

Civil Rights Leader to Head Spring Antiwar Mobilization

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 31 - No. 6 Monday, February 6, 1967 Price 10c

SNCC, MPI Form A Working Bloc

During his recent visit to Puerto Rico, Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, concluded an agreement of mutual support and solidarity between his organization and the two leading pro-independence organizations of Puerto Rico, the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI), and the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI).

For the information of our readers we are reproducing here the full text of the statement made by Carmichael at a press conference on his arrival in San Juan, and extensive excerpts from the agreement signed by Carmichael, Juan Mari Bras, secretary general, MPI; Juan Angel Silen, president, MPI youth; and Alberto Perez Perez, president, FUPI.

A translation of Carmichael's press statement follows:

"Brothers of Puerto Rico:

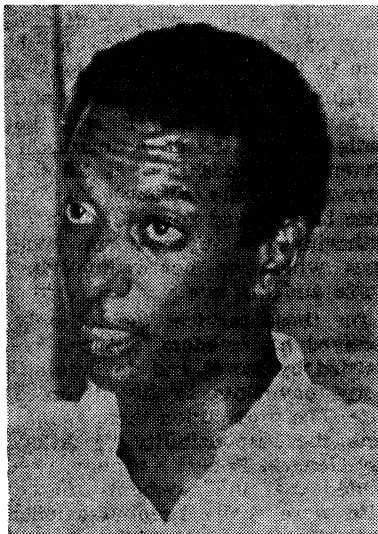
"I hardly know the Spanish language, but I would like to say a few words in your language. To affirm and cultivate one's own language is a necessary step in the struggle for liberation and self-determination.

"I appreciate the invitation extended to me by the people of Puerto Rico through the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence. I bring you the warmest greetings of solidarity from my organization — the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee — and the Afro-American people in their struggle for liberation and black power.

"We feel that there is a close relationship between our struggle for black power and your struggle for independence. Black power means for us liberation from oppression by the racist white power structure of the United States. It



Juan Mari Bras



Stokely Carmichael

means that we will control our own Afro-American communities. That we will direct our own affairs. That we will have power in the political and economic arenas.

"In the same way, independence for you means to direct and control your own lives and the wealth of your country, now controlled by a foreign power — the United States — and its Uncle Toms here. Our people are a colony within the United States; you are a colony outside the United States.

"Brothers, we see our struggle linked to the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against foreign oppression, particularly by the United States. We all have the same enemy. For this reason, we strongly support your just struggle for independence. For this reason we support all peoples who are struggling for self-determination.

"The Vietnamese people are today suffering in a brutal war. To conduct that war, the American army takes advantage of the Afro-American masses. It uses them to fight our own brothers. It tells us that we are going to fight for a so-called 'democracy,' but we know the hypocrisy of that claim.

"We know, in our flesh and in our blood, what 'American democracy' means. For this reason we are absolutely opposed — I repeat, absolutely — to the drafting of young Afro-Americans and the drafting of young Puerto Ricans and of young people of any nationality who are oppressed like us. If we are to fight, we will fight — but in our own country, to liberate our people.

"Brothers of Puerto Rico, let us unite to achieve our goals. The forces of oppression, although very powerful, are only a minority com-

(Continued on Page 5)

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Rev. James L. Bevel, militant rights fighter, will spark the organization of a massive April 15 New York-San Francisco mobilization against the Vietnam war.

Director of action programs for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a long-time associate of Martin Luther King, Bevel has become national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee, a coalition of antiwar forces that is organizing the Spring Mobilization. His appointment to the post was announced by A. J. Muste, chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee, at a press conference here Jan. 27. Muste had just returned from a visit to north Vietnam.

Bevel said he was particularly concerned as a black person about mobilizing a movement to end the

war. He said his decision to work full-time in the antiwar movement had the full support of Rev. King and symbolized the growing opposition to the war among non-whites.

Bevel spoke bluntly about the racist character of the war. "Our concern is with the mass murder of the colored people of Vietnam," he declared. "This is one more expression of the racist policies of the American government. It's all through history — the extermination of the Indians, the bombing of the colored people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the disenfranchising of the Chinese at the UN and the disenfranchising of the people of Harlem, the attitude toward South Africa — all of these things are expressions of the same problem. It grows out of a real sickness, particularly by the policy makers of this country."

Discussing the plans of the Spring Mobilization Committee, Bevel said: "I believe we are in a position to bring about as a reality the world-wide popular demand to end the murder, and that is what we are going to do.

"Each passing day," he continued, "makes more and more plain to millions of Americans the hollowness and wickedness of this war of oppression against a foreign, colored people . . . We consider it our duty as civilized people to act as civilized people to stop the mass murder in Vietnam and bring America's boys back home."

Notices Sent Out

Preliminary notices of the April 15 mobilization have been sent to antiwar groups here and abroad by the Spring Mobilization Committee. A formal call for the action, initiated by an even broader group of sponsors than that represented by the Committee, is expected to be issued shortly.

In addition to Muste and Bevel, there are four vice chairmen of the committee. These are Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*;

Bevel and Muste To Speak in N.Y.

NEW YORK — The April 15 Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam will be the subject of a meeting to be held at Community Church, 40 E. 35th St., on Monday evening, Feb. 13. The speakers will be James Bevel, director of the Spring Mobilization Committee; A. J. Muste, chairman of the committee who recently returned from Hanoi; and Grace Mora Newman, sister of GI Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood 3 jailed for refusing to fight in Vietnam. Mrs. Newman also recently returned from Vietnam. Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, will be chairman. The meeting is sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.



Photo by Harry Ring

Rev. James L. Bevel

Prof. Robert Greenblatt of Cornell University; Edward Keating, publisher of *Ramparts*; and Prof. Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University.

At the press conference, Muste said that the acceptance of the director's post by Bevel was in itself a significant expression of the degree to which the movement is being broadened.

Attacked Red-baiting

Evidence of this was offered by Bevel who announced that members of SCLC, CORE and SNCC would be joining him on the staff of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Muste also spoke out vigorously against the recent red-baiting attack on the Spring Mobilization Committee by Rep. Willis, chairman of HUAC. "We are not going to be intimidated," Muste declared, "by what Willis or anyone else may say or do to smear us. This is not the McCarthy era. We are operating as Americans who have an anti-Washington policy. Our policy is in the best interest of the American people and, also, in the interest of the people of the world."

Muste also discussed his trip to Hanoi. He said his visit had convinced him "more than ever" of

(Continued on Page 3)

Johnson's 1967 'Economy': More Taxes, Higher Prices

By Dick Roberts

Over one year after the New York City transit workers conducted a militant strike which blasted the Democratic administration's wage guidelines, Lyndon Johnson has conceded that he no longer has much chance of making the 3.2 percent limit hold on wage increases.

The concession came amidst much fanfare in the annual "President's Economic Report to Congress" released in Washington Jan. 26. All that it really takes cognizance of is the fact that actual wage increases in 1966 averaged closer to 5 percent, and with rising prices still staring workers in the face, the White House has little chance of imposing its once-cherished 3.2 percent limit.

This is hardly evidence that the Democratic Party has suddenly become more friendly to labor. The higher wage increases workers did win in 1966 were gained only by battling against the Democratic administration. A notable case was the airline mechanics strike last summer.

Even with the nearly 5 percent wage increases that were won in 1966, however, the real purchasing power of workers declined last year. This was revealed in the December report of the Bureau of

Labor Statistics, described in the Jan. 23 *Wall Street Journal*:

"The December purchasing power of a production worker with three dependents was 115.8 percent of the 1957-59 average, the bureau said, up 0.6 point from November but considerably below the 117.6 percent of December last year. For workers without dependents, purchasing power in December was 118.2 percent, also up 0.6 point from November but down from 120.1 percent the year before."

Real-Wage Decline

This decline in buying power was caused not only by the inflationary 3.3 percent price rise in 1966, but also by the increases in social security taxes and rates of withholding-tax collection. On the question of prices, Johnson's "Economic Report" once again "exhorted" corporations to keep prices down.

The power of such exhortations was well-demonstrated by the price leaps of 1966, not to speak of the subsequent welcome of Johnson's report in the business community and at the New York Stock Exchange. As for taxes — Johnson has already promised to raise income taxes by 6 percent, and social security taxes by 20 percent.

The more lengthy companion report of Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers touched on a key question Johnson's own report to Congress omitted: "The council," according to the Jan. 25 *New York Times*, "reiterated its opposition to 'cost of living' escalator clauses in labor contracts under which wages automatically rise as the Consumer Price Index goes up.

"It said that if all unions, as well as 'other groups in society,' were to succeed in tying their incomes to price changes, 'the arrangement would become a vast engine of inflation.'"

Thus a powerful labor weapon against price inflation is precisely where the Democratic administration draws the line. It also gives some indication of their real information about future price trends: They know prices are going to keep going up, and they don't want workers winning escalator clauses to compensate for the expected price hikes.

However, the heart of the matter is not the Economic Report itself, but Johnson's fiscal-year 1968 budget (for the year beginning July 1, 1967) on which the Economic Report was based. This was released Jan. 24.

(Continued on Page 6)



James R. Hoffa has launched a new counter-attack against the federal government's 10-year campaign to send him to jail.

That ruling gave Hoffa an eight-year prison sentence, and a Feb. 4 deadline to present a motion for re-trial.

Hoffa has uncovered a former FBI agent named Benjamin David Nichols, who testifies that the Justice Department paid him to "eavesdrop" on Hoffa during the 1964 Chattanooga federal trial.

According to Wall Street Journal staff reporters Jerry Landauer and John A. Grimes, "Nichols swears that Walter Sheridan, former head of the Justice Department's special 'Hoffa squad' instructed him to slip tiny transmitters under the mattresses of the Chattanooga jurors when they were sequestered in the Road House hostelry there.

"Moreover, Mr. Nichols is prepared to swear that he placed four microphone 'bugs' and tapped six telephone lines leading to rooms in the Patten Hotel which were occupied during the trial by Mr. Hoffa and his legal counselors."

Walter Sheridan, who was at that time a special assistant to the then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy, is now an executive of the National Broadcasting Co.

The new evidence could lead to a Supreme Court reversal of Hoffa's "jury-tampering" conviction; more likely, however, if the Court rules in Hoffa's favor, it would return the case to lower courts for re-trial.

"Mr. Nichols," according to the Wall Street Journal reporters, "is telling the Teamsters that he's been on 'retainer' to the FBI for nearly a decade, receiving \$200 a month just to stand by for special jobs. Much of the time, he says, Special Agent John Parker of the FBI's Knoxville office gave him the money on the 15th day of each month from confidential 'blue slip' funds.

"Mr. Nichols claims the bureau also set up a 'cover company' enabling him to purchase electronic equipment and operate in the guise of a private technician. He says he can produce copies of documents initialed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover authorizing purchases of electronic gear to track down a matter involving national security."

Hoffa's new brief also contains an affidavit by William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester Union-Leader, who testifies that a high FBI official had told him of wire-

tapping by a special unit headed by Sheridan.

According to this affidavit, Cartha DeLoach, assistant director of the FBI, told Loeb that he was sure an investigation "would turn up extensive evidence of wire-tapping" in connection with the trials of Hoffa.

Meanwhile the Teamster president has also filed a Supreme Court brief asking for a review of his conviction and five-year prison sentence on charges of fraud and conspiracy involving union pension funds. Hoffa's conviction and prison sentence in this case were upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, Oct. 4.

The appeal here is based on the contention that the original trial in Chicago, in 1964, was affected by prejudicial newspaper and magazine publicity. Hoffa's attorneys also contend that the Chicago jurors were influenced by the separate conviction in the Nashville jury case.

The attorneys state, according to the Jan. 26 New York Times, "that while jurors were being selected for (Hoffa's) Chicago trial magazines and newspapers in the city featured articles portraying him 'as a brute, an assassin, and a killer of children.'"

"These highly inflammatory tales," including a Life magazine article about an alleged plot on the life of . . . Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, "were obviously written with the cooperation, if not at the instigation of the Attorney General's office," the appeal said.

"The first weeks of the new year saw layoffs beginning in auto plants throughout the country," reports The Eye-Opener, newspaper of UAW Local 45 at General Motors' Fisher Body plant in Cleveland. "These were not always on an even basis with layoffs in some plants being sharp while others were only moderate."

The increasing layoffs in the auto industry are the direct result of the escalation of the Vietnam war, and more can be expected as the war continues to be pressed by Washington. Automobile production declined three percent in 1966, and even conservative forecasts predict a further decline of five percent in 1967.

During the Korean war, when war production cut more deeply into the domestic economy than the Vietnam war has so far, automobile production declined 20 percent in 1951 and almost as much again in 1952. The gross national product in the same years, however, jumped 15 percent and 5 percent respectively.

—Dick Roberts

"The capitalist class is interested in keeping the workingmen divided among themselves. Hence it foments race and religious animosities that come down from the past."—Daniel DeLeon.

Union Attorney Cites Facts

Railroading of Hoffa

[The following article by Frank J. Donner, attorney for the United Electrical Workers and author of the book the "Un-Americans," appeared in the Dec. 26, 1966 issue of UE News, the newspaper of the United Electrical Workers Union.]

In affirming the conviction of Teamster leader, James Hoffa, the Supreme Court has put its stamp of approval on the shocking and indefensible use of a paid informer to send a labor leader to jail.

It would have been impossible to convict Hoffa without the testimony of a stoolpigeon named Edwin Partin. Partin had been ousted from the leadership of his Teamster local for stealing and a variety of other unsavory practices.

Partin's entire criminal past was spread out on the record. At the time he became a stoolpigeon he was incarcerated in a Louisiana jail under indictment for a large collection of state and federal crimes, including embezzlement, kidnapping and manslaughter. Shortly after he contacted the federal authorities and offered himself as an informer, but before the authorities accepted his offer, he was indicted for perjury and assault.

Found Way Out

While Partin was in jail, he announced to his cellmate that he had found a way to get out — by turning stoolpigeon.

"They want Hoffa more than they want me," he confided to his cellmate. When he was asked whether he knew enough about Hoffa to "frame him," he answered, "It doesn't make any difference, if I don't know I can fix it up." The cellmate's affidavit is uncontradicted.

Partin's scheme to trade his freedom in exchange for helping the government convict Hoffa, worked out very well for him. In all the years after he first volunteered to be an informer, he was not prosecuted for any of the se-



James Hoffa

rious federal or state charges for which he was jailed.

As soon as he worked out a deal with the government, his bail was mysteriously reduced from \$50,000 to \$5,000, and he was immediately released. He promptly telephoned Hoffa and in collaboration with a state policeman, secretly made a tape recording of his conversation with Hoffa, a copy of which was made available to the federal authorities.

Using one pretext or another and with the knowledge, if not the instigation, of the government, he pretended friendship to Hoffa and pursuant to the general instructions he received from the federal authorities, he reported conversations which he heard involving Hoffa and his case.

For these services he not only received his freedom, but was rewarded by secret and devious alimony payments to his divorced wife. The prosecution then, at that time the responsibility of Attorney General Robert Kennedy, pretended that the payments to the wife were really reimbursements to Partin for his "expenses."

Chief Justice Warren found himself unable to stomach these tactics and in his dissent in the Hoffa case he accurately summed up the shameful conduct of the prosecution's conduct:

Paid Infiltrator

"Here the government reaches into the jailhouse to employ a man who was himself facing indictment far more serious (and later including one for perjury) than the one confronting the man against whom he offered to inform.

"It employed him not for the purpose of testifying to something that had already happened, but rather for the purpose of infiltration to see if crimes would in the future be committed. The government in its zeal even assisted him in gaining a position from which he could be a witness to the confidential relationship of attorney and client engaged in the preparation of a criminal defense.

"And, for the dubious evidence thus obtained, the government paid an enormous price."

Hoffa may go to jail, but it will be a long time before our government is able to live down his case or erase the stain which it has placed on the administration of justice.

Los Angeles Antiwar Rally Hears Arnoni

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles Committee to End the War in Vietnam staged its most successful public meeting to date on Jan. 15. M.S. Arnoni, editor of The Minority of One, spoke to an overflow audience of around 450 at Victoria Hall.

The non-exclusion policy of the committee made it possible to bring together a wide spectrum of guests from local antiwar groups which gave a definite united front character to the affair.

Arnoni addressed the enthusiastic crowd on the subject of "Vietnam and the Impending Invasion of China." The interruptions of applause and the standing ovation accorded Arnoni at the close of his scathing attack upon Washington are indications of a deep-rooted and growing antiwar sentiment among the American people.

Patricia Griffith Speaks In Phila. on Hanoi Visit

PHILADELPHIA — Mrs. Patricia Griffith of Ithaca, New York, spoke here on Jan. 23 at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel about her recent visit to north Vietnam. About 150 people attended the meeting, which was sponsored by Women Strike for Peace. Patricia Griffith visited Hanoi along with Barbara Demming, Diane Nash Bevel, and Grace Mora Newman.

Photo Credit

Last week we ran two photos from Berkeley; one showing a mass student march against tuition, another showing Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Berkeley, addressing a student rally. We inadvertently left out the credit lines for the photos, which were taken by Brian Shannon.

Young Socialist Polls Good Vote In Vancouver

Jean Rands, 21-year-old socialist candidate for mayor of Vancouver, British Columbia, polled a respectable 7.4 percent of the vote in a hard fought campaign just concluded in that Canadian city. Backed by the Young Socialist Forum and the League for Socialist Action, Miss Rands waged a political battle with her two millionaire opponents, carrying the question of Canadian complicity in the war in Vietnam and the government's anti-labor drive to the voters over radio and television.

Local leaders of the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) were put on the spot when Miss Rands raised the demand for a pro-labor civic government headed by the NDP. The Citizens for Improvement of Vancouver (CIV), a group of more conservative NDP members, had fielded candidates for four of the possible 10 seats on the Council of Aldermen, but the NDP had no candidate of its own for the office of mayor.

A meeting of the table officers of the provincial NDP was called to issue a statement on the mayoralty contest. The statement declared that Rands, who has an outstanding record of support of the New Democratic Party, "has no more reason to ask NDP endorsement than Rathie or Campbell [the other two mayoralty candidates — millionaire real estate speculators]."

The CIV also refused to endorse Miss Rands, and in the aldermanic race, withheld their endorsement from Labor Council endorsed candidates Harry Rankin and Otto Johnson. The CIV told their supporters who had 10 votes to cast, to "vote four — no more," thus excluding the possibility of a labor majority in the new city government. They declared they did not need a majority since they could work quite well with the candidates of the Non-Partisan Association (representatives of big business in Vancouver).

When asked about Rankin, who was considered to have the best chance of any of the pro-labor candidates, they denounced him as a communist. Rankin came in third out of 10 elected to council, while all of the CIV candidates were defeated.

In the trade union movement itself, although the Vancouver Labor Council took a neutral position, both the Marine Workers and Boiler Makers Union urged support for Jean Rands.

When the final count was in, the vote for the young socialist stood at 6,494.

Court Rules Out Draft as Penalty

The United States Court of Appeals has handed down an important ruling on draft regulations in relation to the constitutional rights of freedom of speech and assembly. The Jan. 30 ruling concerned two University of Michigan students whose draft status had been changed from 2-S to 1-A because of their participation in an antiwar sit-in in Ann Arbor.

The Appeals court reversed a lower court decision against the students and held that "it is not the function of the local boards in the Selective Service System to punish these registrants by reclassifying them 1-A because they protested as they did the government's involvement in Vietnam."

The students are Peter Wolff, a 29-year-old graduate student at Michigan who is from New York City, and Richard Shortt, a 22-year-old senior at Michigan, also from New York. Their reclassification as 1-A after the antiwar protest, had been ordered by the New York City Director of Selective Service.

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

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

\$1 a year (six issues)

Send your dollar to

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

Name..... Street..... Zip..... City..... State.....

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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

Vol. 31 - No. 6



Monday, February 6, 1967

Robert Kennedy at Oxford

Those who fail to see that the only way to effectively cope with the great problems of the day is to break through the trap of capitalist politics, often wind up chasing after some pretty dismal hopes. A current example of this is the contingent of antiwar liberals, and even some who consider themselves radicals, who have actually been looking to Robert Kennedy as an alternative to the warmakers.

This, of course, has not disturbed Kennedy. A cynical politician on the make, he has made a point of not openly shattering these illusions although, it must be admitted, he never really did anything that gave grounds for such hopes. The most he did was to smile coyly when people spoke of his desire to end the war.

Last week, however, he apparently felt the need to make his position clear. He did so in a speech at Oxford University where he defended U.S. policy in Vietnam against the vigorous criticism of the students.

The Jan. 29 New York Times reported: "In response to repeated questions about Vietnam, the Senator made it clear that he was backing the Johnson administration in its policies there . . .

"The Senator said he was convinced that the Johnson administration wanted a peaceful solution in Vietnam that would provide an opportunity for the people there 'to chose any kind of government they want.'"

The report added that though he was generally well received, Kennedy drew hisses when he remarked that "if the people of south Vietnam want the Commies, President Johnson said he would abide by the results."

It must be difficult to be a political "personality" and keep focused on your various audiences. For a minute there, Kennedy must have forgotten he was in liberal-minded England and thought he was back in the good old USA during the days when he was a counsel to the Commie-hunting McCarthy committee.

New Right-Wing Violence

For some time we have warned that the growing pattern of ultra-right violence cannot be regarded as simply the work of individual crackpots or small lunatic groups. This fact is now underlined by the bomb attack on the Yugoslav missions here and in Canada Jan. 29.

Carefully planned and coordinated explosions ripped open the front of Yugoslav diplomatic premises in Washington, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Ottawa and Toronto. All of the blasts occurred within an hour.

The extent and proficiency of the terrorist operation makes clear that forces with significant resources were involved.

The ultra-right exile groups from Eastern Europe have been among the most vicious of the hate-mongering, violence-breeding gangs in this country. But there can be no question that their own predilections in this direction are encouraged and stimulated by the American atmosphere. A government that urges the nation to unite to kill "Communists" in Vietnam could not promote any other kind of atmosphere.

At the time of the fire-bomb attacks on the Socialist Workers and Communist parties and the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, we said the only reply to such acts of terror must be to step up the movement against the war and for social change. The latest bomb attack is one more warning of the need to do so.

Malcolm X On Afro-American History

On the occasion of Negro History Week the International Socialist Review devotes a special issue to the hitherto unpublished speech by Malcolm X on Afro-American history.

The speech has been transcribed from a tape recording made on January 24, 1965 at the Audubon Ballroom just a few weeks before Malcolm was assassinated.

The Malcolm X speech is published with an introduction by George Breitman, editor of the book, MALCOLM X SPEAKS and author of the new work, THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X: THE EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY.

- Please send me the new ISR for 50¢.
- Please send me a year's subscription to the ISR for \$2.50. [6 issues]

International Socialist Review
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Name

Street

City State Zip.....

... Antiwar Mobilization

(Continued from Page 1)

the need to work for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

"I don't mean to suggest by this," he explained, "that there could not be a discussion about a cease-fire or an end to hostilities."

A pre-condition for any such talks, he emphasized, is that the "bombings must stop."

"However," he continued, "so far as any basic settlement is concerned, the withdrawal of American forces from all of Vietnam is a basic requirement."

"I don't believe," he said, "that north Vietnam or the National Liberation Front will agree to anything less than complete self-determination and the absence of all foreign forces from their country."

"I say this," he added, "on the basis of my conversation with President Ho Chi Minh and Premier Pham Van Dong of north Vietnam, and Nguyen Tien, representative of the National Liberation Front in north Vietnam."

Bevel also discussed the activity of the Student Mobilization Committee (See story below). He said one of its efforts would be to win support for the spring action among black students. He said that Harlem schools, for example, had not been reached in a significant way in the previous antiwar demonstrations and that there must be a serious effort to reach out to high school and grammar school students in the ghetto.

The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has opened offices at 857 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

NEW YORK — Arriving at Kennedy International Airport Jan. 25, A. J. Muste told newsmen that he believed Ho Chi Minh was quite serious when he told the delegation of ministers of which Muste was a part, that he would be willing to have President Johnson come to Hanoi for discussion.

Mobilization Committee Holds National Meeting

NEW YORK, Jan. 28 — Students and young people from 14 states met here today to discuss plans for the national "Vietnam Week," April 8-15, which will organize student sentiment against the war in Vietnam, building up to the nationwide demonstration scheduled for April 15 in New York and San Francisco.

The meeting was called by the continuations committee of the Student Mobilization Committee, formed last month at a national student conference held in Chicago. The Chicago conference initiated plans for "Vietnam Week." It was attended by a wide range of youth organizations.

The New York meeting was a work session that began with a lively discussion of plans to answer the red-baiting charges by HUAC's chairman Edwin E. Willis that the committee was "completely Communist in origin."

The morning session heard reports on the gathering of national sponsors, fund raising and the functioning of the full time national staff. It was reported that 5,000 copies of the *Student Mobilizer* had been printed and were being distributed throughout the country.

The afternoon session was opened by the Rev. James Bevel, national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

He called on student youth to seriously commit themselves to the struggle "to stop mass murder in Vietnam," rather than simply talk about the question.

Kipp Dawson, West Coast direc-

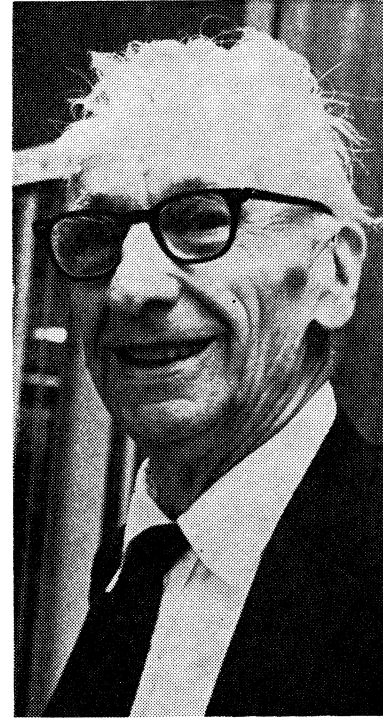


Photo by Harry Ring

A. J. MUSTE, 82, as he stepped off plane upon return from Hanoi.

However, Muste, added, in extending the invitation, the north Vietnamese president was not in any way waiving the provision that the bombing must stop as a pre-condition for negotiations.

Muste added that his visit had convinced him that the north Vietnamese are quite willing to fight a long war if that is necessary. "They seem absolutely determined to see it through," he said.

Queried about the developments in China, Muste explained that he had not really spent any time in that country but had only traveled on a transit visa en route to Hanoi. However, he felt the Chinese development was of direct relevance to the Vietnam issue in that a deepening of the crisis in China could interfere with military supplies for north Vietnam.

Asked about the Red Guards, he said they had seen them everywhere. In the city by their hotel the Red Guards demonstrated throughout the night. Everywhere, he said, loud speakers blared the slogans of Chairman Mao.

When they boarded the plane from Canton to Nanking, he said, there were Chinese soldiers among the passengers. He said that before the flight began, a stewardess reading the book of thoughts of Mao. The soldiers took out their books and began to read along with her. "It was much like a response ritual in a church service," Muste commented.

"It was a frightening indication of a kind of monomania," Muste said, "and the development of a cult of the personality. I think it indicates an agitation in the country, a psychological unrest. But the situation is extremely difficult to assess."

NCC Gives Up Its Projected National Role

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam has announced that it will no longer seek to function as a national organization. Suspension of its publication *Peace and Freedom News* was also announced.

The NCC came into being as the result of a conference of antiwar groups held in Washington, Thanksgiving 1965. The parley was marked by sharp disputes over policy questions. Those antiwar groups that favored the movement taking a position in favor of the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam found themselves outvoted.

With headquarters in Madison and Frank Emspak as chairman, the NCC sought to play the role of the central coordinator of the national antiwar movement. But its equivocal stand on the issue of withdrawal of U.S. troops and its stand in favor of a "multi-issue" approach to building the antiwar movement, including support to "peace" candidates, made it in actuality but one tendency within the antiwar movement.

This fact was generally recognized last October with the establishment in Cleveland of the Nov. 8 Mobilization Committee which did organize a national antiwar action prior to the elections. It was after the conference reconvened in November to establish the Spring Mobilization Committee that the NCC made its definitive decision to give up its national perspective.

The NCC said it will concentrate on attempting to organize local antiwar projects. A Wisconsin State Organizing Project will be the pilot effort in this direction.

The NCC said publication of its *Vietnam News Service* will continue.



Photo by Steve Dash

PAUL BOOTH, SDS leader as he chaired session at Chicago conference which established Student Mobilization Committee.

'Sorry About That?'

"In the Mekong Delta 28 miles southwest of Saigon, armed helicopters fitted with rocket launchers, machine guns and searchlights, killed 44 Vietcong and destroyed 33 sampans. The night raid operates on the theory that any vessel moving on the inland waterways after curfew is Vietcong." — A Saigon report to the Jan. 29 New York Times.

"Error in Vietnam Kills 31 Civilians — Villagers, Seen in Sampans After Curfew, Die Under Fire from U.S. Units." — Headline in the Jan. 30 New York Times.

In Reply to Progressive Labor: Is USSR

By Barry Sheppard

"The Soviet Union has changed from being a country whose means of production were owned by the working people to one controlled and owned by a new exploiting class whose origins are in the former managerial-technical-professional strata."

"The state apparatus [in the Soviet Union] is in the hands of capitalist forces, and this is what characterizes the system today."

These quotations are from the statement by the national committee of the pro-Maoist Progressive Labor Party in the February-March issue of *Progressive Labor*. The theory that the USSR is capitalist is not new. With this statement, PL has arrived at the same position on the sociological nature of the Soviet Union as the Socialist Labor Party, Norman Thomas and Erich Fromm of the Socialist Party, most Russian Mensheviks, and a host of others. From its beginning, the Trotskyist movement has countered this wrong and dangerous theory, which can lead to profoundly counter-revolutionary conclusions and conciliation with capitalism.

Unlike PL, most of the other groups which believe the USSR to be capitalist are rabidly anti-Stalinist and anti-Communist. But there have been important recent precedents for PL's latest discovery within the camp of Stalinism itself. In 1948, when Moscow forced a rupture with Yugoslavia, Stalin and his spokesmen characterized Yugoslavia as capitalist — and fascist to boot. In 1950, by way of retaliation, Milovan Djilas, the Yugoslav theoretician, put forward the conception that the USSR was state capitalist. More recently, Mao has characterized Yugoslavia as capitalist, and it appears that PL is only a step ahead of Peking in so labeling the Soviet Union.

No Theoretical Basis

In all these cases, the characterization of the nature of the regimes was changed overnight from socialist to capitalist. This was not done on the basis of any objective analysis of fundamental transformations in the structure of the countries involved, but amounted to *name-calling* to justify factional and temporary diplomatic needs. Thus, when Moscow and Belgrade patched up their differences in 1955, each then acknowledged that the other had rejoined the roster of socialist countries.

One peculiar feature of PL's analysis is its vagueness on the question of when so momentous a transformation occurred in the Soviet Union. If their analysis is true, this reversal of the October Revolution signifies a colossal defeat for the workers of the world.

When did this epoch-making counter-revolution occur? PL attributes it to the "revisionists," the

gang of bureaucrats, especially Khrushchev and his heirs, who took over after Stalin. They say that the "new economic system" was "ushered in" by the proposals advanced by the economist Evsei Lieberman. Since Lieberman's projected reforms go back only two years, presumably it has been within the past two years that the counter-revolutionary process was completed and the new capitalist ruling class took over the former socialist society.

This is amazing. A total counter-revolution in the oldest and most powerful non-capitalist state occurred — *peacefully* and *unnoticed*, except by the theoreticians of PL. Neither Washington nor Wall Street, which should be exceedingly interested, is yet aware of this development.

Didn't Notice

What were the Soviet workers doing while the capitalists came in and took their factories away from them? Was this earth-shaking event performed by some sleight of hand, like a card trick, so that it went unobserved by the workers?

A capitalist counter-revolution could not have succeeded in the Soviet Union without violent class struggles in which the workers were crushed in battle. No such clashes have taken place. PL's theory of a peaceful throwback from socialism to capitalism is no better grounded than the theory of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, which PL correctly criticizes.

PL is forced into this ridiculous contention because, out of loyalty to Stalin and Mao, it must insist that the counter-revolution had to take place since the death of Stalin. They still uphold the theory that the Soviet Union under Stalin had arrived at socialism.

Is the socio-economic structure of the Soviet Union today fundamentally different from what it was under Stalin? The four arguments PL offers on this question are paltry. They are: 1) "Profit — the private appropriation of the society's economic surplus — has replaced planning the economy for the benefit of the workers. Profit has been brought to the fore in all aspects of the Soviet economy"; 2) The managers, the new capitalists, live "high on the hog" at the expense of the workers; 3) The USSR is imperialist; and 4) The managers possess "... the ability to will away complete personal fortunes to heirs."

Profits, that is, the difference between the cost of production prices and selling prices fixed by the state, have been used in Soviet accounting since the second five year plan in the 1930s. "The enterprises, which are state property, are administered as juridically independent enterprises. Each enterprise receives from the state equipment and capital (mo-

ney) for its own exclusive use. It then operates independently, with its own financial accounting system, its own bank account, with credits which are often extended to it, and finally with the right to realize a certain profit." (*The Soviet Financial System*, 1945, pp. 8 and 9).

The reforms advocated by Lieberman boil down to using the profits of the enterprises as an indication of their performance within the over-all plan. They would also allow individual managers in charge of firms a certain latitude in gauging the market, and adapting products to "consumer taste" and effective demand. Part of the profits are to be set aside for "bonuses" for workers and, especially and disproportionately, for the top industrial bureaucrats and technicians.

PL quotes from the October issue of *Soviet Life*: "To use the Volgograd Red October Works as an example: Of its 800,000 rubles of additional profits, 720,000 rubles are going for bonuses..." This quotation implies that the vast bulk of the profits of enterprises would be in the form of bonuses under the proposed reforms.

In fact, according to the proposed reforms, 75 percent of the profits of the enterprise would be returned to the state. The remainder would be used in part for bonuses, part for re-investment, part for payment of previous debts, etc. Re-investment by the enterprises would have to be in accordance with the state plan.

State Ownership

The profit level itself would depend to a very large extent on the prices of raw materials and the finished articles — fixed by the state. All funds invested in Soviet enterprises do not belong to the enterprises but to the state. In other words, the state still owns the means of production.

Under these conditions, the nationalized character of the means of production and the planned character of the economy are not fundamentally altered by using profit as an index of the efficiency of production. There are certain dangers inherent in the Lieberman reforms, especially the increased reliance upon the market which can disrupt the plan, and, as in Yugoslavia, increased social inequality. But, in and of themselves, they do not amount to a restoration of capitalism. They are essentially technical in nature, and do not affect collective ownership of the means of production whatsoever. Finally, the reforms them-

selves are still being debated in the USSR, and have only been introduced on a limited experimental basis.

The use of bonuses is not at all new. In 1947 51.4 percent of the total revenues of engineers and technicians of the metallurgy industry was in the form of bonuses. (E. L. Manevich, *Forms of Wage Payment in Soviet Industry*, Moscow, Gosplanizdat, 1951, p. 190.) The bonuses paid managers and technicians are part of the gravy these upper layers of society skim off at the expense of the direct producers. Bonuses are part of the special privileges the bureaucracy and labor aristocracy enjoy, and are marks of inequality. Is this growth of inequality and special privileges new? Hardly.

The Stalin constitution of 1936, which proclaimed that socialism had been achieved in the USSR, took as its motto, "to each according to his work." This unequal norm of distribution does not distribute according to the needs of the workers (which can be realized in full only at the final stage of communism), but rather according to their disparate output. Moreover, it enables officials, who define how much work is worth, to reward themselves much more generously than the workers.

In 1935, the ratio of high-ranking engineer's salaries to those of janitors, porters and night-watchmen, was twenty to one (A. Yugov, *Russia's Economic Front for War and Peace*, p. 165). In 1952, another investigation reported a janitor's salary at 300 rubles, 700-800 for a chauffeur, 2,500 for a chief of a technical section in a ministry, and 7-8,000 for a chief of a large enterprise (*Bulletin of the Institute of Statistics*, Oxford, Sept.-Oct., 1952). Such inequality which enables the upper crust to "live high on the hog" goes back to the days of Stalin.

Stalin intensified speed-up methods developed by capitalism to force workers to greater production. The Stakhanovite movement was designed to pit worker against worker and reward special skilled and favored workers at rates of pay many times higher than ordinary employees.

Progressive Labor further points to the counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin's foreign policy as proof of its capitalist class character. Is this something new? What about Stalin's policy during the Spanish Civil War, which subordinated the revolution of the Spanish workers and peasants to the government and interests of the bourgeoisie — with the same re-

sults as the recent Communist catastrophe in Indonesia? What about the betrayal of the Greek revolution by Stalin after World War II? What about Stalin's opposition to the Yugoslav revolution? In France after WW II, in accordance with the agreement Stalin made with Roosevelt and Churchill, the Communists were told to join de Gaulle's tripartite government which salvaged and consolidated French capitalism. Sabotage of workers' revolutions elsewhere is not new for the Kremlin; it goes back to Stalin and marked his whole era.

The laws of inheritance are not new, either. They are restricted to personal belongings and do not allow anyone to pass on property rights in the means of production, and thereby have no bearing on the collective ownership of the means of production, which is the basis of a socialist economy.

Soviet Exploitation

PL argues that the Soviet regime is itself imperialist, not only because it helps suppress revolutions and aids imperialism, but because it exploits other Communist countries. "The Soviet leaders," PL says, "under the guise of the 'International Division of Labor,' have tried to stifle the economic development of the other socialist countries." Such inequity in the terms of trade was one of the reasons given by Belgrade in 1948-50 for resisting Moscow and has remained a persistent source of friction ever since between the USSR and other Communist countries. Ché Guevara complained about this in his last speech abroad, in Algeria early in 1965.

However, this relationship of economic inequality between the USSR and the other workers states cannot properly be categorized as imperialist, as will be explained later.

In reality, there have been no decisive changes within the social and economic structure of the USSR since Stalin's time. The evils PL sees in present Kremlin policy have their roots in Stalinist bureaucratism. If their position that the Soviet Union has become capitalist is correct, then it must have been capitalist since Stalin's rise to power.

But the declaration that capitalism prevails in the Soviet Union does not hold water. In order to determine the class character of a state, it is not sufficient to look at the policies of its leaders. That would be *impressionism*, which is the superficial and non-Marxist method of the PL leadership. The economy itself, the property rela-



LENIN AND TROTSKY, LEADERS OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION. Has the socio-economic structure established by the Russian Revolution been overturned, and capitalism re-established?



GROMYKO TALKS WITH WAR CRIMINAL. Do the crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy warrant calling the USSR capitalist?

USSR Capitalist? Chinese Dispatches Confirm Worker-Red Guard Clashes

tions that the state defends, must be analyzed and appraised.

If capitalism has been restored in the USSR, it is certainly a most peculiar capitalism — one that does not obey any of the major laws of the development of this economic system which surrounds us Americans.

Capitalism is an economy based upon the maximization of private profit. Profit seeking is the sole motive force in its economic life. All investments and the accumulation of capital are regulated by the laws flowing from this search for profit. The law of the falling rate of profit which leads to the concentration and centralization of capital has determined the transformation of free competition into monopoly capitalism.

This law also explains the tendency for capitalists in all capitalist countries to invest more heavily in those industries where there is not a formidable mass of accumulated capital which bears down on the rate of profit. Investments tend toward less capitalized industries, peripheral industries, and out from the metropolitan centers into the colonial countries, where the rate of profit is higher.

Marxist Term

This is related to the Leninist concept of imperialism. The term imperialism is not an epithet to be used loosely and wildly against political adversaries as PL does, but a precise scientific term describing the present, final stage of capitalism. This stage is dominated by monopoly and by the export of capital (foreign investments) to colonial and other areas of higher profitability by the monopolist corporations.

Soviet economy does not operate under this fundamental law of monopoly capitalism. Investments are not made in accordance with the search for maximum profits, but in accordance with the overall plan. The plan is based upon production for use, not for profit, although it is distorted in its design and application by a self-seeking bureaucracy. This means that Soviet investments can be made, and in fact are made, in branches of industry which would be less profitable under capitalism. It also means that there is no inherent drive to seek foreign investments as there is in the advanced capitalist countries. The USSR is not imperialist, therefore, in the Leninist use of the term which describes present-day capitalism.

As an economy ruled by profit, monopoly capitalism has been characterized for several decades by failure to apply thousands of inventions and technical improvements, which would risk devaluing enormous masses of capital in various monopolized sectors. Can PL point to a single example of this in Soviet economy?

Unlike underdeveloped capitalist countries, the Soviet Union continues to raise the level of its economy, in the face of hostile pressures from world capitalism. This is possible because the Soviet state has erected a barrier against the pressure of the world capitalist market in the form of the monopoly of foreign trade. The Soviet Union is not a market open to either goods or the investments of the world's capitalists, and is therefore not a part of the world capitalist market.

Consequently, Soviet economy does not follow the ups and downs of booms and recessions of world capitalism. There are no cyclical movements of the economy in the USSR, which would result from capitalist investment for profit.

We have already pointed out, in discussing the Lieberman reforms, that capital investments in the USSR are not made by individuals, private groups or enterprises but by the state and are owned by the state. The plan and not

profit is the motive force behind investment.

If we are to credit PL, the USSR has an extremely peculiar "capitalist" economy. It is not an economy for profit; it is not integrated in the world capitalist market; it is not subject to the cyclical ups and downs characteristic of the rest of capitalism; it is not governed by the laws of the development of capitalism. In addition, it is an economy without a capitalist class, without private owners of the means of production. What then remains to justify calling it "capitalist"?

The economy in the USSR, under Stalin as at present, is one where the means of production, banks, etc., are nationalized. This publicly owned property is operated by planned production. There is a state monopoly of foreign trade. These basic factors make the Soviet state, whatever defects it suffers from (and they are many), a workers state because it defends and develops, in its own way, these basic conquests of the 1917 revolution.

There are enormous differences in remuneration between the workers and the Soviet bureaucrats. But these differences relate to the sphere of distribution, not production, and do not warrant designating the basic economy as capitalist.

The question whether the Soviet Union is capitalist or still



Stalin

based on socialist relations of production is not a quibble over words. It has the most momentous political consequences, especially in case of conflict with genuine capitalist powers.

If the Soviet Union still rests on the basic conquests of the 1917 Russian revolution no matter what the crimes, mistakes or deficiencies of its leadership, every socialist has to defend it against imperialist attack. However, if as PL asserts, the Soviet Union has become capitalist and imperialist, what reason has any Marxist or progressive person to rally to its defense?

Have the members of PL considered this counter-revolutionary implication of the position their leaders have just adopted?

(To be continued.)

Debate Invited On Soviet Issue
FEB. 1 — On Jan. 21, Milton Rosen, editor of *Progressive Labor*, and Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, were sent letters inviting them to debate the class character of the Soviet Union with Barry Sheppard, managing editor of *The Militant*. Neither has replied to date. If Rosen and Hall do not accept the invitation, Sheppard will proceed with a talk on the subject, on Feb. 10, 8:30 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum Hall, 873 Broadway, New York.

Despite strenuous press censorship by the ruling Mao faction, it is evident from Chinese press reports of the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution" that the schism in China is deep going and that it continues to produce serious internal clashes.

Wall bulletins that appeared in Peking Jan. 7, reporting that disturbances had broken out in Shanghai at the end of December of such sharp nature as to cause suspension of all rail traffic to Nanking, have been officially confirmed.

The turmoil in Shanghai did not recede until around Jan. 15, when *Hung Chi* claimed in an editorial that the opposition had been crushed in Shanghai and a new turning point had been reached. More recent dispatches sent out by Hsinhua, the official news agency, provide evidence about what motivated workers in opposing sectors of the Red Guard under Maoist control.

The workers apparently thought that the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution" meant they could advance their own economic demands. This is the implication, for instance, of a Jan. 21 Hsinhua dispatch from Shanghai quoting an attack issued by various Maoist bodies:

"They tried to sabotage production, sabotage the great cultural revolution and shift the general orientation of the revolutionary struggle by increasing wages, raising the level of material benefits, altering the enterprises' administrative systems, merging factories and changing the nature of the ownership."

The same message indicates that the Maoists were having problems with peasants: The "very few diehards" are "attempting to hold onto their positions in the countryside by deflecting the evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism from the cities to the villages, further increasing the differences between workers and peasants and between the urban and rural districts, trying their utmost to create contradictions between the workers and peasants, and to incite the peasants to oppose the workers..."

The peasant standard of living is clearly involved: "As to the question of rural income, it is necessary fully to mobilize the masses... and oppose resolutely any decision not to set aside funds for production and collective accumulation, or to reduce the funds set aside for this purpose and to pursue a one-sided policy aimed purely at increasing immediate distribution."

Blew Wind

A Jan. 21 dispatch from Peking speaks even less guardedly. Paraphrasing an editorial that appeared the previous day in the *Shanghai Wen Hui Pao*, this dispatch says that a handful of persons in the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Party:

"...blew the evil wind of economism across the rural areas, instigated a large number of peasants to leave their posts of production in an influx into the city, made unjustified economic and welfare demands; widened the gap between workers and peasants and between town and countryside," and so on.

The Shanghai editorial, according to this Hsinhua dispatch, "exposes the deceitful nonsense... that the peasants should earn more money and have more welfare facilities." The theory of "immediate elimination" of the differences between town and countryside and between workers and peasants is "left" in form but right in content."

Instead, "We should work enthusiastically to create the condi-

tions for gradually reducing and eliminating such differences." This is the ultimate aim. "However, the present conditions are not yet ripe to eliminate the differences between town and countryside and between workers and peasants and it is impossible to achieve 'immediate elimination.'"

Such warnings to the peasants not to hope to better their lot in the immediate future or to close the gap between their incomes and those of the workers have been accompanied by reports from Peking that the worst is over and that big victories are marking the drive of the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

It now appears, however, that the army, which stood behind the Red Guards from the beginning, is being openly brought into play. Some of its moves appear aimed at mere intimidation. In these, displays of force are combined with propaganda activities.

Role of Army

In other areas, clashes have been reported. This stage could prove to be decisive in the struggle; an important unknown still remains the question of whether there are differences within the armed forces themselves.

Meanwhile, a new question has been raised in the Chinese developments, by a few words in a Jan. 22 *Agence France Presse* dispatch from Peking: Wall posters, pasted up the previous night, attacked various officials.

"One," said the dispatch, "was Kang Sheng, a man who was hoisted to the top of the power pyramid by the cultural revolution. He was made a member of

the Standing Committee of the party's Politburo only last August. He was accused of protecting a Trotskyite student, Tan Li-fu, arrested in December."

Is the reference to a real Trotskyist? The question is difficult to answer. The Trotskyist movement in China, which began when some of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party assessed the lessons of the revolution of 1925-27, was deeply rooted in the working class, particularly in cities like Shanghai.

With the victory of the revolution in 1949 under the impact of the vast peasant upheaval, the Chinese Trotskyists sought to work with the regime. Mao's policy, however, was to liquidate them. They were rounded up wherever they could be found and imprisoned. The fate of most of them is unknown.

As a political tendency, the Chinese Trotskyist movement has been compelled to remain underground. Whether their small forces have begun to expand on any scale is not known. Their program is to defend the conquests of the revolution by opposing the bureaucratic privileges and excesses, by fighting for proletarian democracy, and by extending the revolution internationally.

But the question is also made difficult to answer by the fact that "Trotskyism" has cropped up occasionally in the Sino-Soviet dispute, each of the two sides accusing the other of being guilty of "Trotskyism" or of playing into the hands of Trotskyism. Tan Li-fu may simply be the victim of such demagogery.

...SNCC, MPI Accord

(Continued from Page 1)

pared to the power which all the oppressed of the world can wield. We shall destroy those forces. Let's go!"

From the text of the joint communication signed the afternoon of Jan. 26 by SNCC, MPI and FUPI:

"... The black people of the United States and the Puerto Rican people are victims of the same structure of political, economic and military power. It is the imperialism of the United States that maintains the black people of North America under conditions of misery and keeps them oppressed in all facets of their individual and collective lives: economic, political, social and cultural.

"The same oppression maintains that power structure over the Puerto Rican nation, which is still subject to political, military and cultural colonialism and still exploited economically.

"Within the framework of the struggle which is liberating the peoples of the world, these two struggles — one waged by a people who exist in the very heart of the oppressor nation, the other by a people over whom the United States exercises direct colonial control — have a special relationship. It is the youth of our two peoples that the United States government is using as cannon fodder in its war of aggression against the people of Vietnam..."

"A third of the Puerto Rican people, moreover, reside in the urban ghettos of the United States, where they suffer together with the Afro-American racial, cultural and economic oppression and police brutality..."

"MPI and FUPI offer all their support to the black people of North America in their struggle to obtain political and economic power in their communities, expressed as the struggle for black power."

"SNCC affirms its endorsement of the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their national independence..."

"SNCC and MPI and FUPI understand that the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and of the black people in the urban ghettos of the United States for political and economic control, for better living quarters, for adequate education and better conditions of life in general, can be carried through on a common basis and advanced by means of joint actions.

"SNCC and MPI and FUPI consider that the struggle against compulsory military service and against North American aggression directed at the people of Vietnam can be strengthened by means of joint actions of these organizations.

"SNCC offers its help to the Puerto Rican organizations, MPI and FUPI, in their battle to obtain consideration by the United Nations as quickly as possible of the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

"MPI and FUPI offer their aid in bringing international attention to the oppression of the black people in the United States..."

Socialism And Man
By Che Guevara
 24 pps. 35 cents
 order from
MERIT PUBLISHERS
 5 East Third St.
 New York, N. Y. 10003

... Increased Taxes and Prices

(Continued from Page 1)

The 1968 budget make it crystal clear that the number one item on the agenda of the American ruling class today is prosecution of the Vietnam war, and that the number one thing the American rulers hope to gain from this war, so far as the domestic economy is concerned, is profits.

A giant allocation of \$75.5 billion for war spending is the beginning of the 1968 budget story. That is \$5.3 billion higher than the most recently revised estimates of \$70.2 billion to be spent in fiscal year 1967.

Johnson, you remember, began a year ago by estimating war expenditures of \$61.4 billion for fiscal year 1967. That happened to be off by a margin of 15 percent. Whether the 1968 estimate will prove to be any more honest remains to be seen. Even so, war spending is by far the largest part of the proposed budget, and increases in war spending are larger than the increases in any other area.

The "special support of Vietnam obligations" alone will be \$21.9 billion, accounting for 13 percent of total expenditures. This estimate, according to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, assumes a war of "indefinite duration," and provides for production of ammunition through December 1968 and of aircraft to January 1970. (See *Business Week*, Jan. 28.)

(It is, however, not an estimation of the actual costs of the war, since it doesn't take into consideration ordnance used up in Vietnam, previously manufactured for other purposes. A more reasonable estimate is \$30 billion, according to many authorities. By Defense Department casualty statistics, this brings the cost of killing each Vietnamese, whether man, woman or child, up to about \$600,000.)

"Sharing" of Budget

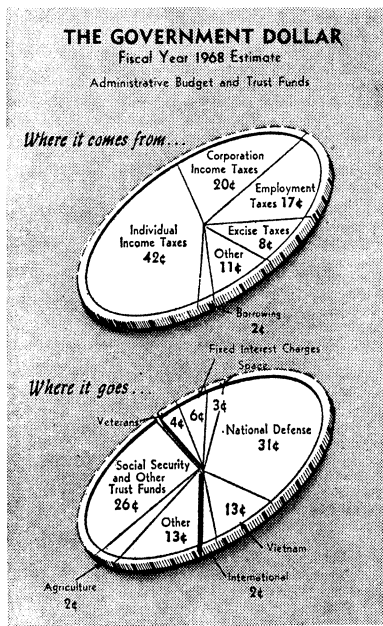
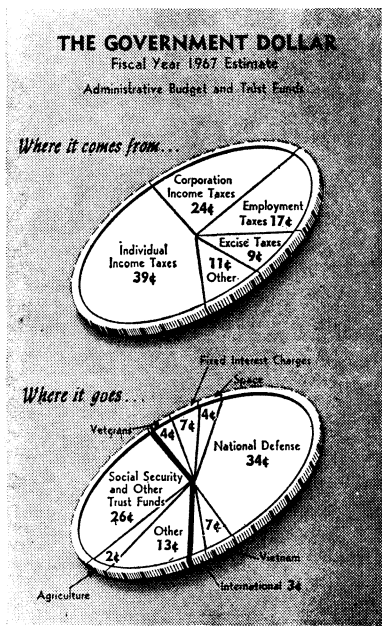
The 1968 budget also makes clear how the capitalists would like to share the burden of raising these war funds. More precisely, it indicates how much the capitalists intend to put into this fund and how much they hope to get out of the pockets of the American people. Here, the comparison with the previous budget estimates shown in the accompanying diagrams is illuminating.

Most striking is the disparity between the total federal receipts from individual income taxes and corporate income taxes. While individual income taxes are increasing from 39 percent of the 1967 budget to 42 percent of the 1968 budget, corporation taxes are decreasing from 24 to 20 percent.

That shows just how "equal" Johnson's version of "equality of sacrifice" is when it comes down to money, marbles and chalk. "Income tax collections from individuals are scheduled to rise \$6.8 billion in fiscal 1967 and \$11 billion in fiscal 1968," states the Jan. 28 issue of *Business Week*.

"But the budget doesn't get much help from the corporate sector. . . . In fiscal 1968 . . . the Treasury is expecting a decline of \$500 million in corporate tax collections." To put it simply: Corporations are going to make higher profits because of the war and they are going to pay lower taxes — not only relatively, but absolutely.

Johnson's plans for fiscal year 1968 do not stop there. To look at the diagrams on this page, it



1967 AND 1968 BUDGETS. Bureau of the Budget diagrams of estimated \$145.0 billion 1967 budget and \$169.2 billion 1968 budget.

would appear that at least a large amount of the taxes that are taken in through individual income taxes are returned in social security payments. Johnson, in the presentation of his budget, made a big deal about how he intends to raise social security payments and medical care for the aged.

However these types of federal payments do not mainly come out of individual income-tax receipts. They are mainly paid out of the so-called trust funds. These are Treasury funds financed by employment taxes, some of the excise taxes, and by some of the "other" taxes noted in the diagrams (unemployment, railroad retirement, federal employees' funds, etc.)

Yet half of the employment tax as well as by far the majority of excise taxes are also paid by individuals, meaning that most of the money the government pays out in social security is paid in by individuals in addition to their income taxes. And the payment into these trust funds is usually significantly higher than the payment out of them.

This is why there is a difference between the federal deficit figures of the administrative budget, which does not include the trust funds, and the national incomes budget (shown in the diagrams), which does include these funds.

According to Johnson's 1968 budget, the administrative budget would pile up a federal deficit of \$8.1 billion, whereas the national-incomes budget deficit will be only \$2.1 billion. The difference is largely accounted for by the fact that Johnson's proposed trust-fund receipts are higher than the proposed trust-fund expenditures.

Fund Transfer

Behind LBJ's raising of social security taxes 20 percent, supposedly to benefit the aged, is the cynical transfer of several billions from the trust funds to the war budget. The proposed trust-fund receipts in the 1968 budget are \$48.1 billion; the proposed expenditures, \$44.5 billion.

The difference will be used in trust-fund purchases of Treasury bonds, an indirect but nonetheless wholly adequate means of raising war finances.

Even so, Johnson did propose increases in social-security payments and medical care, and it is worth taking stock of where they now stand. To do this, however, it is first necessary to unravel an exceptionally complicated budget of crossing and criss-crossing accounts which even in condensed form takes up eight full pages of the *New York Times*.

One complication of Johnson's 1968 budget which needs to be dispensed with is the invention of a new category of federal spending called "Federal Aid to the Poor." This is the one the press concentrated on, when, for ex-

ample, the *New York Times* ran the front-page headline: "\$25.6 Billion Aid to Poor Listed in U.S. Programs." The *Times* further stated:

"Federal payments in aid of the poor will increase \$3.6 billion, or 16 percent . . ."

On closer examination, however, the "Federal Aid to the Poor" category turns out to be a wholly overlapping category which includes part of the social security program, part of the education program, part of the community program, and so forth.

To get a more accurate estimate, it is better to return the "Federal Aid to the Poor" section back to its proper place as a subdivision of "Health, Labor and Welfare." Before proceeding, nevertheless, a further word of explanation is necessary.

Here, again, the diagrams are misleading. This time it is because the expenditures diagrams do not include the actual budget category of "Health, Labor and Welfare"

which is the one that really does provide funds for the poor.

Judging from the diagrams, one would probably guess that total "Social Security and Other Trust Funds," equalling 26 percent of the budget, would be equal to the total "Health, Labor and Welfare" category not shown. But it isn't quite true.

In the proposed 1968 budget, total "Health, Labor and Welfare" expenditures amount to \$40.8 billion — 24 percent — drawn mainly from the trust funds but also partly from the administrative budget and they are lower than the "Social Security and Other Trust Funds" expenditures category shown in the diagrams, totalling as mentioned above, \$44.5 billion.

That is because some trust fund expenditures go into real estate, highway programs and interest payments which even the federal government does not pretend to be "Health, Labor and Welfare."

In the budget itself, there are two main categories under "Health, Labor and Welfare": "Health Services and Research," amounting to \$8 billion; and "Social Insurance and Public Welfare," amounting to \$30.5 billion.

War on Poverty

(The original and bona fide "War on Poverty" [Office of Economic Opportunity] is also under this category, but its minuscule appropriation of \$285 million — the cost of about four days' fighting in Vietnam — is hardly worth mentioning.)

It was care for the aged and social security that Johnson boasted about, and these are the programs we should examine. There are, according to government figures, about 20 million Americans who are eligible for social security and health-care assistance from Washington.

Among these older people, of course, there are a number of different categories of eligibility for social security, depending on their previous salaries. In 1965, these

ranged from payments as low as \$20 a month, for a wife's benefit with a child in her care, whose previous yearly salary had been \$800 or less, to a high of \$255 a month, as maximum lump-sum family payment where average yearly earnings had been between \$4,300 and \$4,800 (*World Almanac*, 1965).

Now, Johnson proposes to allocate \$30.5 billion in fiscal year 1968 to these 20 million Americans. At an average, that comes to a total of only \$1,500 per person. It is less than the official government estimates of minimum subsistence level incomes. One need not have lived on \$125 a month for a great length of time to vouch for that.

The additional "Medicare" program, absorbing \$3.8 billion of the "Health, Services and Research" funds, will cover an estimated 5.4 million applications. That provides a grand total of \$700 a year per individual for hospital and doctors bills.

Thus an older hospitalized person, receiving both social security and medicare payments from the federal government, would be getting about \$2,200 a year on the average. Washington pays over 270 times that amount, repeat, two-hundred-and-seventy times that amount, for the murder of one single Vietnamese revolutionary, or peasant, or child.

That, in a most concentrated comparison, reveals the essence of the imperialist war budget. On one side are the billions for propagation of war and war profits; on the other, the pittance for those who have worked their entire lives.

Scraping away the trimmings of the budget layer by layer, it comes down to one simple proposition: making the people pay for capitalist war. Price inflation and higher taxes are the twin economic sides of this proposition. That is what Johnson achieved for his capitalist masters in 1966, and that is what he promises them for 1967 and the first six months of 1968.

Care from the Cradle On

Cuba's Free Nursery Program

Since Jan. 1 all state-operated nurseries in Cuba have been providing services free of charge. The Cuban government is carrying through a plan to make nursery facilities available to all Cuban families so that children may receive proper, scientific care and so that the mothers may be freed to engage in the productive process.

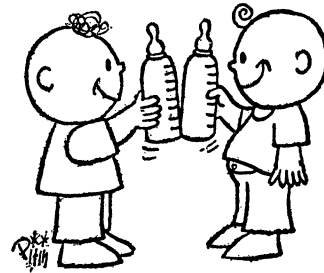
On Jan. 28 Fidel Castro inaugurated a pilot nursery and elementary school project in the rural valley of San Andrés in Pinar del Rio Province. A Reuter's dispatch from Havana reported that Castro said infants over the age of one month would be placed in nurseries under the care of specially trained nurses and later would go to week-day boarding schools, returning home on weekends. Medical care, laundry service and food would be included in the free care. The dispatch quoted the Cuban premier as declaring:

"Children will be mentally, physically and socially educated. They will be educated in the direction of human fraternity and solidarity where man aids fellow man, where men join their efforts to produce common wealth to exploit together the riches of nature."

The San Andrés valley pilot project was described by Fidel last Sept. 17 in a speech to a student gathering in Havana. At that time he described it this way: "What does the first pilot plan consist of? It consists of the following: All children without exception, will have day nurseries which will be distributed all over the valley . . ."

"Another problem is the one of first-to-fourth grade children, who no longer come under the nursery program . . . they will have a special type of school . . . These will not be large schools, so that they can be built near the children's home. The children will be able to walk to school on Monday and return home on Friday.

"From fourth grade to junior high school, there will be larger



schools holding about 300 students. These students will have to walk a little further. They will go to school on Monday and return to their homes on Friday. All school children will be under this new system, which is how we conceive of the school of the future. Clothing, shoes, food, everything will be furnished gratis . . ."

"There will be a well-balanced diet, with all the nutritive values and vitamins required by a human being. It will no longer matter whether a child has one brother or ten . . ."

"Schools will not be like that in the cities. There will be day nurseries too, but the regular

schools will not be on a boarding basis, but rather on a semi-boarding basis. City students will go to school in the morning and return home in the evening, after dinner."

The island-wide nursery school plan was initiated in 1960 by the Federation of Cuban Women. In 1961 a school was established to train 300 women as nursery school directors. In addition a school for nurses aides was opened with a thousand students attending. In April of 1961 the first three nursery schools were opened in the province of Havana.

Despite shortages of construction material, 203 day nurseries have been opened thus far and are caring for 23,000 children. These facilities don't meet the heavy volume of applications but the speedy construction of further centers has been given top priority.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

**Books,
Pamphlets
On Vietnam**

**Merit Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003**

Letters From Our Readers

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

Debs Hall Case

Cleveland, Ohio

The "civil liberties gap" — between Supreme Court rulings and local police practices — has been a well-known fact in every ghetto, black or white, and in every labor struggle for many years. In layman's language it is usually expressed as "You can't fight City Hall!"

But there is a whole new generation that doesn't know it. Not from their own experience. So they are fighting back against unconstitutional and undemocratic local police practices.

The Cleveland Debs Hall case developments of the past few weeks provide an outstanding example of the endurance, solidarity, determination and audacity of a heterogeneous group of 30 persons arbitrarily arrested in a police raid of a private party Nov. 13, 1965.

On Jan. 20, 1967, after 14 months of costly pressure and harassment, the defendants filed a brief challenging the constitutionality of the local ordinance under which all 30 were charged with disorderly assembly.

The charge is a minor misdemeanor. If they had pleaded guilty, they would have been fined the maximum of \$20. But they were indignant. They refused to plead guilty to false charges. They refused to help the local power structure perpetuate the practices by which poor people, unpopular minorities and others are shoved around, intimidated, subjected to indignities.

Ordinances less vulnerable than the Cleveland ordinance have been thrown out as unconstitutional on appeal, as in the Stokely Carmichael case in Atlanta last month.

The outcome of the Debs Hall Case in Cleveland can have significance for dissenters in every city in the country: for the militants in the civil rights movement, the civil liberties groups, the anti-war demonstrators, the campus free speech advocates — for the whole new strata of govern-

ment employes, teachers, and other white collar workers that are beginning to demand their rights.

The main reason the average citizen "can't fight City Hall" is that he can't afford to. He can't afford to hire a lawyer. He can't afford to lose time from work to go to court. He can't afford the time for jury trial for minor offenses. He can't afford to pay hundreds of dollars for transcripts needed for appeal, to get beyond the municipal courts which function as arms of the police department.

The Debs Hall defendants in Cleveland have strained the limited resources of the workers, students, under-paid teachers and other professionals among them for 14 months. They have gone into debt. They have asked for and received contributions and loans from friends. They have a growing number of \$1-a-week contributors to the defense fund.

Now they are asking for help from the rest of the country. Contributions should be sent to Glenn Simpson, Financial Secretary, Committee to Aid the Debs Hall Defendants, 11113 Greenwidge Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44105.

Jean Simon

Post-Xmas Note

Washington, D.C.

I'm enclosing somewhat tardily two clippings from the *Washington Post* "with just a hint of bitterness." One is about an American "cargo" plane which crashed in a Vietnam village, killing 125 civilians and wounding another 42. What is especially interesting is that "four hours after the crash the wreckage was still burning," despite the fact that "the plane crashed in a heavy rainstorm." It sort of makes me wonder . . .

The other article was right beside it, with a headline, "Fragmentation Bomb Held Successful." It sounds like a handy, pocket-size weapon. It "scatters lethal fragments throughout the target area," etc.

But the really priceless thing about the two articles is their datelines. The one from Vietnam was dated Dec. 24, Christmas Eve. The one about the new weapon was dated Dec. 25, Christmas Day.

So do these "good Christian men rejoice" and "spread joy to the world" with "peace on earth, good will to men."

Christmas? Bah! Humbug!

P.M.

Stockyard Experience

Buena Park, Calif.

Your item, "Why Pork Chops Cost Like They Do," reminds me of an incident at Swift's in the Chicago Stockyards where I was going twice weekly throughout the school year, 1915-16 to get some glands taken from the heads of sheep to be used for research purposes. One day the superintendent showed me a roomful of beef halves which had been condemned by the Government Meat Inspector as being unfit for human consumption because they were infected with tuberculosis.

He predicted that the new inspector would not last long; another inspector had been injured for refusing a bribe. Next week the inspector was absent, laid up in a hospital with a broken leg given to him on the stairway.

They didn't try to bribe the rabbi — for one thing, they couldn't, and then the Kosher beef was a small proportion of the total anyway. Some Gentiles switched to Kosher beef!

Murla Algeo

Shades of Henry Ford

Cambridge, Mass.

As a "public service," the Advertising Council ran an ad in *Business Week* urging employers to hire from minority groups even if they "don't like" to, to cope with the labor shortage problem.

The opening paragraphs said: "As long as hundreds of thousands

Thought for the Week

"He [Defense Sec'y McNamara] also emphasized that the 1968 budget assumes a war of indefinite duration, and provides financing to protect production lead-times beyond that date." — The Jan. 28 *Business Week*.

of unskilled American workers are unemployed, any talk of skilled labor 'shortage' is 100 percent nonsense.

"You say typists are in short supply? How long does it take to train somebody to become a good typist? About two months. In two months, the shortage of typists could disappear. (Of course many of the new typists might be from some minority group or other, but would that really matter?)"

Why, it makes Henry Ford a real forward-looking man of his day. Back in the early 1900s he brought thousands of Negroes north to work for \$5 a day.

I'd like to thank the staff of *The Militant*. It helps to put the news of the world in perspective to reality.

K. C. Selective Buying

Hollywood, Fla.

Rep. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina says we should bomb Hanoi and let world opinion "go fly a kite."

How about getting people to talk the only language our owners (and their managers) understand — profits. Why not emblazon on those kites: Buy Un-American (or non-American.).

J. H.

"Dictatorship" in Cuba

New York, N.Y.

I think the following paragraph from an article in the *New York Times* about Cuba Jan. 23 unwittingly shows the popular support the Cuban government has among its people.

The article said: "Castro's security system main-

It Was Reported in the Press

Double Jeopardy — A witness before a Senate Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee warned that the increasing number of doctors who own drugstores often leads to the exploitation of patients. That's obviously true enough. But what we want to know is how many of them own funeral parlors and cemeteries.

What's the Beef? — Children in Mormon Sunday schools are taught that the black skin of Negroes is a "curse" imposed for being "descendants of Cain." Negroes cannot be priests of the church. But the wife of Michigan's Gov. Romney is very angry at critics who score his leading role in the Jim Crow church. She points out that while there may be limitations on the Negro's role in the church, he can "have all the blessings and go straight to the celestial heaven." That's the very highest plateau of the Mormon hereafter.

Touching Sentiment — Mrs. Anne Ford, former wife of Henry Ford II, gave a charity party at what one newsman described as her "lush" Fifth Avenue apartment in New York. Said Mrs. Ford: "Wouldn't it be wonderful if we all had enough money to care for the needy?"

Making Bread — John Fisher, an imaginative, enterprising New York pop artist is doing a brisk business in "bread jewelry." He makes earrings and pins out of such things as Ritz crackers and pretzels. (They're chemically coated to avoid crumbling and to repel roaches.) His best seller is a Ritz cracker pin which can be worn as a protest button. It stands for "make bread, not war" he explains. Mr. Fisher recently sold a wealthy pop art collector a piece of sculpture for \$175. It was loaf of bread with a file baked inside.

Progress Report — A survey by the Harris Poll showed that the median number of hours adults reported watching television "yesterday" was 2.2. A year previous it was 2.3. When asked what pro-

grams they could do without, an even 50 percent said "most programs on television."

An American Product — An ad placed in the *New York Times* offers: "Beautiful Girls — For business shows and meetings — Articulate and gracious. Trained to attract and maintain interest in your product." The company, fittingly enough, is Trade Show Products, Inc.

Nothing Sacred? — The U.S. Tax Court has ruled that "payola" is not tax deductible. It decided that Coed Records must pay taxes on \$19,000 of its income that it paid to disc jockeys to "influence such individuals" to give preference to their records. Coed argued that such bribes are a long-standing practice in the industry.

Some Joke — An English comedian says New York is the only place where you go indoors to get a breath of fresh air.

Dig Bosses Too — Three hundred worm diggers in Wiscasset, Maine, who turn up bloodworms which are highly valued as bait by salt water fishermen, struck for higher pay. After 24 hours the worm dealers surrendered and came through with an 11 percent increase.

What Price Private Enterprise? — Some New York doctors have hiked their fees as much as 300 percent since Medicare went into effect.

Easter Special — Be sure you're home on Easter Sunday to see Ford's showing of the religious film, "The Robe." There will be 16 minutes of commercial time, opening with one solid ten-minute commercial. The company's ad agency says the introduction of the solid dose is in deference to the nature of the film and the holiday.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar of Events

BOSTON
CIVIL WAR IN CHINA? Speaker: George Novack, Marxist author and lecturer. Fri., Feb. 10, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Hall 307, (one block from Mass. Ave.) Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO
MIDWEST SOCIALIST CONFERENCE
Rescheduled from the weekend of Jan. 27 because of snow!

THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS IN TIME OF WAR. Speaker: Frank Lovell, Michigan chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 10, 8 p.m.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK POWER. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, national committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 11, 4 p.m.

THE IMPACT OF THE VIETNAM WAR ON AMERICAN POLITICS. Speaker: Jack Barnes, N. Y. organizer, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 11, 8 p.m.

PARTY ENTERTAINMENT! Sat. Feb. 11, 10:30 p.m. \$1.

CUBA SINCE THE TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE—An eyewitness report. Speaker: Regula Modlich, winner of Radio Havana essay contest and guest of Cuban government at 8th Anniversary celebrations this January. Sun., Feb. 12, 11 a.m.

REGISTRATION FOR WEEKEND
\$2.00 for all four lectures or 75c per session. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St., WE

9-5044. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

LOS ANGELES
UPHEAVAL IN CHINA—A Marxist analysis of the "Great Proletarian Revolution." Speaker: Theodore Edwards. Fri., Feb. 10, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1, Unempl. 35c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CLASSES. School of International Socialism.
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM. Speaker: Barbara Doritty. Sat., Feb. 11, 1 p.m.
HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Theodore Edwards. Sun., Feb. 12, 11 a.m.
INTRODUCTION TO HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. Speaker: Della Rossa. Sun., Feb. 12, 1 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. AN 9-4953.

NEW YORK
IS THE SOVIET UNION CAPITALIST? —A Marxist Answer to Progressive Labor. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, managing editor, *The Militant*. Fri., Feb. 10, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

MARXIST LECTURE SERIES. The Rise of Opportunism in the Second International. Speaker: George Novack, author of *Existentialism vs. Marxism*. Mon., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Fee: 50c. Aup. Socialist Workers Party.

**FOR
NEW READERS**

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

THE MILITANT
873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

Name

Street

City

State

Zip

Detroit Denies Compensation In Debs Hall Shooting Case

DETROIT, Jan. 24 — The Detroit Common Council today turned down the request of two victims of the May 16, 1966 shooting at Michigan Socialist Workers Party headquarters, that the city pay the hospital expenses of survivors Jan Garrett and Walter Graham and the funeral costs for the murdered Leo Bernard.

Young Socialists Garrett and Graham based their request on the fact that both the city police and the U.S. Secret Service had known about the killer, Edward Waniolek, months prior to the crime. Because Waniolek had proclaimed his intention to "kill Communists" on many occasions, he was suspected of mental delusions and the police had requested his wife have him institutionalized. When she refused, the police did nothing, although Michigan law provides that in such cases the police may initiate proceedings to have such persons institutionalized.

The shooting created funeral and hospital expenses running to several thousand dollars for the victims and their families, while Waniolek was judged mentally insane and is now undergoing treatment at society's expense in Ionia State Hospital for the Mentally Insane. Despite the fact that the city's negligence made his crime possible, state law exempts the city from legal liability.

Noted civil liberties attorney Ernest Goodman prepared a brief urging the city to meet its moral obligations to the victims by providing for their expenses. Submitted in September, it was the subject of an open hearing before the council Dec. 20. The council subsequently discussed it and on the recommendation of the city's lawyers decided to turn down the request.

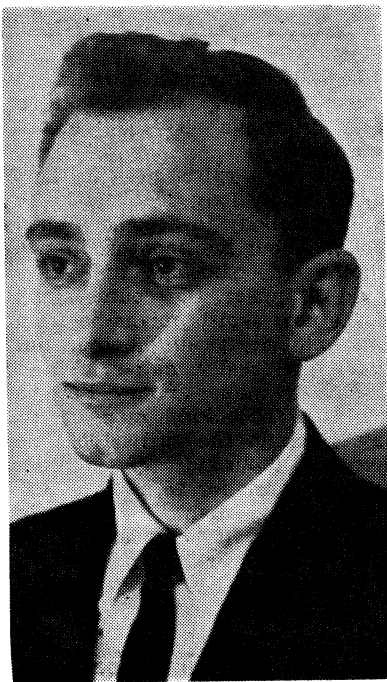
Liberals Silent

Despite rumors that two liberal councilmen, Wayne State University professor Mel Ravitz and Rev. Nicholas Hood, favored the request, not a peep was heard from them as the council ramrodded the denial through the short session this afternoon.

In less than a half hour, the council passed on dozens of resolutions. They paused only a moment to take note of the fact that several university students and adult sympathizers were in attendance to hear the decision.

Councilman Carey said, "The City Council, in denying this request, is denying it on the basis of legal advice and also to give due process to the petitioners so that they can have recourse to the courts."

"Carey's statement was a brazen



Leo Bernard

lie," Garrett told newsmen afterwards. "He knows as well as we do that, because of loopholes in the law, the city cannot be sued. In order to pay our bills, we will have to rely on the very limited resources of ourselves and our friends."

An instructive sidelight of this experience concerns the behavior of the police. "Incapable" of preventing the shooting of young socialists last spring, they turned out *en masse* at the City-County Bldg. today. According to the *Detroit News*, police officials said the entire day shift of the central station was held on overtime and the Tactical Mobile Unit was called in, making a force of 200 men "in readiness." The occasion for this was a leaflet distributed by the W.S.U. Young Socialist Alliance the previous day.

The leaflet had said in part, "The city must recognize its failure to act when it should have, and relieve unfair financial burdens of the innocent victims. Failure to do so will be seen as encouragement to enemies of political dissent in general. *Let our do-nothing council know it can't af-*

ford to 'do nothing' in this case."

Evidently, the peaceable assembly of socialist and antiwar students to demand redress of grievances is a greater worry for the police than a homicidal anti-Communist maniac running loose.

The *Michigan Chronicle*, editorializing Jan. 7 on police attitudes in this case, raised a pertinent question: "The fact that Waniolek's intended victims were politically unpopular could account for the slow action on the part of the police. Could the fact that probable victims of many potential killers walking Detroit streets are Negroes account for the fact nothing is done ahead of time to stop them either?"

Leading clergymen in Detroit petitioned the Common Council, just prior to its rejection of the appeal for financial redress, to act favorably. The statement of these clergymen said that "the moral responsibility of the city in this case derives from the failure to act and the almost inescapable conclusion that the reason for this failure on the part of the police was Waniolek's obsession with the 'communist conspiracy.'"

Most councilmen expressed "deep sympathy" with the victims, but failed to find any "grounds" for granting financial assistance. Friends of Jan Garrett and Walter Graham are now urging that a broader citizens' committee be constituted to collect funds to defray their medical expenses — in conjunction with the Leo Bernard Memorial Fund set up last spring — thus converting the "sympathy" of Detroit's Common Council into something more substantial.

Viet Comics a Dud

"The Vietnam war is no more popular with comic book-buying youngsters than with their tax-paying elders, according to the nation's leading comic book publisher. National Periodical Publications . . . has dropped Vietnam comics because of poor sales."—Wall Street Journal.

Cleveland Debs Hall Assault Trial Ends in Hung Jury—8 for Acquittal

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Jan. 25 — The trial of Robert B. Leonard, 21, charged with assault and battery on a police officer during a midnight raid on Eugene V. Debs Hall by Cleveland police and state liquor agents Nov. 13, 1965, ended yesterday with a hung jury (eight to four for acquittal).

This was the third setback to the prosecution in a series of frame-up charges by police following the arrest and jailing of 30 persons at a buffet dinner benefit for *The Militant*.

The first setback was the dismissal of the disorderly assembly charge against all 30 defendants on July 12, 1966, by Municipal Judge Theodore M. Williams.

The second was a not guilty verdict on July 15 in the case of Richard B. Tussey, a guest at the Debs Hall affair who was charged with being keeper of a place where liquor was sold without a permit.

Herman Kirsch, state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, testified that his organization rented the premises, that Richard

Tussey was a guest at the affair and had nothing to do with running it. Kirsch pleaded no contest to the charge of "keeper" then lodged against him, and was fined \$100 and costs, together with two other defendants, on technical violation of the liquor law.

A week later, the night of July 23, during the height of the Hough ghetto uprising, police began re-arresting the 30 defendants on the disorderly assembly charge, starting with the most prominent civil rights leaders, Mr. and Mrs. James Russell and Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Robinson.

Four of the defendants in the Debs Hall Case were also charged with assault and battery on a police officer. One, James Russell, was found guilty in a jury trial that lasted nine days — the longest trial on record for a misdemeanor, according to one of the prosecutors.

On Jan. 20 Municipal Judge Norman A. Fuerst sentenced Russell to 30 days in the workhouse and court costs. Russell is appealing the verdict.

2 YSA Leaders Making Tours

Two national speaking tours are being conducted this winter by the Young Socialist Alliance to gain broader circulation for socialist ideas and to help build the antiwar actions planned for April 8-15. Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *Young Socialist* magazine and a member of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, is currently on tour of the major cities of the West, Midwest, and East.

Miss Waters, 23, graduated from Carlton College in 1963 where she majored in English. She later did graduate work at the University of California at Berkeley where she was active in the Free Speech Movement and the Vietnam Day Committee. She is the author of soon-to-be-released Young Socialist pamphlet on the history of GIs and the fight against war, from the "going home" movement after World War II up to the present.

On her tour she will be speaking at meetings set up by YSA locals in those cities on the impact of Vietnam on world politics.

Liege Demonstration

Miss Waters recently returned from Europe where she participated in the Liege antiwar conference and demonstration which brought together anti-Vietnam-war fighters and socialist youth from all over western Europe. In Europe she was able to talk with antiwar activists and get a first hand view of the movement against the war in a number of countries.

Beginning in the middle of February, a second tour will be conducted to give an additional boost to the preparations for Vietnam Week and to reach many new areas with socialist ideas and literature.

Charles Bolduc, 20, a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and former organizer of the YSA local in Minneapolis, will be touring the East, South, Southwest, and Midwest. Bolduc was one of the founding members of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam and has been one of its most active members.

Bolduc's speaking tour will take him from Massachusetts, across New York state, down through Pennsylvania and into Tennessee,



Mary-Alice Waters

Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. He will then make a swing up through Missouri, Iowa and Illinois.

The topic of his talk will be "Can the Antiwar Movement End the War?"

Expose ROTC Spy Program At University

By Debbie Leonard

SEATTLE — The United States Army has recently added a new feature to its West Coast ROTC programs. Training kits which identify SDS, SNCC and other student political groups as "Communist dominated, Communist influenced, and Communist oriented" have been issued. These kits include three slides with accompanying commentary. The first slide shows a map of the West Coast of the United States with red dots marking major cities in the area. The second slide identifies the dots as headquarters for chapters of SDS, SNCC and other groups. The third slide shows three ducks and reads, "If it walks like a duck, talks like a duck, and lays eggs like a duck, then it is a duck."

Army ROTC at the University of Washington took the initiative to amplify on the message contained in the slides. Showing them at a secret session at which cadets were told not to take notes nor to repeat what they saw, ROTC instructors, allegedly to make the course "more realistic," appointed "student intelligence officers." They instructed the cadets to collect the literature of specified campus political organizations, remove posters of these organizations from bulletin boards and gather names of students involved in these activities.

Some of the student cadets rebelled against this assignment, however, and exposed the ROTC plans.

The University of Washington chapter of the American Association of University Professors has called upon the academic community nationally to re-evaluate the role of all campus ROTC programs. The UW Vietnam Committee is introducing a resolution to the Student Political Union advocating that ROTC be abolished and is inviting the heads of the ROTC program on campus to confront representatives of student political groups at a meeting open to the entire student body.



Walter Graham