

# A Previously Unpublished Interview with Malcolm X

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# THE MILITANT

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## Johnson Accelerates Vietnam Aggression

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 13 — At 12:07 P.M. this afternoon, Lyndon B. Johnson ended the less-than-48 hour extension of the "Tet truce" with orders for resumption of U.S. bombing of north Vietnam. It was almost as though Johnson was afraid that if he waited a few hours longer, some "signal" for peace talks might actually come from Hanoi.

Four days earlier, Secretary of State Dean Rusk labeled the worldwide pressure against this resumption of bombing a "systematic campaign" by the "Communist side."

The "Communist side" in this case happened to include UN Secretary General U Thant, the Pope, and a number of influential Democratic and Republican Party leaders, among millions of others.

Simultaneous appeals for prolonging the bombing truce from New York Republican and Democratic senators Javits and Kennedy was one testimony to the depth of mass sentiment against the war in this country. Javits and Kennedy haven't forgotten the success of Eisenhower's "I'll go to Korea" campaign in 1952; and neither capitalist party rules out the possibility of undertaking fake peace campaigns in 1968.

In announcing the new bombing raids, the White House issued a statement that "the only response we have had from the Hanoi government was to use the period for major resupply efforts of their troops to Vietnam." It only goes to show you capitalist hypocrisy knows no bounds.

Washington used the so-called truce period to build up forces for launching the biggest military operation of the war, the 15,000-man "Operation Gadsen" which was launched the minute the truce ended. At the same time, Washington prepared to launch a massive invasion of the Mekong Delta region with another 15,000 troops of the Ninth Infantry Division.

### B-52 Bombing

Further, giant U.S. B-52 bombers rained death on the south Vietnamese countryside up to the moment the truce began, and resumed as soon as it ended. And while doing all this, Pentagon propagandists worked overtime in Washington and Saigon to cook up Johnson's excuse for breaking the truce period off.

This story came from *New York Times* correspondent R. W. Apple Jr., written in Saigon, Feb. 12. Apple explained why the Defense Dept. had taken the unusual step of releasing casualty statistics for American and National Liberation Front Forces, incurred during the "truce":

"American sources suggested that the figures had been made public in contradiction to usual security regulations in an effort to prepare world opinion for the resumption of air strikes against north Vietnam. One American source said, 'The word has been passed from Washington that we have to provide them with a proper rationale.'"

Apple continued, "Correspondents in the provinces north and northwest of Saigon said, however, that the highways were much more crowded than usual with U.S. convoys. Officers in the American First Infantry Division confirmed that they were moving extraordinary amounts of food, fuel and ammunition to forward positions."

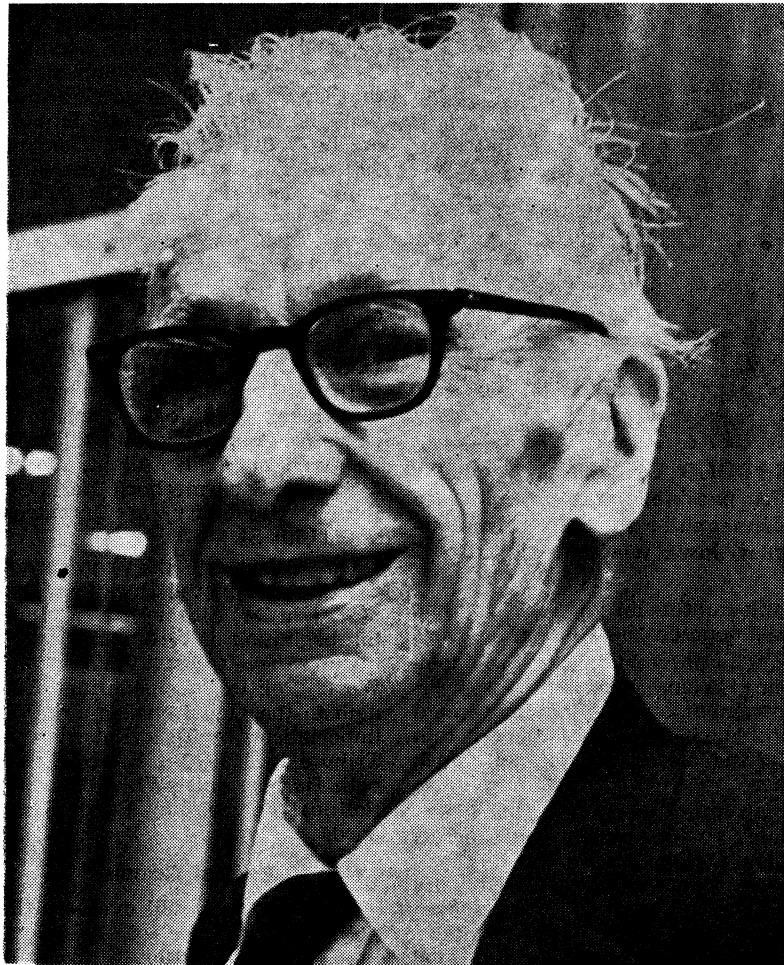
And why? "A source close to General Westmoreland made clear that he hoped to be able to mount maximum operations against the enemy early this morning. 'Unless we are leashed by the White House,' the source said, 'we will put everything we've got into the field. We plan to start a whole bunch of new operations as soon as possible.'"

Against this background, it is

easier to understand what Washington really hoped to gain from the four-day truce period and the extensive diplomatic maneuvering in the weeks preceding it. While preparing to intensify the military pressure, Washington was looking for a sign that the Vietnamese were ready to make concessions infringing on their right of self-determination, as demanded by the imperialists.

Before, during and after the truce, Washington did not alter in the least its fundamental objectives in Vietnam. These were, and remain: U.S. domination over Vietnamese affairs; stabilization of a national economy in south Vietnam organized on a capitalist basis and open to continued imperialist exploitation; maintenance of a gov-

(Continued on Page 3)



A. J. Muste  
Jan. 8, 1885 - Feb. 11, 1967

## A. J. Muste Dies at 82; Loss to Antiwar Forces

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The death of A. J. Muste is a significant loss for the movement against the Vietnam war. The widely loved and respected pacifist leader died of heart failure here Saturday, Feb. 11. He was 82. During the afternoon he suffered chest pains and was taken to the hospital. At 6:30 p.m. he lost consciousness. He died three hours later.

A combination of circumstances and special personal qualities had placed him in a unique position in the antiwar movement. A committed pacifist, he represented the most radical wing of the pacifist movement. More than 50 years of activity in the labor and radical movement had convinced him of the need to build a united opposition to the war and to build it on the basis of non-exclusion. That is, he stood by the principle that no one could be barred from the movement because of their political or other views.

His commitment to his pacifist views was serious and principled and he enjoyed the respect and confidence of others who might emphatically disagree with his philosophy.

At the same time he was an unusually attractive personality. He possessed great wisdom in personal relations and his warmth, tolerance and delightful sense of humor won him untold deep friendships. All knew him simply and affectionately as "A.J." He was respected by virtually all sections of the radical and antiwar movements.

It was for these reasons that he was able to help bring together for common cause many groups that had long been divided and might have otherwise remained so.

He played an indispensable role in the development of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee of which he was chairman. Similarly, his role was key to the launching of the Spring Mobilization Committee of which he was also chairman.

He also contributed significantly in shaping the committee's formation in a militant way. He was a leading spokesman in defense of self-determination for the Vietnamese people and insisted on the need for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam as the meaningful way to end the war.

Muste had won particular respect among radicals during the fifties. He was one of the few who spoke up and sought to rally support for Communist Party victims of the witchhunt. And during the period following the Khrushchev revelations when the monolithic wall that surrounded Communist Party members was shattered, he did much to promote a dialogue within the radical movement. His principal contribution in this was his near-indispensable role in helping to form the American Forum for Socialist Education of which he was chairman. The Forum organized a systematic exchange of radical views.

Muste's ability to make such contributions flowed in part from his first-hand knowledge of the radical movement. For several years during the 30s he put aside his pacifism for commitment to revolutionary Marxism and for a brief time was a leader of the Workers Party, predecessor organization of the Socialist Workers Party.

Muste's involvement in the

(Continued on Page 3)

## 'You Voted for Us' ... GIs Hail Antiwar Vote in Dearborn

[In the November elections, a referendum on the war in Vietnam was held in Dearborn, Mich. The referendum called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. While the referendum lost, 40 percent, or 14,124 voted for withdrawal.]

[Dearborn Mayor Orville Hubbard supported the referendum. The Detroit Ad Hoc Committee for the April 15 Mobilization has released the following letter from soldiers in Vietnam to Mayor Hubbard.]

Tuy Hoa, South Vietnam  
Monday, Nov. 21, 1966

Dear Mr. Hubbard:

Read the article that appeared in *The Detroit News* Nov. 9, 1966.

Myself and my entire squad (3rd squad A3/12) agree with you and would like to thank you for your concern over the matter.

After being out in the field for over a month, and then reading the article about the vote, you can imagine how mad we were!

Speaking for the infantry, we are the ones who go out and risk our lives. We don't sit back in a base camp nor are we stationed 15 or 20 miles off at sea. In short, we are the slaves who hump hills with 40 lbs. of equipment on our backs and then eat C-rations, pull guard all night, get up the next morning and move out again. This of course is not that bad. Getting shot at does not appeal to me in the least either.

But, the economic war goes on and on. We fight in a miserable primitive land while others talk, argue, and sometimes vote to keep us here.

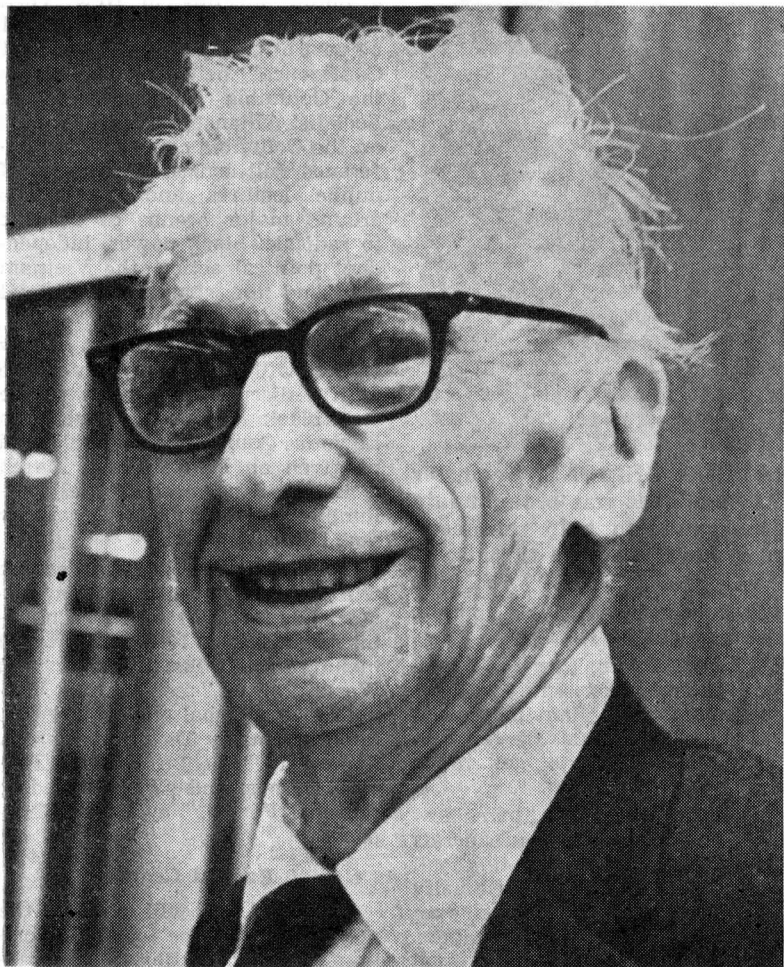
All in favor of you, and the 14,124 citizens of Dearborn who voted for us, thank you.

(Signed) Sgt. K. Lewandowski, Hamtramck, Mich.; Sgt. L. King, Willard, Ohio; Pfc. J. Robatchka, Allen Park, Mich.; Pfc. R. Scott, Allen Park, Mich.; Pfc. W. Pitts, River Rouge, Mich.; Pfc. G. Bojarski, Detroit, Mich.; Pvt. G. Brown, S. Amboy, N.J.;

Pfc. A. Ricci, Lincoln Park, Mich.; Pfc. E. McGregor, Lincoln Park, Mich.; Pfc. F. Rogers, Watertown, N.Y.; Pfc. R. Rush, Allen Park, Mich.; Pfc. R. Hopkins, Alexandria, Ky.; Sp. 4 R. Tipton, Newport, Ky.; Pfc. R. Stulz, Newport, Ky.

Of course the rest of the platoon feel as we do, but I am just a representative of my squad writing our thanks to you for your effort.

(Signed) Sincerely, Pfc. George J. Bojarski (US 55864877).



A. J. Muste  
Jan. 8, 1885 - Feb. 11, 1967

# ***A. J. Muste Dies at 82; Loss to Antiwar Forces***

By Harry Ring



On Feb. 3 Walter Reuther sent a second administrative letter to UAW locals concerning his dispute with George Meany about AFL-CIO policy. Like the earlier letter of the kind, it indicates no real differences between Reuther and Meany over basic program. Both support the Vietnam war, accept government restrictions on the right to strike, oppose the black power movement and keep labor tied to capitalist politics. Meany is simply more frank about it than Reuther, who has demagogically launched a palace revolt against Meany in the hope of warding off a developing membership revolt against the whole AFL-CIO bureaucracy. (See Jan. 16 *Militant*.)

Tactically, the Feb. 3 letter shows that Reuther has decided to take the dispute outside the Executive Council, in which he says Meany refuses "to share democratic leadership responsibility." Reuther has resigned from the Executive Council and other UAW international officers have given up top posts in the AFL-CIO. They have announced they will continue to participate in AFL-CIO bodies and posts on a "selective basis" at the national, state, county and city levels.

UAW officers did not resign from their posts in the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, which Reuther heads. The IUD, composed mainly of former CIO unions that merged with the AFL in 1955, relates itself administratively to about six million rank and file unionists, close to half the total AFL-CIO membership. By keeping his presidency of the IUD, while resigning from the Executive Council, Reuther has created what amounts, in effect, to a dual leadership situation within the AFL-CIO.

What Meany, as AFL-CIO president, will try to do about it remains to be seen. So far he has said nothing, but he will probably take a stand at an Executive Council meeting to be held later in February. Further indications of pending developments in the Reuther-Meany dispute can also be expected at a UAW convention scheduled for April 20-22 in Detroit.

A week-long strike has won tugboat men in the port of New York a substantial cut in hours with no reduction in take-home pay. The cut in hours — provided under a new three-year contract for 3,400 members of the National Maritime Union — takes the concrete form of getting a fourth complete crew for each vessel.

Previously tugboats were operated with three assigned crews, and the men got one day off for every two days worked. With a fourth crew, each man will get one day off for every day worked. In terms of a five-day work week, this means the men will work 30 hours a week.

Under the new contract the size

of the crew can be cut for automated tugboats; for example, oilers can be eliminated on such craft. An NMU official said the men involved would be protected since assignment of a fourth crew would provide up to 800 new jobs on tugboats in the port. He described the agreement, which cuts hours — with no cut in pay — to safeguard jobs threatened by automation, as "a major breakthrough for the entire labor movement."

Ratification of a new one-year contract for 500 members of the Machinists union has ended a 52-day strike at Mohawk Airlines. It began in a dispute over pension improvements, with other parts of the union contract remaining in effect. When the pension issue was resolved the company refused to recall 125 striking mechanics, claiming their jobs had been eliminated.

This prolonged the walkout until Mohawk finally agreed to return all 500 strikers to the payroll. But the new contract provides that mechanics may be deemed "surplus" and eliminated under bumping procedures, i.e., a worker with longer seniority, whose job is eliminated, may claim another job held by a worker with shorter seniority.

Newspapers and TV have burlesqued accounts of the "Bunnies" strike at the Playboy Club in New York City. Stressing their youth, beauty and exotic costumes, fun is poked at the idea of these "glamor girls" involving themselves with unions and picket lines. A key fact is slurred over — they are workers, who are cynically exploited for private profit.

The "Bunnies" are waitresses, serving food and drink, who are specially "glamorized" to, as they say, "push the booze" to customers willing to pay robber prices to be served by them. They must wear high-heeled shoes, which add to the foot trouble experienced by all workers in the trade. Their scanty attire leaves much of the body openly exposed to burns from hot plates and liquids, and it makes an air-conditioned place chilly for them.

The exotic garb they must wear is designed to arouse male interest and causes men, especially drunks, to make passes at them. "Bunnies" are expected to ward off such passes and are required to do so without offending the boorish customer. Failure on either count brings a "demerit," used as a pretext to dock their pay, and "too many demerits" leads to discharge.

To earn a living, "Bunnies" must jeopardize their human dignity, and there is nothing hilarious about it. They deserve support in their demand for a union of their own choice to fight for better pay and more humane working conditions.

# Honeywell Strike Ended By Narrow Vote Margin

By Joseph Johnson

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 13 — Ten thousand, five hundred members of Teamsters Local 1145 went back to work this morning in Minneapolis, ending their 11-day strike against Honeywell, Inc. Honeywell, the largest employer in Minneapolis, had given in on the important strike demand for the right of workers to move from plant to plant but gave nothing beyond this. (Workers were afraid of not being able to shift from one plant to another if their jobs were automated.)

The members, in rebellious anti-leadership protest meetings had called for an escalator clause, a one-year contract, more money and an across-the-board pay increase rather than the percentage pay plan, which provides more for skilled workers, offered in the contract, as well as the right to move from plant to plant.

At a stormy meeting, Sat., Feb. 11, the strikers voted 2,579 to 2,291, by a slim majority of 288, to accept the company's new contract offer. Over 3,000 union members had left before the voting because of an hour-and-a-half wait for the union bureaucrats, many thinking there would be no voting.

### Officials' Line

The officials the members waited for so long all told them how good the company offer was. They included Harold Gibbons, a Teamsters International vice president who flew in from Saint Louis to sell the men out, and Jack Jorgensen, president of Teamsters Joint Council 32 in Minneapolis.

Jorgensen said a long strike would bring losses in wages which would be hard to make up and told the workers how good this contract was. These demands to give in were greeted by catcalls by large sections of the strikers. There were strong demands by the men to continue the strike until their demands were met.

Young militants have been in open revolt against the leadership of Local 1145 from the time they proposed acceptance of the original contract proposal, Jan. 27 by Honeywell. The militants had demanded the resignation of the three top union officials and the 50-man negotiating committee of the local, though they dropped this demand during the last part of the strike.

These militants are still opposed to the union leadership, the new contract and the ending of the strike. Dick Shore, one of the



**HAROLD GIBBONS.** Teamster vice president was brought into Minneapolis to help ram contract down workers' throats.

rank-and-file leaders, said that he still opposed the Honeywell offer.

"The only thing they [the company] came back with was resolution of the plant movement problem," Shore said. He felt that it was necessary to get much more.

An interesting sidelight was how quickly the union bureaucrats were able to find a meeting hall when they wanted one. Originally the strike vote was by mail over the protest of the union members. They were opposed to the mail ballot because it made it impossible for them to voice their objections against the contract. The bureaucrats said the mail ballot was necessary because it was impossible to get a hall big enough to hold the local's membership.

### Rejected Excuse

This was laughed at by the workers who pointed out that there were plenty of halls and that they had had months to get one. However, it was noted by the men, that when the state and federal conciliators wanted the union to meet in order to get a back-to-work vote, a hall was found immediately.

The strike has gained a major concession from the company: the right of workers to move from plant to plant; but, considering the big war profits Honeywell is making, this one concession was small compared to what the strikers could have won with militant leadership.



Photo by Finer

**LOCKOUT.** Scene at Non-Residence Welfare Center at 32nd St. in New York on Feb. 3. Members of the Social Service Employees Union were locked out for second day by city authorities in dispute over city's failure to meet terms of contract. An agreement was reached and endorsed by the union membership on Feb. 7, whereby the city consented to hiring 600 new case workers a month to bring case loads down to the level specified in the contract.

# John Hulett To Speak at YSA Parley

NEW YORK — John Hulett, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Party (Black Panther Party) in Alabama, will speak at a public meeting in New York City on March 3. The meeting will be part of an "East Coast Socialist Conference" being organized by the Columbia University Young Socialist Alliance, and will be held on the Columbia campus. The conference will consist of a series of public lectures and discussions around major arenas of concern to radicals: black power, independent political action, the Vietnam war and the struggle for social change.

The Alabama Freedom Party leader will open the conference with a discussion of the struggle for black political power in Lowndes County. Hulett's talk will be given on Friday night, March 3, in 501 Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, at Broadway and 116th St.

On Saturday, the conference will be held in the Harkness Theater (Butler Library) at Columbia beginning at 10:30 a.m. It will include three talks: "Vietnam and World Politics," considering Vietnam in the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, by Dick Roberts; "A Tribute to Malcolm X," by Elizabeth Barnes; and "Which Road to Political Power?" by Barry Shepard.

### Radical Groups

The third talk will evaluate the political programs of the Communist Party, DuBois Clubs, Progressive Labor, SDS and the Young Socialist Alliance. The concepts of community organizing, student power and electoral action will also be discussed.

There will be a party Saturday night and on Sunday, the conference will convene at 873 Broadway, at 18th St., at 11:00 a.m., to hear a talk by Lew Jones, national chairman of the YSA. Jones will discuss "Radical Youth and the Antiwar Movement."

The YSA has released the following addresses and telephone numbers for further information about the conference: Boston, Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307; MIT, Nat London, 354-1999; Harvard-Radcliffe, 868-3021;

Philadelphia, John Benson, 440 N. 38th St., EV 6-7699;

Baltimore, Les Evenchick, P.O. Box 751; Washington, Terrill Brumback, 1116 25th St., N.W., 965-8986;

New York, 873 Broadway, 982-6051; Queens College, Dave Frankel, OL 7-9182; Columbia, Peter Seidman, 666-4917; and City College, Wendy Reissner, CI 6-2348.

# YSA Editor Speaks At Two Teach-Ins

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *Young Socialist* magazine, completed the West Coast swing of her national speaking tour with a speech before the University of Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Feb. 3. Miss Waters, 25, is touring the country for the Young Socialist Alliance, speaking on "The Impact of Vietnam on World Politics," to help build the Spring Mobilization.

Now starting the tour of the East Coast, Miss Waters spoke to 350 people at a Vietnam Teach-in in Cambridge, Mass., sponsored by the M.I.T. Committee to End the War in Vietnam, on Feb. 9.

Charles Bolduc, a member of the national committee of the YSA, has begun the first leg of a 5,000-mile tour of the East, South, Southwest, and Midwest.

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Monday, February 20, 1967

## ...Vietnam Bombing

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ernment in Saigon controlled by U.S. imperialism; and indefinite occupation of south Vietnam with U.S. military forces.

Johnson was emboldened to heighten the pressure for a capitulation at this time by several developments, according to various sources. These included the Harrison Salisbury reports of the extensive bomb damage in north Vietnam caused by two-years of unrelenting air attacks; and Salisbury's opinion that Hanoi would be ready to negotiate if bombing attacks stopped.

Another major factor, *New York Times* correspondent Anthony Lewis reported from London, Jan. 31, was the crisis in China: "The feeling is that north Vietnam's determination to fight on relentlessly must be affected by the growing political division in China."

Most important, however, were the meetings held in London between British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin. This offered the perfect forum to bring Washington's pressure to bear, and there can be little doubt that the meeting had been under careful preparation at least since Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's secret talks with Johnson in Washington last October.

On one side of the table was a misleader of the British labor movement and on the other, a bureaucratic overlord of the most powerful workers state and second most powerful nation in the world. Had these eminent personalities met to prepare an appeal to the workers of the world to rise in unified defense of the heroic effort of revolutionary Vietnam against imperialist aggression?

On the contrary, Wilson, with one ear on the telephone to the White House throughout the talks, is one of Washington's most trusted defenders of imperialist policies outside the country. And Kosygin, emboldened, like Johnson, by the crisis in China, had come to make every effort within his power to arrive at a "compromise" which would accommodate Washington's basic objectives.

### Kosygin Arrives

When Kosygin arrived in London Feb. 6, the agreed-upon peg for discussion appeared to be a Jan. 28 interview between Australian correspondent Wilfred Burchett, and the north Vietnamese foreign minister, Nguyen Duy Trinh. According to Burchett, Trinh had said a "cessation of U.S. bombardments could lead to talks between north Vietnam and the U.S."

In London, Kosygin called attention to this interview and on Feb. 8, he declared: "The Soviet Government welcomes this statement and regards it as an important and constructive proposal for ending the war."

But Johnson had already rejected the Burchett suggestion in a Washington press conference Feb. 3. Saying out of one side of his mouth that he was willing to take "just almost any step" to prepare for suspension of the bombings, Johnson came closer to the truth talking out of the other side:

"We'd be very glad to stop our bombing," Johnson stated, "if we could have any indication of reciprocal action, but as of now they have given none . . ." Following Kosygin's Feb. 8 statement, how-

ever, Washington took a harder line.

In the same press conference Feb. 9 where he called the world pressure for unilateral bombing cessation a communist conspiracy, Rusk also made it clear Hanoi would have to give specific promises of what it was willing to concede before Washington let up on the bombing. Rusk's message appears to have been heard in various quarters.

From Pnompenh, Cambodia, Feb. 10, Burchett dispatched a second article, presenting according to him, "how Hanoi and the Vietcong view a future Vietnam that might emerge out of any negotiated settlement." Burchett's article suggested fundamental concessions on a number of particulars.

First of all, Hanoi's four-point program was "not posed as a precondition" for negotiations, "and far less was withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Vietnam . . ." Secondly, the south could remain "non-socialist and neutral militarily, politically and diplomatically."

### Burchett's Report

Then, according to Burchett, a leader of the NLF "envisages that a 'broad coalition government of national union' could be formed which, while excluding personalities like Generals Nguyen Cao Ky and Nguyen Van Thieu . . . would not exclude some members of their cabinets or others who served in previous Saigon governments."

Coincidentally with the Burchett second article, the Kremlin pressure on Hanoi was increased. Again endorsing the first article in London, Kosygin urged "that the United States should take advantage of it." *Izvestia*, Feb. 11, stated:

"The ending of American raids on the territory of north Vietnam would give the signal for the reverse process — the limiting of the scope of military operations and, finally, their complete cessation."

Feb. 13, Wilson and Kosygin concluded their talks by releasing a statement that, at least so far as Vietnam is concerned, might well be endorsed by U.S. Congressional "hawks," let alone by the "doves" who will praise it to the skies. Without uttering one word of blame or censure against Washington, the statement reads:

"Both Governments deeply regretted that the war in Vietnam continues with the loss of more human lives. They agreed that these events were a danger to neighboring states and to the peace and stability of the region and that it was essential to achieve the earliest possible end of the Vietnam war."

Within hours of this final declaration, Johnson gave his answer — by resuming the blood-letting in north Vietnam. Wilson — already informed of Johnson's decision — stated in London: "Even if we are disappointed on this occasion, there is no reason why . . . the road should not be opened again."

And what is the road that Wilson and Kosygin will agree to? There is an example: Korea. Fourteen years after Eisenhower "concluded the peace," South Korea remains a U.S. militarily occupied puppet dictatorship; the vast majority of its people remain impoverished peasants; thousands of their leaders remain prisoners.

# New York Meeting Launches Mobilization; Salutes Muste

NEW YORK, Feb. 14 — Nearly a thousand people attended a meeting at the Community Church last night at which A. J. Muste had been scheduled to be a principal speaker. The meeting publicly launched the April 15 Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. Speakers paid memorial tribute to Muste, an initiator of the Mobilization.

The meeting had been organized by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee to hear a report on plans for the April 15 New York-San Francisco demonstration by James Bevel, national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee and to hear reports by Muste and Grace Mora Newman on their visits to north Vietnam.

Bevel told the meeting that the uniqueness of A. J. Muste lay in his consistency. Muste, he said, believed that men should be brothers and live together and so he devoted his life to removing the barriers that keep people from living together.

Bevel exhorted the audience to do more than simply declare their opposition to the Vietnam war. If we devote ourselves to our task with the same total purpose that the U.S. rulers prosecute the war we can achieve our goal, he de-

clared. He urged the audience to participate in the manifold activities of the Spring Mobilization Committee and to make it something more than a spare-time activity.

Dave Dellinger, vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee and a long-time associate of Muste's, described how Muste had devoted himself to the Spring Mobilization. He spoke of the call being issued for the action and how intensely Muste had labored in his last days to work out a final draft of the call that would be consistent with the militant purpose of the mobilization and satisfactory to the various participants.

### Muste's Memory

In honoring Muste's memory, Dellinger said, people should not turn him into a saint. "Honor him," he declared, "by continuing the kind of radical activities which were typical of him."

Grace Mora Newman told how Muste had given unstintingly of his time and energies for the Fort Hood Three, the GIs jailed for their opposition to the Vietnam war. She too urged the audience to honor Muste's memory by backing the causes he fought for. She called for support to the Fort Hood Three Committee in its ef-

forts to free the three servicemen. She also asked for aid to the committee's efforts to mount an anti-draft campaign.

Barbara Deming, author, pacifist and also a close associate of Muste's, spoke movingly of his unusual personal qualities. She told how she and Muste and several other pacifists were expelled from Saigon last year. It was a tense, possibly dangerous situation. When they were finally taken out of a police van where they had been held in broiling heat and placed in a room at the airport, she looked across the room to see how Muste was. He broke into a bright smile and said: "It's a good life."

Muste's secretary, Beverly Sterner, spoke of his deep love of poetry. She said this expressed itself in everything he did and most particularly in the way that he related to people. She read two of his favorite poems.

The Rev. Donald Harrington, pastor of the Community Church, paid tribute to Muste as a unique figure whom he compared to Gandhi.

Many people at the meeting filled out forms indicating a desire to participate in the activity of the Spring Mobilization Committee. A collection was taken to further these activities.

## ... Muste's Death, Antiwar Loss

(Continued from Page 1)

struggle for a better world was total and life long. Born in Holland Jan. 8, 1885, he was brought to this country at the age of six. He grew up in Grand Rapids, Mich., where his father worked as a teamster. In the eighth grade he wrote an essay on child labor which won a \$15 prize awarded by the state Trades and Labor Council.

He went on to become a Protestant minister. By 1915 he was a confirmed pacifist and suffered reprisals within the church for his opposition to World War I.

In 1918 he first became actively involved in the labor movement. While living in Boston he joined a pacifist committee that sought to aid the textile workers of Lawrence, Mass., who were engaged in a bitter struggle for union rights. Before he quite knew what was happening, Muste found himself in the leadership of the strike, being beaten by the cops, and leading the workers to victory.

He was then made an official for the Textile Workers Union and was a union organizer for a number of years. In 1921, he left his union post to become educational director of Brookwood Labor College, at Katonah, N.Y. Supported by a few unions with a militant tradition, Brookwood educated unionists in militant unionism, labor history and general socialist ideas.

In the late twenties, Muste began reading Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and began to veer away from pacifism to the class-struggle concepts of Marx. In 1929 he founded the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The CPLA pressed the concepts of militancy, union democracy and industrial unionism within the AFL unions its members were active in. With the depression, CPLA members played a leading role in organizing the unemployed into mass, fighting organizations.

Toward the end of 1933 the CPLAers had evolved to the point where they recognized the need for radical political action and they organized the American Workers Party.

Members of the AWP, or Musteites as they were known in the

movement, played a key role in a number of historic union struggles that led to the birth of the CIO, the outstanding being the fiercely-fought Toledo Auto-Lite strike where the Musteite leadership organized a successful mass defiance of an anti-picketing injunction.

In 1935, still moving to the left, the AWP merged with the Communist League of America, the Trotskyist organization of the time, and Muste became a prominent leader of the fused movement.

However, in 1936, while visiting Europe (then already on the eve of war), Muste reconsidered his basic views and announced his break with Marxism and his return to pacifism and the church.

He became active again in the Fellowship of Reconciliation and from 1937 to 1940 was minister of the Presbyterian Labor Temple in New York.

He remained a principled pacifist during World War II, with his activity in the forties centered largely among religious groups. It was in the fifties that he began to turn again to more direct involvement with the radical movement.

He became the outstanding figure in the pacifist movement and with remarkable energy devoted himself to a host of organizations and causes. At the time of his death, in addition to being chairman of the Parade Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee, he was co-chairman of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, chairman of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, executive board member of the War Resisters League, editorial board member of *Liberation*, chairman of the Tax Refusal Committee, co-chairman of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors and secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. His views over the years are to be found in the just published book, *The Essays of A.J. Muste*, edited by Nat Hentoff.

He did not support any political party, but in the 1966 New York elections he supported Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party for Congress and Judy White of

the SWP for Governor of New York as a means of registering his strong belief in the right of radical parties to participate freely in the electoral process.

Last year he journeyed to Saigon to demonstrate there against the war and this January he celebrated his 82nd birthday in Hanoi where he went with a group of ministers.

At the airport on his return from Hanoi, he seemed as vigorous as ever. But the trip apparently took a greater physical toll than was apparent.

At an airport press conference, there was an indication of how his instinctive sympathy for those fighting a just cause could outweigh his pacifist convictions. Queried on the events in China, he expressed concern that the development of the crisis there could interfere with the supply of military equipment to north Vietnam.

### Dobbs, Jones Issue Statements on Muste

NEW YORK — Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and Lew Jones, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, issued statements on the death of A. J. Muste.

Dobbs said: "His death is a loss for the entire antiwar movement. His principled stand in favor of the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and his insistence on building a united movement on the principle of non-exclusion contributed greatly to advancing the movement."

Jones said: "Young people will particularly miss him. He was one of the older generation who remained committed to truth and justice and was militant in his opposition to the war. We will carry on in that spirit."

# New Threat to Independence of Unions

By Farrell Dobbs

Current thinking in Washington about stiffening the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act has been summed up by A. H. Raskin of the *New York Times* editorial staff, who is in a good position to get the facts. "The federal government, which passed a law less than a decade ago to insure more democracy in unions," he wrote on Jan. 8, "is beginning to worry now about too much democracy in unions."

His estimate of contemplated changes in K-L-G not only suggests the nature of impending government action against labor; it calls to mind the Socialist Workers Party's analysis of the law when it was passed in 1959. When capitalist politicians pretend concern about bureaucratic abuses of democracy within the unions, the SWP said the real aim is to raise false hopes that the rank and file can rely on the government to uphold their rights. It is a trick designed to get workers to accept government intervention in internal union affairs.

The government's immediate aim is to scare the union bureaucrats and make them even more servile to capitalism than they already are. A more basic objective is to strip the unions of their autonomy and make them state instruments for policing the working class.

Adoption of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law was preceded by an extended period of deliberate preparation that began during Franklin D. Roosevelt's first term in the White House. A myth was fabricated that modern unions owe their existence to the federal government, especially to Roosevelt's "New Deal." The Wagner Act of 1935 was given a phoney buildup as "Labor's Magna Charta," and it was falsely credited as the main organizer of industrial unions in basic industry. The object was twofold: to tie the workers to capitalist politics out of unearned gratitude and misplaced trust; and to lay a foundation for justifying government regulation of the unions.

The Wagner Act disapproved certain "unfair practices" by employers; for example, compelling workers to sign individual "yellow dog" contracts or to join company unions; and it disapproved openly firing workers for union activity. All this amounted to nothing more than recognition of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively.

In the actual class struggle, union protests about violations of the Wagner Act were brushed aside by the corporations and usually pigeon-holed by the government. It took the bitterly fought 1936-37 wave of sit-down strikes for the workers to assert their constitutional rights.

## The NLRB

The Wagner Act also established the National Labor Relations Board, empowering it to conduct union representation elections and to approve or void the results. With unions filing notice with the NLRB of intentions to call a strike, it joined in government maneuvers to prevent walk-outs or wangle a strike settlement on terms favorable to employers. As time went by the NLRB increasingly took on the characteristics of an anti-labor relations body.

This trend was accompanied by a steady drumfire of propaganda calling for a "balancing of the rights" of capital and labor through "equalization" of the law. Roosevelt applied this concept in various ways to keep labor hot-tied during World War II. Then, with adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the government openly instituted proscription of alleged "unfair practices" by labor,

doing so for the sole purpose of weakening the union power.

General awareness of provisions in the 1947 law tends to focus on the strikebreaking features, but it also included other vicious aspects. A ban was imposed on the closed shop. Through Section 14(b) the states were given a green light to pass anti-labor laws, centered around prohibition of the union shop. The NLRB was authorized to seek court injunctions against "unfair practices" by labor.

Taft-Hartley required unions to

by union bureaucrats, developed illusions about his intentions as they watched the hearings unfold. They began to entertain a hope that the government would actually do something to protect their rights. Not realizing that a booby trap was being laid for them, they favored what was taking place in Washington.

McClellan made the Teamsters his central target, starting with Dave Beck, who was then president of the union. Throughout the proceedings Beck relied on his rights under the Fifth Amend-

opened, a series of new anti-labor bills went into the hopper and out of it came the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin "killer law." Preparation for its passage was the central purpose of the McClellan hearings, and it passed the Democrat-controlled Congress by votes of 95 to 2 in the Senate and 352 to 52 in the House. Although not a sponsor of record, John F. Kennedy was a principal architect of the measure.

This law tightened the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and extended them. Communist Party members were barred from union office, as were people convicted of felony charges, which may well have resulted from capitalist frameups during class struggles. (Later on the U.S. Supreme Court voided that part of the law.) Provisions were made for government supervision over the election of union officers, stewards, etc. Dissident members were encouraged to sue the union and its officers in the capitalist courts.

## Government Agents

The Secretary of Labor was given sweeping powers to investigate internal union affairs. He was empowered to send his agents into union premises and inspect membership lists, financial accounts, files and other records. These agents were authorized to question whomever they choose.

The law was designed to regulate general union procedures, including strike authorization and contract ratification. International officers were allowed to impose trusteeships over local unions to make sure that the membership abides by contracts with employers. The Secretary of Labor got authority to seek a court injunction when suspicious that a union "has violated or is about to violate" the law.

Under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act the government can put a political cop in any union hall, committee room or other working quarters. Such is the monstrous invasion of union autonomy that is palmed off as a "bill of rights" for rank and file workers. And now the capitalist politicians are preparing a new attack on workers who are fighting to defend their class interests.

According to Raskin's Jan. 8 article, "The Government's labor trouble-shooters estimate that about one-tenth of all their active cases now involve situations in which the union rank and file spurns agreements its leaders consider good enough to accept... Secretary Wirtz made known in a speech last week his conviction that the frequency of membership rejections is 'very, very dangerous for collective bargaining'... Already some experts are talking about the necessity for giving absolute authority to local and international union officers as insurance against the junking of agreements made in good faith."

## Union Bureaucrats

The union bureaucrats, who felt "betrayed" by the McClellan attack, can be expected to leap at the chance to get some government backing for their dictatorial rule over the unions. As for the capitalists, if they show no gratitude toward the labor "statesmen," they also have no fear of the sorry breed. Union bureaucrats are considered useable, or expendable, according to the given tactical needs of the capitalist ruling class. To get at the reasons for this attitude, it is useful to examine the basic characteristics of the class-collaborationist union officials.

They defend the capitalist system: private ownership of productive facilities, profit gouging and all. Inside the unions they echo the aims and imitate the policies of the capitalist overlords. In the name of making capitalism

work "equitably," they seek modest concessions to the workers. They relate themselves primarily to workers who are relatively better off under capitalism, relying in turn on support from that quarter to help maintain their dictatorial rule over the unions.

In keeping with that outlook, the union bureaucrats seek to discourage strikes, often acting as strikebreakers against their own rank and file. When they do feel compelled to identify themselves with a walkout, their main object is to get it settled quickly, no matter what harm is done to the union membership. For these reasons they gladly acquiesce in capitalist propaganda that strikes "endanger the national health and safety."

Growing increasingly employer-minded as they accumulate big union treasuries and gain in personal affluence, the bureaucrats look upon themselves as social "stabilizers." At all times — and doubly so in time of war — they strive to prove their devotion and use-value to the capitalist government.

In return for this servility they entertain vain hopes of winning the government over to their side in collective bargaining disputes with the corporations. That in turn leads to acceptance of government regulation over union-employer relations. And in this way the door is opened for direct government intervention inside the unions. Bureaucratic rule within the unions thus leads to the subverting of labor's inherent power to alien class interests at increasing cost to the working class.

## Will Police Workers

Willing though the bureaucrats are to serve the capitalist government, the ruling class is losing confidence that, acting on their own, they can continue to restrain the union rank and file. Hence the talk about giving the bureaucrats quasi-governmental powers to police the workers. This changing outlook stems from the deepening crisis of U.S. capitalism which, already dangerous abroad, is growing more severe here at home. That is why the capitalist politicians are preparing new repressive laws which can be expected to impose increasingly harsh government regulation of union activity and internal affairs. The basic trend is toward stripping the unions of any semblance of independence and converting them into company unions at the government level, that is to say, a direct police arm of the capitalist state.

The long period of relative prosperity cushioned the impact of previous government attacks on the unions, but now things are changing. Lately the workers have shown a growing inclination to fight the employers, resist government intervention in strikes, and criticize the union bureaucrats. The sharpening class struggle implied in this trend forecasts stiffening workers opposition to anti-labor laws. As the process intensifies, the total bankruptcy of the union bureaucrats will become more apparent to the membership and a change in leadership will become the order of the day.

Militant workers preparing for that development need both a clear program and a sound strategy. Bureaucratic rule over the unions must be broken — and rank-and-file control established — without yielding an inch to the capitalist government. Defense of workers' democracy must also include a fight for unconditional independence of the unions from government control. Central to that fight must be a complete break with the Democratic Party of big business, and the political arming of the workers to carry the class struggle onto the governmental plane through their own independent party.



The Militant ran this cartoon in its April 8, 1957 issue, when the McClellan committee was investigating the Teamsters.

file considerable internal information with the Secretary of Labor. Included were copies of unions' financial statements, constitutions and by-laws, procedures in electing officers and schedules of initiation fees and dues.

As a condition for NLRB recognition, unions were required to have their officers sign a "loyalty" oath. This provision became an integral part of the general witch-hunt then developing in the country. The attack on civil liberties was later to reach its most extreme form during the McCarthy period, named after the infamous U.S. Senator who played the role of stalking horse for incipient fascism.

In January, 1957, McCarthy introduced in the Senate a resolution to set up a "Select Committee" to investigate labor "racketeering," a term applied by reactionaries to all forms of union activity. The committee was quickly formed under the chairmanship of Senator John McClellan, an Arkansas Democrat. McCarthy was put on the committee, but he died soon thereafter and, as the May 13, 1957, *Militant* put it "The late Senator Joseph McCarthy got a generally bad press on the occasion of his death."

Robert F. Kennedy, who had earlier served as an apprentice witchhunter under McCarthy, was made counsel for the McClellan Committee. Later on, as attorney-general during his brother's administration, he was to spearhead a government vendetta against James Hoffa of the Teamsters.

McClellan opened the committee hearings with an announced intention of investigating various charges against union officials. The main charges were goon tactics against the rank and file, looting the union treasury and taking bribes from employers. As the hearings got under way the capitalist news media had a field day.

Good union men and women, who needed no McClellan to tell them about the wrongs inflicted

ment. Hoffa, who was a vice president of the Teamsters at the time, got the next major grilling. While this was going on the real purpose was given away by Senator Lausche, an Ohio Democrat, who said on TV that the Teamsters were too powerful and should be curbed.

## Teamsters Suspended

Meanwhile George Meany had called a session of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, but not to mobilize united labor defense against the government attack. He put through a criminal decision that any union official who invoked his constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment should automatically lose his post. Beck was suspended from the Executive Council for taking the Fifth. A few weeks later Hoffa — who had not taken the Fifth — was elected president by a Teamsters convention and, simply because he had become one of McClellan's targets, the Teamsters were suspended from the AFL-CIO.

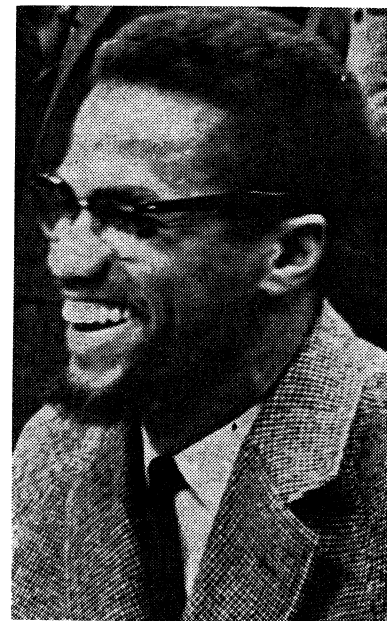
Meany also moved to set up an "Ethical Practices Committee," not to establish union democracy, but to serve as a bureaucratic police mechanism within the AFL-CIO. It initiated steps leading to suspension of five more unions which had been attacked by McClellan. Three were later reinstated after accepting a "monitorship" imposed by the Executive Council. In December, 1957, the Teamsters, Bakery Workers and Laundry Workers unions were expelled from the AFL-CIO.

On the government side, a federal judge used a suit brought by union members to impose a "monitorship" over the Teamsters and it was maintained for an extended time. During the same period the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a scab can sue in the state courts for damages against a union that keeps him off the job with a picket line.

In November, 1958, the union bureaucrats hailed the election of a predominantly Democratic Congress. But when the new Congress

FIRST TIME IN PRINT

# An Interview With Malcolm X



Malcolm X

[Two years ago, on Feb. 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated. We are printing below a previously unpublished interview Malcolm X gave over the telephone on Feb. 9, 1965.

[Malcolm had flown to London to address the first congress of the Council of African Organizations. From London he was scheduled to fly to Paris to speak before the Congress of African Students. When his plane landed at Orly, Malcolm was told he could not disembark. Later, back in London, he gave this interview to a supporter of the meeting he was to have addressed in Paris.

[After the assassination, Malcolm's associates expressed the belief that the reason for his being excluded from France was that the French government thought he might be assassinated on French soil, and did not want to bear the onus for such a scandal.

[Eric Norden, writing in the February, 1967 Realist, said: "This assumption is more than idle speculation. In April, 1965 my interest in Malcolm's death was first aroused by a highly-placed North African diplomat. This official, who insists on anonymity, said that his country's intelligence apparatus had been quietly informed by the French Department of Alien Documentation and Counter-Espionage that the CIA planned Malcolm's murder, and France feared he might be liquidated on its soil . . .

["Your CIA is beginning to murder its own citizens now," he commented in elegantly modulated French."]

\* \* \*

**Question:** Malcolm. Malcolm, how are you? A whole lot of people turned out at the airport to meet you, and we saw you leaving and we just called off the meeting tonight — what, you don't think we should have?

**Malcolm:** No, go ahead and have it.

**Q.:** You say go ahead and have it? Good. How are you brother. Look, brother, we're taping this so give us a statement. Just talk.

**Malcolm:** I was surprised when I turned up at Paris and got off the plane and was arrested. I thought if there was any country in Europe that was liberal in its approach to things, France was it, so I was shocked when I got there and I couldn't land. They wouldn't even give me any excuse or explanation. At first I thought it was the American State Department. The only answer seemed to be that France had become a satellite of Washington, D.C.

In fact I've been all over the world — and I've been in Alabama and Mississippi — and it's the first time in my life that I was ever stopped outright. They wouldn't give me any explanation whatsoever, nor would they permit me to telephone to my friends there

in Paris, nor would they permit me to telephone to the American Embassy.

I asked the allowance of telephoning the American Embassy and they wouldn't even do that, and gave me the impression that it was the Embassy that had asked them not to let me in. They kept trying to hint that it was the American Embassy in order to put the weight off themselves.

And I might point out, I didn't think it would happen in Paris. So as I told the security forces there, if I had gone to South Africa or Johannesburg, or some place where racism is practiced openly by the government, I would not have been surprised, but to see a French official representing a government that is supposedly liberal, treating me in a worse way than I would be treated if I went to South Africa, and taking into consideration the fact that Tshombe, a cold-blooded murderer and despot of the worst sort, was admitted to come to France. He was entertained by the French government. And every other lowdown type of person has been permitted to come to France.

### French Government

And I frankly believe that if the people in France permit that type of government to continue to exist that it will humiliate them and disgrace them and embarrass them all over the world. So, you know, I gave the security forces there a penny, an English penny, you know, and told them to give this to DeGaulle, because from my point of view, his government and country were worth less than one penny.

**Q.:** Tell me, do you feel that the United States government definitely has something to do with this? What do you feel about that?

**Malcolm:** Well you know I can't really understand . . . when I asked someone today to call the American Embassy and the American Embassy put out a statement (unclear on tape) they couldn't do anything about it, where at the same time the same American Embassy was willing to send troops into the Congo to rescue a man named Carlson, who was not even a diplomat but one of the missionaries there. They can do something about that. The same American Embassy has troops in south Vietnam and they can do whatever they want to do all over the world, but when at the same time they can't do something about the mishandling of a black man, then I think something is wrong.

Whether or not the Embassy — they had a hand in giving direct orders to the French government, I don't know.

**Q.:** I see, brother, what do you think will be the reaction in the non-white world, mainly the African countries, towards the action of the French government?

**Malcolm:** Well I don't know — already as you know, I had been in London the night before addressing the first congress of the Council of African Organizations, and when I got back to London, there were representatives of about 15 different African organizations waiting for me at the airport because they thought I had met with foul play, and they were getting ready to demonstrate. Now what I do know quite certain, I have already been told that a protest will be launched throughout the European continent and elsewhere around the world in regard to this very criminal and uncouth action on the part of the French government.

Well, did they give you any explanation over there?

**Q.:** Well, the French newspapers have come out this evening saying that the French government did it because of the fact that the speech you gave here in November was too "violent." It's quite iron-

ical you know, because that was one of the most moderate . . .

However right now we're getting ready to call the meeting for tonight. And we're taping your speech right now on the phone because we would like you to speak tonight at the meeting. They are not going to frustrate our plans.

**Malcolm:** Just let the meeting go ahead.

I do not advocate violence, in fact the violence that exists in the United States is the violence that the Negro in America has been a victim of, and I have never advocated our people going out and initiating any acts of aggression against whites indiscriminately.

But I do say that the Negro is a continual victim of the violent actions committed by the organized elements like the Ku Klux Klan and if the United States government has shown itself unwilling or unable to protect us and our lives and our property, I have said that it is time for our people to organize and band together and protect ourselves, to defend ourselves against this violence. Now if that is to advocate violence, than I'm shocked at the lack of proper understanding on the part of whatever elements over there that have this attitude.

(Also there are those that have accused me of being a racist. I am not a racist in any way, shape or form, and I believe in taking an uncompromising stand against any form of segregation and discrimination that are based on race. I, myself, do not judge a man by the color of his skin, the yardstick that I use to judge a man is his deeds, his behaviour, his intentions. And the press has very skillfully projected me in the image of a racist simply because I take an uncompromising stand against the racism that exists in the United States. I think it is an injustice, not only to me, but to the French public, or whatever public, that is being misled in this way by the press, especially at a time when efforts are being made by well-meaning people to bring the various racial sections together in trying to create an atmosphere of better understanding.

### Not "Liberal"

So by and large, I think the only way of solving our problems is to realize that people we think are liberal are not as liberal as they profess, and people we think are with us, when we put them to the test, they are not really with us, they are not really for the oppressed people as we think. And I hope the Afro-American community in Paris as well as in other parts of Europe, will realize the importance of us sticking together in unity and brotherhood and doing something to solve our own problems, and if there are well-meaning white (people), also, who are interested in helping, I think they should realize we will accept their help too, but the attitude of many elements makes it doubtful as to the sincerity of those who profess to want to help.

**Q.:** You say you were in London, brother, before coming to Paris, what were you doing in London?

**Malcolm:** Well, I came to London on the invitation of the Council of African Organizations, with headquarters here in London. They were giving a congress, the first congress, and there were a series of seminars dealing with the African revolution.

They invited me here to describe to them the rate of progress being made by black Americans in our struggle for human rights, and they also invited me to describe to them the stage or type of race relations that exists between the black and white Americans and whether or not progress has been made in race relations. And I think they showed their interest

in the brothers and sisters there on the American continent by inviting an Afro-American to this congress and to bring them up to date. I came to Paris this morning for this purpose and I was going to try to convey the same message.

**Q.:** What is the situation like in the United States, Brother Malcolm? You were in Selma?

**Malcolm:** Yes I was in Selma last Wednesday. I was invited to the Tuskegee Institute and spoke before 3,000 black students on Tuesday night and they insisted I go to Selma next morning. I went there. I saw the Ku Klux Klan and other elements parading there. And I saw one little girl called Judy (unclear) who was about 12 years old whom they arrested and (unclear) . . . morning they told me how they were brutally treating her in jail and how they took those cattle prods and put them to her head and she was (unclear) . . .

So the treatment of black people in Selma, Alabama is extremely brutal, but what I understand is that Dr. Martin Luther King got out of jail and wanted to go to Washington, D.C. to see Lyndon B. to ask him for some additional recognition concerning the voting rights of Negroes. This, I fear, shows that the Civil Rights bill that was passed last year means nothing because already now they are asking for new legislation, which shows the (unclear) in their aims, and the sheer hypocrisy on the part of the government as regards the rights of black people in the United States.

**Q.:** Right, brother, and what are the prospects for the struggle in the United States that you see for this year?

**Malcolm:** Well, 1965 will probably be the longest, hottest, bloodiest summer that has yet been seen in the United States since the beginning of the Black Revolution, primarily because the same causes that existed in the winter of 1964 still exist in January — in February of 1965. Now, these are causes of inferior housing, inferior employment, inferior education — all the evils of a bankrupt society still exist where black Americans are concerned, and the resentment that exists has increased tremendously, and now that the African nations themselves have shown overt support for the black struggle in America and in our efforts to establish our human rights, this gives us added incentive to step up our struggle, and, as I said, 1965 will be the longest, hottest, bloodiest summer of the entire Black Revolution.

**Q.:** We would like to know what do you think the Afro-American community can do in the over-all struggle.

**Malcolm:** You mean the Afro-American community in France?

**Q.:** That's right, and in other parts of Europe.

**Malcolm:** The Afro-American community in France and in other parts of Europe must unite with the African community, and this was the message that I was going to bring to Paris tonight — the necessity of the black community in the Western hemisphere, especially in the United States and somewhat in the Caribbean area, realizing once and for all that we must restore our cultural roots, we must establish contacts with our African brothers, we must begin from this day forward to work in unity and harmony as Afro-Americans along with our African brothers.

(This) unity will give our struggle a type of strength in spirit that will enable us to make some real concrete progress whether we be in Europe, America, or on the African continent. I wanted to show our brothers in Paris the necessity of us forming a coal-

ition, a working community with our brothers of the African continent. Although the theme of my talk was the importance of unity between the black people in the western hemisphere and those of the African continent, it was going to be a regionalist approach — which I find is no different from what they have there in Europe — what they call the European Common Market.

### Afro-American Unity

The European Common Market looks out for the common interests of Europeans and the European economy. I feel it necessary for those of us who were taken from the African continent and who today are suffering exploitation and oppression in the Western hemisphere to reach out our hands and unite ourselves with our brothers and sisters again, wherever we are, and then work in unity and harmony for a positive program of mutual benefit.

**Q.:** Unity — so that was the theme of your talk tonight, right? I would like to know what else you would have liked to have said to the African and Afro-American communities here in Paris?

**Malcolm:** My entire talk would have been based on the importance of unity, the unity between the . . . (the tape outs off).

**Q.:** Operator, Operator! (OPERATOR: Have you finished?) No, we have not finished, operator. (OPERATOR: Just a moment, you were cut off by the switchboard.) The switchboard? Hello! Hello! Why was the phone disconnected? (OPERATOR: I don't know — it was cut off in the hotel . . .)

**Malcolm:** Hello! I guess we better wind it up, brother.

**Q.:** Yes, yes, brother. Then I would like to hear anything else you have to say to us.

**Malcolm:** Just the importance of unity, brothers.

**Q.:** Well, fine, brother, thank you and you know our hearts, brother, our hearts, our souls, our bodies and minds are with you — you know we are but one.

**Malcolm:** Yes I know that.

**Q.:** This is the message that I, on behalf of the other brothers here in France, would like to convey to you. (woman's voice in background "and sisters")

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# Interview With Peng Shu-tse (II)

[The following is the second and final part of an interview which Antonio Farien obtained with Peng Shu-tse in Europe on Jan. 20 on the "cultural revolution" in China. The first installment was printed in last week's Militant.

[Peng Shu-tse was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party and a leader in the 1925-27 revolution which ended in tragic defeat at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, due to the disastrous policies which Stalin compelled the young party to follow.

[Upon drawing the lessons of the defeat, Peng Shu-tse and Chen Tu-hsiu, the father of Chinese communism, were astounded to discover that Leon Trotsky had anticipated what had happened. For spreading this information and their approval of Trotsky's analysis, they were expelled from the party on charges of "Trotskyism." A little later the two leaders joined in founding the Chinese Trotskyist movement.

[During the 1930s, they were arrested by Chiang Kai-shek's political police and imprisoned for many years. Many other Trotskyists were butchered by Chiang during this difficult period.

[Upon the victory of the revolution in 1949, the Chinese Trotskyist movement sought to work with the Mao regime. But Mao's policy was to arrest and imprison anyone even suspected of "Trotskyism." Some of the Trotskyists arbitrarily arrested in 1952 are still in prison in China. Despite this, they remain firm partisans of the Chinese Revolution, to which they have dedicated their lives.

[They are for the unconditional defense of China against imperialism. At the same time — and this is their real crime in the eyes of the regime — they are protagonists of proletarian democracy in accordance with the program outlined in Lenin's work, "State and Revolution." Because of the antidemocratic practices of the regime, they have advocated that the Chinese masses undertake a revolutionary struggle to install proletarian forms of democratic rule such as soviets or councils.]

**Question:** If Mao is in a minority, as you explain, how has it been possible for him to seemingly control the party and carry on with the "cultural revolution"? For example, how was he able to get the party to adopt the 16-point program of Aug. 8, 1966?

**Answer:** First of all we must not underestimate Mao's influence in the party and in all of China. The CPC conquered power under his leadership as chairman of the party. Therefore, in the eyes of the masses he is the great symbol of the victory of the revolution. There is no doubt that even now he still commands respect among a portion of the masses.

However, with the failure of the "Great Leap Forward," his influence was weakened, and the many obvious mistakes in his policies since then, such as his positions on literature and art, educa-

tion, on the Vietnamese war, and especially on the Indonesian CP, have further tarnished his reputation in the party and among the masses.

Most of Mao's so-called victories have taken place in Peking, such as the adoption of the 16-point program you mentioned by the Central Committee. These "victories" have been almost completely dependent upon one factor — the army of Lin Piao. It is with the army and the threat of the army that Mao removed Peng Chen, secured the adoption of the 16-point program, forced self-criticisms from leaders such as Liu Shao-chi, forced Hsieh Fu-chih to compromise, etc.

**Q.:** Mao accuses his opponents of being capitalist restorationists, revisionist, etc. Yet no one seems to know for sure what the program of Mao's opposition is and who this opposition represents. Can you clarify the nature of the opposition?

**A.:** The CPC is something like its sister party in the USSR. There is no democratic discussion inside the party; all decisions are handed down from above and must be carried out and obeyed by the cadres and the rank and file. Even in the top bodies such as the Central Committee and the Political Bureau there is generally little discussion. Only on very critical questions such as the "Great Leap Forward," the People's Communes, and the defeat in Indonesia, has any real discussion taken place inside the top bodies. The oppositions which have developed and attempted to criticize Mao and his programs have in the past been expelled. I have already spoken about Peng Chen, for example, and in the first interview [last June, available from *World Outlook*, P.O. Box 635, New York, N.Y. 10010, 50¢], about Peng Teh-huai.

Under these conditions it is very difficult to learn what the specific program of the opposition in the party is. However, we can get an idea of the opposition's general attitudes from the documents published by the CPC itself criticizing the opposition, as well as from the writings for which many intellectuals in the party have been attacked. I will point out what seem to be the main points of disagreement with Mao's faction.

## Main Disagreements

1) They considered Mao's economic programs like the "Great Leap Forward" — especially the formation of the people's Communes — to be adventuristic.

2) In literature and art they have felt that Mao's ideas are too strict, and that they put a strait-jacket on any creative writing, etc.

3) Almost all educators, professors, teachers, and university students opposed Mao's policies in the educational field because of their interference with freedom of study, and they felt it was a waste of time for them to be sent into the countryside or into the factories. They felt that Mao's policies on the whole had disrupted the educational system.

4) The position of the opposition on international questions is much more difficult to determine because there is much less material. It is probably safe to assume that there is general agreement with Lo Jui-ching on the question of how to defend China in case of a possible attack from the U.S. Lo Jui-ching does not seem to have been in disagreement about politics being in command in the army. Rather, it was his position that one must recognize the importance of today's type of warfare, especially the role of nuclear weapons. Therefore, he felt that the break with the Soviet Union on the state level had endangered China's capacity to defend herself militarily against a probable imperialist attack.

5) Finally on one point they make themselves very clear. There

is general disgust with Mao's omniscience and they demand more discussion in the party on important questions.

These five points give us a general picture of the ideas and opinions of the opposition. It is impossible, of course, for us to give a comprehensive explanation of their program, and I doubt that they have one that is systematic and formal. But we can say that these make up the most important disagreements with Mao to be found among the various members of the opposition.

To understand fully the differences between the two groups, I should say something about some particular points in Mao's own program. Since the stated objectives of Mao's formal program do not correspond to the development of the "cultural revolution" itself, it is more enlightening to examine the way in which Mao has actually implemented the "cultural revolution." I have already described at some length what Mao is doing when I discussed the struggle and its evolution. Briefly, Mao is try-



Mao Tse-tung

ing to carry out a purge in the most undemocratic way, and in fact a coup d'état. He has tried to make himself a living god and to make his very word law.

It seems that in the recent events another very important disagreement has arisen between the two factions. The opposition, in order to win over and organize the workers, has granted many concessions in some localities, and has taken measures to raise their standard of living. Mao, with the "cultural revolution," has continually and strongly opposed such measures.

**Q.:** Does the opposition, then, represent a democratic force, and what do you think about the idea which seems to be the most widely accepted, that is, that the main opposition to Mao is Khrushchev?

**A.:** The opposition is not homogeneous but is composed of many tendencies. We are able to distinguish three main currents. The first is found among the top leaders like Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and many leaders of the bureaus. This tendency in general represents a bureaucratic group inside the party which is in control of a considerable sector of the party's apparatus. The political traditions of this group organizationally and politically are those of Stalinism.

The second current can be referred to as a "liberalizing" tendency, and is made up of second rank or middle cadres in the party, of which Teng To and Wu Han are good examples.

The third current is much more difficult to define because there doesn't seem to be any single leader, or any well-known cadres for that matter who represent it. But we can say almost with certainty that this group represents, if not a revolutionary, then a quasi-revolutionary tendency, and is made up primarily of rank-and-file party members.

The third current would, of course, represent a sector of the masses and express most vividly the feelings of the population as a whole. The middle layers of the party have much more contact in their work with the rank and file, and would therefore be more likely to reflect the attitude of the masses.

It is with sectors of the middle layers that the top leaders have the most contact in their day-to-day party work. For example, Teng To was directly under Peng Chen, who was one of the top leaders. It would have been impossible for Teng To to carry on the work that he did without at least the tolerance, if not the approval, of Peng Chen. It was Liu Shao-chi's close personal relationship with Peng Chen that probably thrust him into the leadership of the present opposition faction.

## Role of Top Leaders

In the very top leadership, Mao tolerated no disagreement, and every opposition was expelled. However, because of the past experience of the top leaders in working with the masses, and their connection with the middle layers, some of them reflect in some measure the movement of the masses. While the middle layers represent the tendency in the party for reform, it is probably safe to assume that the need for reform is also recognized by top leaders who are, nonetheless, more conservative, and who still wish to maintain a tight control over the party.

The question of Khrushchevism is very important. We must first understand what is meant by Khrushchevism, and especially what Mao means by Khrushchevism.

There are two different aspects of Khrushchevism: one is political revisionism, which is reactionary; and the other is de-Stalinization, which is progressive.

Mao does not distinguish between these two aspects. He lumps them together under the label of revisionism. Both are reactionary from his point of view, and he has said that Khrushchev's policies have restored capitalism in the USSR.

We must understand, then, that anyone agreeing with any aspect of Khrushchevism is, according to Mao, a revisionist, and wants, or is attempting, to restore capitalism. From what I have said earlier, you can see that the opposition desires in its own way similar reforms as those carried out under Khrushchevism during de-Stalinization, and of course these reforms are directed at Mao.

In Mao's opinion, then — if he actually believes his own propaganda — such reform measures will lead to a capitalist restoration.

## Maoist Revisionism

As far as the politically revisionist side of Khrushchevism is concerned, we must recognize that in practice Mao's own policies have not proved to be substantially different, as the events in Indonesia so well demonstrate. It seems, that Mao's main objection to the revisionism of Khrushchev has been de-Stalinization. There is no evidence that I know of that the opposition is in any way in disagreement with the official policy of exposing the political revisionism of Khrushchev. Therefore, at least on the question of de-Stalinization, the stand of the opposition is the more progressive. In general, the opposition shades from currents that are really Maoist to tendencies that are quite revolutionary.

**Q.:** What, in your opinion, will be the final outcome of the struggle?

**A.:** Taking into consideration the relationship of forces on each side as I have already outlined [in last week's article], it is clear that the odds are against Mao, especially if the organization and mobiliza-

tion of the peasants and workers, which we have seen in recent events, continues.

If Mao should nevertheless be victorious, I think a sweeping purge comparable to the one in the Soviet Union during the 1930s, if not larger, could occur and the defenses of the Chinese revolution would be placed in grave danger. However, if the opposition should win, the most likely result would be a few concessions of a liberalizing nature as well as a shift away from the ultra-left sectarian positions taken by Mao. For example, it is possible they would set up some kind of united front with the other workers states against U.S. imperialism.

There is another important prospect if the opposition should win. If the masses have entered into motion, it will not be so easy for the bureaucracy to stop them or to contain them within the prescribed limits. In that case, a real massive struggle for workers democracy could open up.

## Guatemala Guerrillas Continue to Grow

In an account written in Guatemala, which was published in the Jan. 27 *Los Angeles Times*, Georgie Anne Geyer reports, after visiting the guerrilla forces headed by César Montes, that they "are extremely well organized and clever. I was constantly amazed at how the entire effort worked like a well-oiled machine."

The guerrilla movement is "thriving," she says. "It seems to have substantial peasant support and if the government cannot make swift and substantial social reforms, this will grow even more." The movement includes various political colorations. "But the dedicated Marxist elements are by far the strongest, particularly now with Montes as commander-in-chief. The Marxists can be expected to assume total power if their 'revolution' is successful." Miss Geyer notes that "The guerrillas now are in regular contact with other guerrilla groups, as in Venezuela and Colombia. Contacts between them, which include exchange of ideas and methods, are facilitated by the Tri-continental organization, which has offices in Havana and is Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's means of encouraging revolution in Latin America."

Referring to the forces headed by Yon Sosa, Miss Geyer reports: "For the first time it can be said with certainty that a gradual merger of the Rebel Armed Forces or FAR, the largest Guatemalan guerrilla group, and the smaller 13th of November group, is under way. This will strengthen both."

## CUBA PAMPHLETS

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# Letters From Our Readers

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

## The Feminine Mystique

Phila., Pa.  
All housewives (and their husbands) should read *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan, which exposes the fallacies of the mystique that women should expect, and achieve, complete fulfillment in being a "wife and mother."

Magazines, TV, even college sociology courses take for granted that women should devote their lives to "Kinder, Küche, Kirche." Women themselves believe this. They feel guilty if they go to work, whether by choice or necessity, and the few who engage in a serious profession, whether married or not, are regarded as odd, unfeminine, perhaps frustrated.

One hundred years ago the feminists fought for rights which now that they have been won, are seldom used. In the 1930s women began to enter the professions as doctors, lawyers, etc. But today, although more girls than ever go to college, most of them go to find a husband, and few expect to ever apply what they learn, oblivious of the fact that after their children are grown, they will still have 25 or 30 years to live.

When the children go to school, a woman spends her time on housework, which expands according to Parkinson's law to fill the time available. She is up-to-date on the latest detergents, "labor-saving" appliances, decorating ideas, and theories of child-raising.

She spends time shopping because she feels isolated at home. She buys cosmetics, clothes, diet foods and other beautifications to keep her husband's attention, not realizing that his lack of interest is due to her intellectual vacuity, rather than her looks.

Of course, all this is good for business. (Women do 75 percent of the buying in this country.)

For the sake of business profits, women are reduced to things and thing-buyers. Brainwashed by advertising based on motivation research, which exploits their guilt feelings and their aspirations for creativity and status, women are kept at an emotional and intellectual level which is appropriate to a much lower stage of production.

Although much of the book applies more to middle class than to working class women, it provides an example of how the profit system dehumanizes even those who supposedly benefit from the profits, or, put another way, how capitalists exploit their wives.

Mrs. Friedan has started a new civil rights organization called NOW (National Organization for Women) which I feel (although of course she never mentions socialism in her book) is quite compatible with the aims of socialism.

Mrs. B.C.

## A Criticism

Astoria, N.Y.  
Your listing of the Socialist Labor Party as one of those that hold "the theory that the U.S.S.R. is capitalist" is false and characteristic of your sloppy researching. ("In Reply to Progressive Labor: Is USSR Capitalist?" — *The Militant*, Feb. 6.)

This has never been the position of the SLP. The SLP has pointed out repeatedly that while the USSR has many of the economic appurtenances and characteristics of capitalism — money, wages, capital, profit, commodity production, etc. — it does not have the sine qua non for capitalism, namely a capitalist class. The State owns the economy and the bureaucracy controls the State — and pre-empts for itself disparate incomes and special privileges. But the bureaucracy is no capitalist class.

Why don't you stop using worn-out anti-SLP canards and do a little researching when you write about this Marxist organization?

S.M.

## ... And a Reply

New York, N.Y.  
It is true that the Socialist Labor Party holds that private capitalists have been expropriated in the USSR. But in the words of Eric Hass, editor of the SLP's *Weekly People*:

"Russian industry still has the character of capital. Russian labor is wage-labor. Its product takes the form of commodities — articles produced for sale. What the Russian workers produce over and above their wages is surplus value — profit — which, instead of being appropriated by private employers, is appropriated by the State . . . one might imagine that the United States Steel Corporation, instead of being owned by private investors, owned itself, i.e., bought up all the outstanding shares out of corporation profits . . . Soviet Russia is, in a sense, a 'self-owned corporation' whose 'management' controls a vast aggregation of capital . . ."

And, "Soviet Russia . . . has developed rather a political and eco-

## Thought for the Week

"I commend him [President Johnson] because no Chief Executive before him has outlined to the Congress more vividly the true magnitude of the devastating force which crime . . . exerts on the welfare and inner stability of this Nation." — Senator Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.).

conomic system best described as State Capitalism . . ." (*Stalinist Imperialism*, 1946, by Eric Hass, pp. 11-12 and 15.)

As the title of the pamphlet implies, the SLP has the position that the USSR is imperialist, a view found in almost everything they write on the East-West conflict.

The SLP also calls the Soviet system "state despotism," and holds that the bureaucracy is a ruling class: "Soviet Russia created a new ruling class, a class of privileged party and state bureaucrats." (1960 election leaflet.)

Although the article on Progressive Labor did not deal specifically with the theory that the USSR

is "state" capitalist, many of the arguments advanced against PL apply equally well to the SLP's "state capitalism" theory.

Barry Sheppard

## An Epitaph

Providence, Ky.  
At Concord Bridge in Massachusetts there is a memorial to the soldiers of the American Revolution. The inscription reads thus concerning the British soldiers who died there:

"They came three thousand miles and died to keep the past upon its throne."

Will they erect such a marker in Vietnam concerning the American troops dying there?

Richard Chinn

# It Was Reported in the Press

**Eliminate the Middleman?** — Hubert Humphrey came up with a classically liberal solution to the problem of the CIA helping to finance the National Student Association. Hubert suggested the NSA be financed by big business corporations.

**Art News** — President Johnson has found another portrait of himself that he likes, besides the job done by illustrator Norman Rockwell, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. The *Journal* reported that a spokesman for the Philippine Embassy said LBJ was "quite pleased" with a three-by-four-foot likeness made out of clam shells by the wife of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos.

**Hustling Hubert** — Vice President Humphrey told a conference of ad men that, like Avis, he has to try harder. But Avis doesn't clean Hertz' ash trays.

**Ultimate in Labor-Management Relations** — Operators of coconut groves in Thailand have gone a long way toward solving the labor problem. They train monkeys to pick coconuts and work them a six-hour day, seven days a week. Work incentives are simple. If the monkeys don't put out a day's work they're choked or beaten. They don't even get TV at night.

**Tough-Situation Dep't** — Louis Benoit, a California wine mogul, has an apartment in San Francisco, a home in Palm Springs, three homes in his various vineyards and a yacht moored off Acapulco. All are permanently staffed with cooks, butlers, etc. Mr. Benoit keeps a complete wardrobe in each home so he doesn't have to fool with luggage. However, the family was recently compelled to give up their "little beach house" in Aptos, Calif., because of the servant problem.

**Practically a Pacifist** — Rev. Bob Le Roy, national chaplain of the Minutemen, resigned because of "an overpowering emphasis on fire power" among some of the right-wing terrorists. The Reverend said he approved the basic Minutemen requirement — a rifle, a pistol and 300 rounds of ammunition, but not such weapons as mortars and light and heavy machine guns. "They are not necessary at this stage of the game," he said.

**Biased Public?** — Secretary of Labor Wirtz says rigid wage-price guideposts are a mistake because, according to the *New York Times*, the "formula for non-inflationary price increases is fundamentally

too complex for the public to understand." He said public reaction to the guideposts "had been lopsided. The public understands when labor unions violate them . . . but it never understood — never will — when business violates them."

**Unsteady Scabs** — Two scabs hurt themselves trying to crash a Typographical Union picket line at the struck Tucson, Ariz., *Daily Citizen* and *Daily Star*. The paper's managing editor suffered abrasions and a bruised leg when he fell down, and a photographer cut his lip. He claimed this was due to a picket sign. A union spokesman explained: "The story that we hear is that Shaeffer [the photographer] made a run to crash the picket line and tripped. We hear his face was cut when he hit a parking meter."

**True Enough** — Speaking at the University of Florida, Richard Nixon said: "If you put a map of the world on a wall and threw darts at it, it would be difficult not to hit anywhere that the U.S. is not having trouble or that freedom is not at stake."

**Serious Critic** — Kevin Kelly, drama critic for the *Boston Globe*, devoted a recent column to what's wrong with the American theater. He said in part: "What's wrong with the theater is what's wrong with the world, what's wrong with the characterless society in which

we now live . . . our theater is an easily bartered, usually blank commercial canvass . . . It would seem that we must constantly remind ourselves . . . that theater, at its best . . . teaches us the reason why and how we suffer. It teaches us about man's great struggles . . . But more often than not when I go to the theater . . . I don't hear a thing."

**That'll Learn 'Em** — The pastor of a church in Ramsgate, England, announced that he will put young couples through a sex test by asking them if they've had previous experiences. If the answer is yes, he will refuse them a church wedding.

**It Figures** — Joseph Maily was removed as acting postmaster of Jersey City after a probe by the FBI and postal authorities disclosed that loan-sharking, theft and misuse of government equipment had gone on under his administration. So, Mr. Maily went back to his old job as a policeman.

**Hurry, Girls** — The *New York Times* carried an ecstatic account of a Bronx dress shop that features marked down left-overs from the town's most high-priced designers. As an example of the kind of smashing bargains that are available, the article cited one lady from Locust Valley, N.Y., who insists she got a \$3,000 evening gown for a mere \$1,000.

—Harry Ring

# Weekly Calendar of Events

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

**BOSTON**  
**IS THE SOVIET UNION CAPITALIST?** — A Marxist Answer to Progressive Labor. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, managing editor of *The Militant*. Fri., Feb. 24, 8:15 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave. Hall 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**CHICAGO**  
**HUGO BLANCO SOLIDARITY MEETING.** A symposium. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**DETROIT**  
**MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING.** Speakers: Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr., chairman, Inner City Organizing Comm.; Derrick Morrison, Young Socialist Alliance; David Wesley, Detroit SNCC; and Dudley Randall, co-editor of "For Malcolm: Poems on the Life and Death of Malcolm X." Chairman: Att'y Milton Henry. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**LOS ANGELES**  
**MALCOLM X MEMORIAL FORUM:** Black Power in Politics. Fri., Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East 4th St. Contrib. \$1. Unemployed, 35 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**CLASSES.** School of International Socialism.  
**INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM.**

Speaker: Barbara Doritty. Sat., Feb. 25, 1 p.m.  
**HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Theodore Edwards. Sun., Feb. 26, 11 a.m.  
**INTRODUCTION TO HISTORICAL MATERIALISM.** Speaker: Della Rossa. Sun., Feb. 26, 1 p.m. 1702 East 4th St. AN 9-4953.

**BOOK BAZAAR.** Books, pamphlets, paperbacks, magazines on all subjects. Rare and out of print political and other paintings and prints. Stock your library for pennies! Feb. 25 and 26, noon to 6 p.m. 1702 East 4th St. Ausp. Al Lynn Memorial Library.

**NEW YORK**  
**MALCOLM X: PROPHET OF BLACK POWER.** Speakers: Roy Inness, National Action Council of CORE; John Wilson, field sec'y, SNCC; Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
**MALCOLM X'S IDEAS STILL LIVE.** Speakers: Eldridge Cleaver, staff writer, Ramparts, and Bay Area chairman, OAAU; Robert Himmel, nat'l comm., Socialist Workers Party; and Malcolm X (on tape). Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. Hall of Flowers, 9th Ave. and Lincoln Way. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**TWIN CITIES**  
**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CHANGING SOCIETY.** Speaker: Lora Eckert, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.



## Big Parley in Cleveland On Spring Mobilization

By Eric Reinthaler

CLEVELAND, Feb. 11 — Two hundred and twenty-one representatives of Ohio campus, civil rights, and state and local peace organizations and antiwar committees met here today to organize massive participation in the April 15th Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam.

Cleveland antiwar activists announced plans to charter a train to bring 1,100 demonstrators to the march in New York from the Cleveland area. A similar plan is under way to bring an entire train load from the Cincinnati-Columbus-Dayton area in central and southern Ohio.

Principal speaker at the conference was Rev. James Bevel, on leave from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to serve as national director of the Spring Mobilization. Prior to his talk, Dan Rosenshine, chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam, reported on the Chicago Student Conference and the Student Mobilization Committee; and, Dr. Sidney Peck, a national vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee and coordinator of the University Circle Teach-In Committee, reported on national developments and read the draft of the call to the April 15th Mobilization.

### Groups Represented

Among groups represented at the conference were: SDS, CORE, Ohioans for a Reasonable Settlement in Vietnam, Dayton Area Coordinating Committee, American Friends Service Committee, SANE, University Circle Teach-In Committee, Cincinnati Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Socialist Workers Party, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Womens Inter-

national League for Peace and Freedom, New Politics League of Akron, the Communist Party and the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Student and youth organizations represented included CEWVs from Western Reserve University, Cuyahoga Community College, and Kent State University; the Baldwin-Wallace University Student Peace Forum; the Young Socialist Alliance; Medical Students Committee on Vietnam; and the Du-Bois Club.

### Campus Participation

There were also campus groups from Ohio University at Athens, Ohio State University at Columbus, Miami University at Oxford, University of Cincinnati, Oberlin College (SDS), Hiram College, Antioch College (CEWV), Kenyon College, Cleveland State University, Wittenberg College, Bowling Green State University (SDS), John Carroll University and Wilmington College.

One of the most active conference workshops was on Student Vietnam Week and student mobilization work with nearly 100 students and faculty participating. Reports to this workshop were keyed toward organizing Vietnam Week activity preceding the Mobilization and making plans for organizing many of Ohio's 100 campuses.

The University Circle Teach-In Committee and cooperating Cleveland antiwar groups are arranging for an office in Cleveland for the mobilization campaign. The Cleveland area has already undertaken a campaign to raise \$10,000 and to date has sent \$2,000 to the National Mobilization Committee to help finance the national effort.

After the conference, Rev. James Bevel spoke at an open house organized by Cleveland CORE and urged CORE members and a number of representatives of other groups in the Negro community present to join a massive effort to bring thousands of black people to the April 15th Mobilization.



**APPEAL REJECTED.** The Supreme Court on Feb. 13 refused to review constitutionality of 1965 law making it illegal to burn a draft card. Appeal was made by David Miller, Catholic opponent of Vietnam war, shown here burning his draft card at Oct. 15, 1965, New York rally. The first of 16 to be prosecuted under the law, Miller was given a three-year suspended sentence. The high court apparently felt that it is legal to burn people alive in Vietnam but illegal to burn a draft card here.

## Reagan Blasted on Tuition By 10,000 at Sacramento

By Merry Safier

SACRAMENTO — A crowd of over 10,000 students and faculty members from every campus in the state of California booed Governor Ronald Reagan when he met their protest march on the steps of the Capitol building. The march, held Feb. 11, was initiated by the California Federation of Teachers to oppose Reagan's proposed institution of tuition, his 10 percent cut in the higher education budget, and the firing of University of California President Clark Kerr.

The governor's appearance was "unscheduled." He delayed his departure on a speaking trip to meet the marchers and try to cool their anger. He had had some success two days earlier when he talked to a small march organized by student government leaders, but he was no match for this crowd. He talked about the issue of "political interference" in the University of California, and it was plain that the crowd did not believe him when he concluded "...I will tell you now that, while I, as a member of the Board of Regents, will never inject politics in that Board as governor, as governor I am going to represent the people of this state."

The crowd chanted "We are the people! We are the people!" and waved banners and signs. Some chanted "Seig Heil!"

It has often been pointed out here in campus rallies since the budget cut was announced that the cut should really be regarded as a 30 percent cut, instead of 10 percent, since California's system needs at least a 20 percent higher budget to even begin coping with the increased population of students and the need for better teachers. Many of the signs proposed "Cut Reagan 10 percent." The most popular slogans were "Our Position — No Tuition," and "No Tuition — Tax War Profits," the last of which appeared all over on red buttons showing an eagle clutching a bomb. The button was



Photo by Brian Shannon

**DENOUNCE REAGAN.** Part of huge rally of students and unionists at California Capitol building in Sacramento.

issued by the Socialist Campaign Committee of Berkeley.

Another slogan showing the connection of the struggle against tuition with the war was "College for the Rich — Vietnam for the Poor." One sign expressed the demand of its bearer very simply: "Mind over Mammon."

The marchers came from every campus in the state, and even had support from several private colleges. The largest delegations came from Sacramento State, UC Berkeley, UC Davis, and UCLA; some had travelled from San Diego to be present.

There was also a large delegation from the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, the union of farm workers from the Delano area. They were cheered as they hoisted their banner for the march.

The fight against the institution of tuition in California promises to be a major battle in the struggle for free education in the United

States. Profits from aerospace and other war industries rise fantastically, and are the key to the California boom. Reagan and the state legislature will not touch these, seeking instead to eke out the school budget with what they can get from the empty pockets of students. Also, Reagan has many times made the implicit connection between tuition and his intention to put the thumbscrews on political activists in the university system.

### Vietnam Casualties

The total number of American casualties in Vietnam surpassed the 50,000 level according to a Feb. 9 UPI dispatch from Saigon. On that day U.S. military authorities released that the total casualty figure stood at 50,529 of which 8,790 had been killed.

## Cleveland Debs Hall Defendants Will Appeal

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Feb. 12 — Motions for a new trial and for reduction of appeal bond will be heard by Municipal Court Judge Joseph Stearns Feb. 27 in the cases of the eight Debs Hall police-raid defendants found guilty Feb. 6 of "disorderly assembly."

Twenty-one others also included in the mass arrest 15 months ago were acquitted of the same charge. Another defendant, a Western Reserve University student, left the state following dismissal of the charge against all 30 persons on July 12, 1966, and was not re-arrested with the others.

In the trial this month, Judge Stearns over-ruled motions by defense attorneys Stanley Tolliver and Jerry Gordon that the re-arrests placed the defendants in double jeopardy, and that the ordinance under which they were charged is unconstitutional. He found eight defendants guilty and fined them each \$20 and court costs.

When defense attorneys indicated they would appeal, Judge Stearns agreed to delay imposition of the fine pending appeal, but stated each defendant would have to pay a \$100 bond when motions for appeal are filed.

The defendants contend the bond, five times the amount of

the fine, is excessive and should be reduced. Their appeal, when motion for a new trial is denied, will be to the Ohio Court of Appeals, and will be based on both the evidence and the unconstitutionality of the ordinance.

Four of the eight appealing the verdict in the disorderly assembly case are also charged with assault and battery of a police officer during the same 1965 raid on Debs Hall. James Russell, prominent local civil rights militant, will file an appeal in the Court of Common Pleas by March 31 from his conviction last month. Robert Leonard, a Western Reserve University student and employee, whose trial ended with a hung jury (8 to 4 for acquittal) is scheduled for retrial March 7. John McCann and Edward Durden's cases were continued to Feb. 16.

As the disorderly assembly cases and the assault and battery cases reach the appeal stage, interest is being expressed by a number of civil liberties organizations.

Cross-examination of prosecution witnesses — the plainclothes police and liquor agents who made the raid — has revealed considerable evidence of political harassment and unconstitutional police practices and procedures. Also, the numerous contradictions in

their testimony, according to court observers, support the view that the charges and prosecution are a frame-up.

According to testimony of prosecution witnesses the following are some of the significant facts established:

- State liquor agents were requested several days ahead of time by Cleveland police to investigate possible illegal sale of liquor at the benefit affair for *The Militant* at Eugene V. Debs Hall, Nov. 13, 1965.

- Neither police nor liquor agents secured any kind of warrant for search or seizure, but: a) They sent an undercover man wearing a concealed electronic device ahead of them to make an illegal purchase then signal them to proceed; b) they met in the vicinity of the hall beforehand to plan the raid; c) they notified a reporter, who accompanied them.

- Police refused to reveal the source of the tip that resulted in the raid. An identified local Ku Klux Klansman was quoted in *The Plain Dealer* of Feb. 8, 1966 as stating that he aided police by "supplying information figuring in the liquor raid on the Eugene V. Debs Hall." "We helped set that up," he reportedly said. However, he denied the statement on the witness stand.

- There was no noise or disorder at the affair before the police and liquor agents arrived, even after liquor agents made several arrests for alleged sale without a license. Not until after one of the plainclothesmen ordered everyone to go home was there any disorder.

Defense witnesses testified that agents refused to identify themselves or why they were there. The raiders created a disorder when one loudly announced the party was over and everyone should go home. A young man who questioned their authority was grabbed and dragged out of the hall. Others who attempted to leave were prevented by one of the agents who barred the door.

Two of the defendants charged with assault were themselves beaten by the raiders and required stitches to close head wounds. Others were struck or pushed by police and liquor agents.

Witnesses testified to seeing some of the raiders take books and other literature from the hall. A motion on behalf of Herman Kirsch, state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, for return of literature and files taken during the raid was granted by the judge, but police have not returned them.