravy train. Mike Quill, for example, uttered a truth when he said, "It is about time that someone, somewhere along the road of labor ceased to be respectable."

Fine words, indeed, but it doesn't follow that the power of the strike should be attributed to a sudden break with bureaucratic "respectability" by TWU officials. While giving them due credit for the way they stood up to City Hall, it is important to recognize the real reason why they did so. Like everybody else in the line of fire, the TWU officials were up against an aroused membership that wasn't about to hold still for a fast shuffle from anybody, either inside or outside the union. They had to fight, or else.

What a fight the transit workers made! They brushed aside a court injunction based on an anti-labor state law and went on strike in defiance of the judge and the

whole City Hall gang. When their top negotiators were jailed as "law breakers," a second team stepped in to speak for the union. The strikers remained solid in the face of court proceedings intended to impose massive fines on the union. They stood up against savage smear propaganda in the capitalist news media and against a rising capitalist clamor to call out the National Guard against them.

At a crucial point in the strike the TWU ranks met the capitalist attack by demonstrating their solidarity and fighting spirit through a mass picket line at City Hall. Significant bodies of workers from other unions supported the demonstration. Even some bureaucrats from other New York unions, who had slowly and timidly come out in support of the strike, turned up at the demonstration. Many local bureaucrats did nothing, and a few openly flinched on the TWU. The main thing, however, was that the TWU ranks were solid and that they were winning rank and file support from other unions.

Unable to break the strike with injunctions, jailings and threats of fines, Lindsay appealed to "responsible" top officials of the AFL-CIO for help in stopping the strike. If it wasn't stopped, he said in effect, the bureaucrats need have no hopes of getting legislative crumbs from the capitalist table. Friends are friends, but after all the "friends of labor" in the Democratic and Republican parties are against strikes.

George Meany responded by approving the jailing of the TWU leaders with the remark that Mike Quill "wanted to go to jail." As though that scabby comment wasn't criminal enough, he added that Mayor Lindsay, who was trying to break the strike, was "handling himself very well." After the strike Walter Reuther proved his "respectability" with a statement that "society can't tolerate stoppages" like the transit strike. Silence among other union bureaucrats about the remarks of Meany and Reuther makes them parties to this crime against the working class.

Despite all obstacles the transit workers won a partial victory by forcing concessions from City Hall that it hadn't intended to make. The fact remains, however, that the settlement fell far short of the workers' just demands and they remain victims of gross wage inequities. Unmoved by the serious economic problems still plaguing the TWU ranks, President Johnson denounced the gains they did win as a violation of his wage "guidelines." Such flexing of the Presidential jawbone can mean only one thing: he obviously wanted City Hall to try harder to break the strike. Johnson left no doubt about that when he followed through with a call for further anti-strike laws.

Both the Republican Mayor and the Democratic President proved themselves enemies of the transit workers. The strikers got nothing they didn't fight for and even then the lackeys of capitalism cheated them out of a just settlement. It shows that labor can place no trust in capitalist politicians. The workers will get only what they can win through militant use of the union power at the job level and through mobilization of their class political strength in an independent labor party.

Labor's inherent capacity to take that road is demonstrated by the transit strike, as is the workers' growing desire to do so. Many workers throughout the country face problems as pressing as those of the TWU ranks and they are developing an increasing urge to fight in defense of their class interests. The main thing standing in their way is a crisis of union leadership, and the time is growing nearer when the workers will set out to correct that situation.

## America's Revolutionary Heritage:

# John Brown — Guerrilla Leader

By Leslie Evans

*He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true;  
He frightened Old Virginia till she trembled through and through.  
They hung him for a traitor, themselves the traitor crew,  
But his soul is marching on.*

— "John Brown's Body"

It is more than a century since John Brown and his small band captured the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Decades of historical falsification, which have sought to depict the rebellion of the Southern slavocracy — the Civil War — as a regrettable misunderstanding, have strived equally to tarnish the memory of John Brown, labelling him criminal, fanatic and lunatic. John Brown was none of these.

John Brown came from a very old New England family. His roots in America date back almost to the Mayflower landing. His grandfather died in the American Revolution, his father was an ardent Abolitionist and a conductor on the Underground Railroad. His sons after him were fighters in the Abolitionist cause. Coming from generations of deeply religious Protestant pioneers, John Brown was remarkably like his father and grandfather in character and outlook.

Born in 1800 in Connecticut, and raised in Ohio, he worked at various trades, being successively a tanner, surveyor, shepherd, wool-merchant and farmer. He lived in many of the Northeastern states, married twice, and raised a large family, all of whom were committed to the fight against slavery.

For many years Brown believed with William Lloyd Garrison that slavery could be abolished peacefully. His father was a trustee of Oberlin College, the first college in the United States to admit Negroes, and he had hopes that Negro education would put an end to slavery.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850 convinced John Brown that only armed action could effectively dissuade the slaveholders from hunting down fugitive slaves. In 1851 he founded the League of the Gileadites in

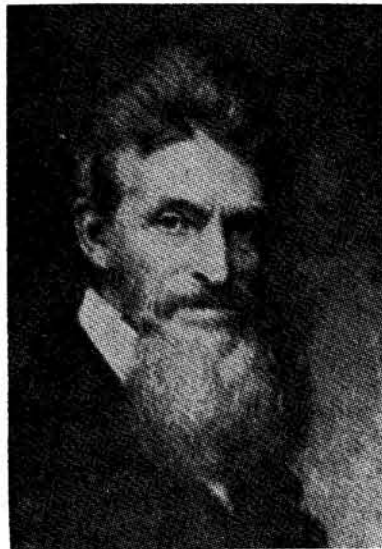
New York, a society of armed Negroes who rescued fugitives who had been captured by Southern slave-catchers.

For some years he had planned a project for establishing a mountain stronghold in the Southern Appalachians from which to launch raids into the South to free slaves. While in Europe in 1851 in connection with his wool business, he inspected fortifications, read widely on military tactics and studied guerrilla warfare. He visualized a string of mountain fortresses from which an armed force of freed Negroes would stage guerrilla sorties to liberate large numbers of slaves.

It was not in Virginia, however, but on the Western plains that John Brown's first armed clash with slavery was to take place. In 1854 five of his sons set out for the Kansas Territory to help win it for the Free Soil party. While the free soilers were in a clear majority in the territory, armed gangs of Southerners terrorized the area and sought by any means to establish slavery in Kansas.

Brown's sons appealed to him to come with arms to help organize resistance among the frightened settlers. In the spring of 1855 when elections were held for the territorial legislature, thousands of armed pro-slavery Southerners came over the border from Missouri, took over the polls and elected a pro-slave legislature for Kansas. In the late fall John Brown rode into Kansas with a wagonload of guns and ammunition.

The Free Soilers refused to accept the rigged election, set up their own legislature and declared Lawrence as their capital. In May of 1856 the slaveholders burned Lawrence, killing a number of its defenders. John Brown, now Captain of a volunteer militia at



John Brown

Ossawatimie, captured five of the leaders of the pro-slavery gang and killed them. War broke out between the pro and anti-slavery forces that was to give the territory the name of "Bleeding Kansas."

Brown was declared an outlaw, but he commanded tremendous sympathy and admiration from thousands in Kansas and throughout the North. He carried on guerrilla warfare, leading attacks against the pro-slavery forces, and making raids to free slaves into Missouri, until the intervention of Federal troops ensured Kansas as a free state.

John Brown emerged from Kansas as a steered revolutionary soldier. He was now determined to return to his original plan of mountain guerrilla warfare. In 1858 he called a convention of free Negroes in Canada where he announced his plans and a constitution was drafted under which his forces were to be governed. The constitution said in part, "... Slavery, throughout its entire existence in the United States is none other than a most barbarous, unprovoked, and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens upon another portion; the

only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment, and hopeless servitude or absolute extermination ..."

In the summer of 1859 Brown began to assemble his men on a small farm near Harper's Ferry, at the juncture of the Potomac and the Shenandoah rivers. They planned to take the arsenal, free slaves in the area and retreat into mountains of Virginia to begin operations into the South.

### Trapped After Victory

On Monday, Oct. 17, John Brown with twenty-two men captured the town of Harper's Ferry. Delaying their retreat too long, they were trapped in the engine house at the arsenal. Slaves who had joined them were slaughtered, ten of Brown's men, including two of his sons, were killed and Brown himself and the survivors were captured by U.S. Marines under the command of Robert E. Lee. Accused of treason, it was his captors, jailers and judges who were to prove themselves "the traitor crew," and in less than two years at that.

Rushed to trial and condemned to death, John Brown rose to his full stature in his impassioned defense which was a burning indictment of slavery: "Had I interfered . . . in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf . . . of any of that class — and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment."

Sentenced to die, he was executed by hanging on Dec. 2, 1859. In his last testament, written the day he died, he said: "I, John Brown, am quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think vainly, flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."

# 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.]

## Jim Crow

Plentywood, Montana  
Is there a complete history of Negro slavery from the beginning until the present time — a true account?

At home we have never hated the Negroes. Many of my father's people were killed in the Civil War. My dad's father was killed at the Battle of Shiloh. His boy was fighting there and he saw him loading his gun with his fingers shot off hanging by the skin with blood running down the gun-

## 20 Years Ago In The Militant

GI DESCRIBES HOW SOLDIERS ON OKINAWA ORGANIZED MASS PROTEST DEMONSTRATION — Okinawa, Jan. 13 — The information that came over the radio a few weeks back that GIs in Manila had staged a demonstration against the demobilization snafu had a tremendous effect here.

Every place you went, wherever there were two or more soldiers, the subject was: "Let's call a meeting"; "Let's go on strike"; "They did it there, we can do it here." A rash of mimeographed leaflets sprang up. A couple of men were busted for mimeographing pamphlets.

Then on Jan. 9, an impromptu meeting of about 1,000 GIs was held . . . The next night there was an American Veterans Committee meeting that I attended. There were about 100 present, including a colonel . . . A couple of GIs got up and spoke. They said they had received permission to hold the meeting, but the subject of demobilization was not to be discussed . . .

Yesterday, the new General in command of Okinawa made a speech over the radio . . . It was full of such favorite bywords as "The Team," (i.e. the Army), "The Team" (i.e. the Army), said he needs men to set up installations and warehouses. And not one word on demobilization.

The men got burned up about it. Especially about the part where he mentioned the "honored dead of Okinawa graveyards." The way they figure it — what the hell did he know about the honored dead?

So came this afternoon, at two o'clock. We had to drive a jeep about 20 miles to get there . . . They must have received permission to talk about demobilization, however, as the chairman of the meeting got up and said: "I understand some of you men have something to say about demobilization." There was a roar from the 12,000 throats. They took any man from the audience who wanted to speak and gave him a maximum of two minutes. Well they took off — but good. They ripped into the General's speech.

Speaker after speaker said: "We can't trust the War Department," "We can't trust the brass hats in Washington," "We have to take things into our own hands." They asked a lot of embarrassing questions. They quoted the 13th amendment to the Constitution. A bunch of Negro soldiers got up and said their piece, to the effect: "We're all in this together, for better or worse." They got a big hand. The meeting broke up after a number of telegrams were sent to Congress. — Feb. 2, 1946.

barrel. In a little while he was lying on the ground dead.

It has been a puzzle to me that the Negroes did not start killing the slave traders. I am reading Harriet Tubman in *The Militant* and she was the most outstanding woman in United States history. Also about Nat Turner and John Brown.

There is a man here that was raised in Florida. He hates Negroes and would like to kill them. This man said what he would most desire would be the separation of the whites and blacks, not to make voters or jurors of Negroes, not to allow them to hold office or intermarry, and so on. You no doubt have heard all of that, so I will not dwell on it.

I think the freedom movement has done very well considering the way the Negroes were ground down and what they went through.

Wayne La Grange

## We're Genuinely Grateful

Baltimore, Md.  
Although a little late, I am sending \$2.10 to help support the Socialist Education Fund.

I know that what I am sending is very small, but I only get \$54 a month Social Security and my wife only gets \$20 making a total of \$74 to buy our own fuel and keep up our house—and no fringe benefits.

W.C.

## ILA Bosses in Saigon

Detroit, Mich.  
It is hard to conceive of a more abysmal disgrace to the American labor movement than the "aid" now being given by "veteran dockworkers" in expediting the unloading of war materiel in the ports of Saigon, Vietnam.

According to the Jan. 15 *AFL-CIO News*, stevedores from the International Longshoremen of America "patriotically" answered government call and now have begun to install a new cargo-handling system which will make it possible to unplug the ports. As of early December, Saigon was tied up with mountains of food, supplies and ammunition.

Thanks to the ILA "patriots," the U.S. government can hope to clear the way for more men and shipments to be used against the popular revolution now sweeping southern Vietnam. The ILA is paying for a six-month tour of duty for at least four men, which will cost the union — not the government — some \$50-\$60,000; the ILA also plans to pay for costs to bring Vietnamese dockworkers to the U.S. for on-the-job training.

President Thomas Gleason of the ILA says the new system should cut ship "turn around" time from weeks to days or hours.

U.S. "labor" thus brings more productivity to Vietnamese labor but does not even bother itself with the fact that it will be turning the south Vietnamese worker back to a brutal antilabor regime which, as Emil Mazey of the UAW months ago pointed out, does not allow free trade unions even to exist.

Gleason and the other "patriots" also do not bother themselves with the fact that they are aiding the suppression of a movement of the working and farming population of Vietnam, by the same ruling class that wants to hold down American workers' wages and

automate their jobs out of existence.

"Saigon is an old port," Gleason said, patronizingly. "They've been operating it lazy for a thousand years or so. When you try to change customs, you're not too welcome. But we're getting through to them."

Gleason wasn't in Saigon a thousand years ago so maybe he doesn't realize that the Vietnamese dockworkers are "lazy" today because they don't want to unload bullets to kill their brothers. If you were in the same predicament, and you didn't dare organize, you'd be "lazy" too.

Perhaps it takes such an utter betrayal of labor solidarity as that of the ILA in Vietnam before American workers will realize that they should be hesitant about cooperating with the executioner of their colonial brothers. They must turn for inspiration to the example of the Seattle workers in 1919 who struck rather than ship materiel to suppress the Russian Revolution. But their responsibility is even greater in 1966.

Jan Garrett

## Think It Over

Fort Bragg, Calif.  
If there were no other arguments against the insanity and futility of war the terrible waste of resources, money and manpower would be enough to con-

demn it in the eyes of every civilized person on earth. Everyone is for peace. No one for war. Yet for a decade we have been bankrupting the country and making debt slaves of the people and their children for untold generations to come in preparing for a war that no one wants. How foolish can we get?

The problem is not easy. Today, in our country about ten percent of our labor force is employed in preparing for this war that no one wants. Another ten percent services those who are already engaged in war in Vietnam. Add this twenty percent to the already unemployed in this country and you can readily see that the result would be really serious. No wonder the Washington government is more afraid of peace than of war.

World War II solved the unemployment problems of the 1930s. Shall the present problem be solved only by a third World War that would make the other two look like Sunday School picnics in comparison? It is a sad indictment of our economic system when, apparently, we cannot have prosperity and good times in this country without war or preparations for war.

I will ask my readers to reflect a moment on the figures below and ask themselves if the untold billions of dollars we are spending

on war and preparations for a bigger war could not be used for a better purpose. Here is what the cost of one heavy bomber would do:

Build two modern, fully equipped hospitals.

Build two electric power plants, each serving a city of 60,000 people.

Build a modern school in each of thirty cities.

The cost of a single destroyer would build enough homes to house 60,000 people. We pay for a fighter plane with half a million bushels of wheat.

Remember, if a third world war would come with the modern weapons we have today half the people would be cremated within hours and only a barbaric, brutalized form of life would remain in which the living would envy the dead. THINK IT OVER.

Jack Odom,  
Route 2 Box 208,  
For Bragg, Calif. 95437

## Renewal

Manatí, Puerto Rico  
I am enclosing \$1 for a six-month subscription to your paper. Becoming acquainted with *The Militant* while living in Jersey City I would really like to receive it once more.

So please send me the paper as soon as possible.

A.G.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**McCarthyism Revisited** — On Jan. 14 ABC carried a program in which actress Jean Muir was permitted to tell the chilling story of how she was driven out of broadcasting during the McCarthy era after being labelled a "Communist" by *Red Channels*, a lucrative red-hunting publication of the time. However, after Miss Muir taped the show ABC deleted a few things from it. Among the facts taken out were the name of the sponsor that fired her (General Foods), and the name of the broadcasting system that went along with it (NBC). Otherwise it was quite a daring expose of McCarthyism.

**News of the Week** — A confessed bomber of a Negro home in Jacksonville, Fla., named five Klansmen as conspirators to the bombing. They were tried and acquitted. The judge said racial feelings of the jurors played a part in the verdict.

**Dim View** — Prof. Gerhard O. W. Mueller of New York University Law School takes what some might interpret as an un-American view of the benefits of the profit motive. Testifying on a proposed New York law to compensate the victims of criminal violence, he offered two arguments against it. He said criminals would tend to take the same "nobody-gets-hurt" view of robbing individuals as they now do of banks, etc. He further argued that a psychological relationship often existed between the criminal and victim in which the victim often unconsciously invited attack. The possibility of compensation for the victim's family, he said, might increase the invitations to homicide.

**Complete Coverage** — After viewing the NBC-TV documen-

tary, "The World of the Teen-Ager," *New York Times* television critic Jack Gould commented: "In an hour's consideration of the matters on minds of high-school students, there was not one word about Vietnam and the draft."

**Homey** — A survey of swank Manhattan town houses and apartments shows that rich people prefer their kitchens simple, reports the *New York Times*. For example, when a Mr. and Mrs. Michael Tucker designed "their spacious ground-floor kitchen and their second-floor serving-pantry (larger than most kitchens), they stuck to such tried and true appliances as stainless steel ranges, sinks, refrigerators and freezing cabinets." At the home of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin Donenfeld, "the equipment is standard. There is quite a lot of it, though — two dishwashers, two stainless steel sinks, two electric ovens, a restaurant-size refrigerator and a six-burner gas range."

**O.K. For Foreigners** — The federal government is making sure

that the tobacco industry is compensated for any possible loss resulting from the required health warning on cigarette packages. The Department of Agriculture is paying Warner Brothers \$106,000 to insert scenes designed to stimulate smoking in a travelogue to be shown overseas. The Department is also putting up \$210,000 to subsidize cigarette advertising in Japan, Thailand and Austria.

**I. Q. Test** — Manuel Yellen, board chairman of the Lorillard tobacco company, doubts that the health warning on cigarette packages will have any significant impact on sales. He said: "I think the American public is too intelligent to pay any attention to that type of warning."

**Great Pacifier** — Asked if business would turn against Johnson because of some price restraints, Paul Wren, president of Boston's Old Colony Trust Co., commented: "There isn't any open warfare and there won't be any as long as those good profits hold up."

—Harry Ring

## FOR NEW READERS

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## Thought for the Week

"The only people in south Vietnam who have staked their lives on American support have been the cliques and coteries of businessmen and military men of south Vietnam who have lived for 11 years off American money and support. That is why we hear Ky reject negotiations with the north; that is why this tyrannical little tinhorn dictator of south Vietnam — whom we financed and set up — is most eager that American bombing of North Vietnam be resumed." — Senator Wayne Morse, Jan. 19, 1966.

## JULIAN BOND

### An Atlanta 3rd Party Possibility

By Alex Harte

Julian Bond, the Negro Representative-elect who was refused his seat early this month in the Georgia legislature on grounds of his opposition to the Vietnam war, may run as an independent candidate instead of a Democrat in the Feb. 23 special election to fill his vacant seat.

"Obviously my philosophy does not agree with either the Democrats or Republicans," said Bond, whose seat was challenged after he declared support to a Jan. 6 statement against the war by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Bond, who was elected by an overwhelming vote in a predominately black district in Atlanta, is publicity director for SNCC.

According to a Jan. 24 AP dispatch, Bond hasn't yet decided what designation he will use in the Feb. 23 election, but he says a third party based on Atlanta's black population and supported by SNCC appears likely.

SNCC chairman John Lewis said SNCC leaders did not expect the Bond controversy, but that now that it has broken out, it "presented an opportunity to start organizing in Atlanta" along lines already mapped out in parts of Alabama.

In Lowndes and Greene Counties in Alabama, SNCC has backed the formation of the "Black Panther" party. Negroes outnumber whites in both counties and with registration drives now underway may be able to muster more votes at the polls than the white racists.



Julian Bond

The day after Bond was refused his seat, SNCC released a statement supporting him and declaring that SNCC and its allies plan to "Convene within the near future an exploratory conference to discuss the feasibility of forming a freedom organization, similar to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) but in no way aligned with or supporting the regular Democratic Party."

The MFDP had organized independently of the state Democratic Party, but had supported the national Democratic Party candidates and sought to replace the racist Mississippi delegates in the national Democratic Party convention in Atlantic City in 1964. The MFDP was rebuffed on this.

A leaflet distributed by SNCC

in preparation for organizing the Black Panther party in Alabama, carried the symbol of the Democratic Party of Alabama with the statement: "Is this the party you want?" The symbol is a white rooster labeled "white supremacy." The leaflet declared: "This is the party of: George Wallace, Al Lingo, Bull Connor, Sheriff James Clark and all the other racists in Alabama . . . [as well as of] Lyndon Baines Johnson, President of the United States. They all operate together, in Alabama and in Washington . . . If Alabama doesn't want to repeat what happened to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party then Alabama doesn't have to." On Jan. 22 the Alabama State Democratic Committee removed the "white supremacy" slogan from the party ballot emblem in an attempt to head off the new movement.

#### All-Negro Gov't

Speaking of the Black Panther party, Lewis recently said "in some instances it might be necessary to have all-Negro government before you can have a workable interracial government." Richard Haley, Southern regional director for the Congress of Racial Equality said CORE would support all-black slates of candidates in some counties where blacks are a majority and where there were no whites who were not racists willing to run.

In Tuskegee, Alabama recently, signs have appeared among Negro demonstrators saying: "Macon County is 85 percent Negro; Negroes should run the government."

### Veterans Plan Protest In Capital on Viet War

NEW YORK — The Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam here have scheduled a demonstration for Feb. 5 in Washington, D. C. where members of the group will return their discharge papers and campaign ribbons to President Johnson in protest against the Vietnam war. Others will form a supporting picket line in front of the White House.

The demonstration will take place on the first anniversary of the start of the bombing of north Vietnam. The call for the demonstration declares:

"The United States was created by a group of men who treasured their independence and were being stifled by a repressive government thousands of miles away. When reasoning failed they chose revolution to get what they knew were their just rights. The Vietnamese people have an equal right to choose for themselves how they shall live and be governed . . .

"Our country has been dishonored by its [the U. S. government's] arrogant disregard of the will of the Vietnamese people, by its creation and support of a series of dictatorships in south Vietnam, by its frequent attempts to deceive the American public . . . We call for all Americans, particularly veterans and reservists, committed to freedom and international justice to support the action we are taking and join us in demanding of the President and our government an immediate end to this dishonorable war."

The meeting place of the demonstration in Washington is Lafayette Park, directly opposite the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue, at 11:30 a.m. Feb. 5. Those in the New York area may take chartered buses at \$7 per round trip ticket, from 5 Beekman St. at 6:00 a.m. that morning. There will be a meeting of the New York participants at 8:00 p.m. on Feb. 3 at the committee's headquarters, 5 Beekman St. Room 1033, New York, N. Y. 10038.

#### NSA Supports St. John's Strike

NEW YORK, Jan. 26 — Thousands of members of the National Students Association plan to picket St. John's University here Jan. 28 to support the 31 teachers dismissed last month because of their stand in favor of academic freedom and union organization. NSA members will come here in buses from cities on the eastern seaboard. They will appear at the St. John's campuses in Brooklyn and Queens. The United Federation of College Teachers has been on strike at St. John's — the country's largest Catholic university — since Jan. 4 in protest against the 31 dismissals.

## Wall Street Maps Plan To Go Underground

[The following are excerpts from an article in the January 12, 1966 Wall Street Journal.]

Quietly, and sometimes secretly, many of the nation's biggest companies are building alternate headquarters safe from nuclear attack. Buried underground or dispersed away from big target cities, they would be vital in keeping the economy functioning if ever H-bombs fall.

Near here, for example, [Hudson, N.Y.] a mammoth corporate bunker lies hidden in the hollowed-out core of Iron Mountain — protected from blast, heat and radiation by countless tons of rock, soil and iron ore. A 28-ton steel door in the mountain side swings open, and a visitor wanders through offices, kitchens, dormitories, communications facilities. New York, 115 miles to the south, could be incinerated but Iron Mountain offers protection against all but a near-direct hit by a multi-megaton weapon . . .

It is a second home for several companies, among them Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. and Shell Oil Co. Most of Iron Mountain's 700 "customers" only rent storage space for vital records and documents, a common enough practice in the nuclear age. But the three firms named maintain elaborate subterranean headquarters, as well, where selected key employes and other corporate bomb survivors would live and work after an attack . . .

"It's safe to say now that almost all of the 500 top corporations have some sort of alternate headquarters arrangements," says Virgil L. Couch, assistant director for industrial participation in the Office of Civil Defense . . .

Some of these command posts are spartan indeed; a records storage vault, a small office with two or three desks, a few cots, perhaps a camp stove and some

canned or dehydrated food. But others are designed as full-fledged nerve centers crammed with facilities and capable of housing scores of employes for extended periods . . .

Jersey Standard's facility, for example, can accommodate 200 people in 50 bedrooms and dormitories . . .

Once inside, it is hard to tell that the headquarters are underground. Walls are painted in a variety of bright colors, and vivid prints adorn them. Offices look much like those in modern skyscrapers. There is also a lounge area, a medical section complete with examining room and hospital beds, and a "music" room,

where easy chairs and a red-and-gold couch invite comfortable listening to piped-in concerts . . .

The entrance to Shell Oil's bunker is lined with artificial flowers and colored spotlights. The main office contains about 40 yellow desks with stylish wooden tops, and the entire layout has a cozy "country" air. Shell is now busy installing a world-wide communications system in the bunker and has already put executives through dry runs as practice for running the facility . . .

So has Manufacturers Hanover, which dispatched ten of its officers to Iron Mountain 16 months ago for an exercise. There they "reconstructed" the accounts of a

branch bank which theoretically had been destroyed. Using duplicate records stored in the alternate headquarters, they had complete success in identifying customer accounts and came up only \$6,800 short in tracing the branch's outstanding loans . . .

Other concerns already have selected key employes. This raises a knotty problem: Who shall the chosen people be? Some companies hope to be able to man their centers at the first sign that war might come. Thus, those forewarned would have a far better chance of staying alive than those deemed unessential and left in the city to brave the bomb. And even if the selection is made

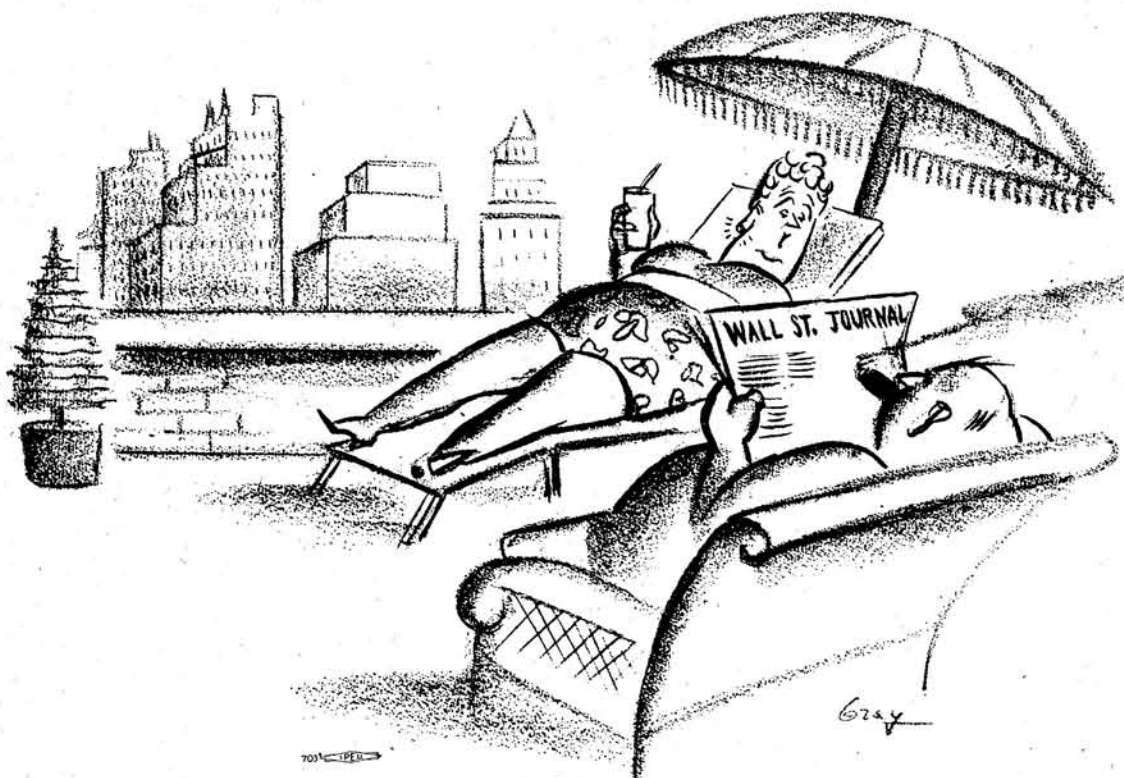
after an attack, those picked would be more likely to survive in underground safety than those left outside . . .

Jersey Standard, which plans to house families, has faced the problem by assigning skeleton crew functions to certain job slots, not to individuals. So it's possible for a man to get a promotion and find he no longer has a desk at Iron Mountain. "I have nothing against vice presidents," says Chester O. French, assistant security administrator, "but we need operating specialists to run the operation . . ."

Though companies strive to avoid the appearance of special privilege for those selected, it's perhaps inevitable that a skeleton crew assignment has become a status symbol comparable to the executive washroom key — at least at some concerns. "Listen, you're a nobody in this corporation if your name isn't on a desk at alternate headquarters," says an executive of one firm . . .

How to get them there? This matter plagues many companies. Certainly all-out nuclear attacks on U.S. cities would make transportation a nightmare, and companies with alternate headquarters concede that many of their key personnel may not be able to find their way out of the confusion — if they survived the initial attack . . .

Such difficulties help convince some companies that an alternate headquarters isn't worth the trouble. "I don't see how you're going to get people there before a nuclear attack — there probably won't be much warning — or afterwards. For another, it's a pretty agonizing thing to decide who is going to staff a survival headquarters," says an executive of one big manufacturer with no survival center. Another executive adds: "If the bombs come, there won't be anything left to administer."



"Those underground shelters sound cozy, Henry dear — but how will we ever get along without the maid?"