

Washington Readies New Escalation As Sentiment Against War Spreads

By Dick Roberts

AUG. 30 — Last May, an article on the Vietnamese war was published in the *Washington Post* by S. J. Deitchman, a governmental advisor of the Institute for Defense Analysis. The article calculated how many troops it would take Washington to achieve Johnson's stated aim of crushing the National Liberation Front, and how many Americans would get killed in the process.

According to Deitchman, 675,000 combat troops would be required; the war would last six years; and a probable number of 100,000 Americans would be killed — nearly three times the number killed in Korea, and almost 20 times the number dead so far in Vietnam.

No Limits Given

Was this grim analysis an exaggeration?

The Johnson administration has never given the American people a satisfactory indication of its plans for Vietnam. Not once in the entire course of the war have we been given a clear idea of the limits — if there are any — on the Pentagon's plans. Yet each week brings home statistics of more deaths, more bombings, more troops — and still no major battles.

Two years? Five years? Ten? Each of the dates has been thrown out by one or another inside dopest. At one time, the figure of 300,000 total troops was only mentioned by Wayne Morse — and now there are 300,000 GIs in Vietnam, and the figure of 360,000 is planned for the end of the year. A figure of 600,000 for the following year hardly can be discarded as an exaggeration.

New York Times reporter William Beecher wrote from Saigon Aug. 28 that the top U.S. military strategists there were already thinking in terms of 600,000 troops

"GENTLEMEN, YOU ARE NOW ENLISTED IN THE WAR ON POVERTY. IF HALF OF YOU DON'T COME BACK YOU HAVE MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO ELIMINATING POOR PEOPLE FROM OUR GREAT SOCIETY!"



NEWS ITEM: Secretary of Defense McNamara seeks to widen draft of poor.

as a goal to be reached in the next 18 months. The October draft call of 46,200 is the biggest since the Korean war.

Present U.S. casualties have passed the 30,000 level. The 20,000 level was reached in the first week of May. As of Aug. 20, there were 4,660 combat deaths reported and 25,342 wounded. A listing of an additional 930 "noncombat" deaths as of July 28 was given in the Aug. 8 *U.S. News and World Report*.

Bombings Escalated

This included 176 deaths in helicopter "accidents," 121 deaths in fixed-wing aircraft "accidents," and 633 deaths resulting from "disease and other causes."

Meanwhile, there has been a rapid escalation of the bombings of north Vietnam. The *New York Times* reported Aug. 14 that the number of multi-plane missions in June had jumped to over 2,000,

compared to an average of about 1,200 in the previous three months. It jumped again to close to 3,000 in July; and on Aug. 26 a total of 146 were flown in a single day. That could bring the August figure to well over 4,000.

But the heightened pace of war has not been matched by any corresponding clarity from the White House about its future Vietnam plans. Just the opposite is the case. An almost complete press censorship has been weighed on news reports from the front lines, and the administration has limited itself to occasional pleas for "unity" behind the "war effort."

There is no mystery over Johnson's silence on this score, however. Elections are breathing hot and heavy on the Democratic Party, and as each week passes, more and more Americans are becoming totally opposed to continuing the war. Several recent

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WILL GIVE CRITICAL SUPPORT

SWP Endorses Aptheker

NEW YORK, Aug. 30 — The Socialist Workers Party announced today that it was urging voters in the 12th Congressional District in Brooklyn to vote for Herbert Aptheker for Congress. The SWP statement said:

The New York Socialist Workers Party is urging a big vote for Herbert Aptheker for Congress. A well-known spokesman for the Communist Party, Aptheker is running against both the Democratic and Republican candidates in his district. He is running as an independent, on a "peace and freedom" ballot designation.

A significant vote for Herbert Aptheker, the SWP believes, will be a blow to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. It would be a repudiation of the capitalist parties and their warmaking, racist and anti-labor policies.

A vote for Aptheker is a vote for an open and avowed Communist, and would be in reality a vote for the Communist Party as against the capitalist parties. As such, it would be a vote for a tendency in the working class and socialist movements. The SWP is giving critical support to the Aptheker campaign as a means of opposing the two capitalist parties and supporting independent working class and socialist political action against them.

A vote for Aptheker would also

be a blow to the witchhunt of Communists, Socialists and all radicals.

The SWP is supporting Aptheker as a Communist running independent of and against the two capitalist parties, despite profound differences the SWP has with the Communist Party and with Aptheker's election platform.

At a press conference during the recently-held national convention of the Communist Party, Aptheker stated that he would not make socialism one of the planks in his election platform. In explaining his stand, he said, "Socialism is not on the agenda in 1966 and certainly not in Brooklyn. It is not what my neighbors are worried about."

Socialism Relevant

While it is certainly true that socialism is not immediately on the agenda, and socialists should fight on issues immediately affecting the workers, they should also connect those issues with the overall struggle for a revolutionary change in this country, the struggle for socialism. The fact that Aptheker's neighbors are not considering socialist ideas is one of the reasons he should discuss socialism. By arguing in behalf of socialism, Aptheker would help educate people to the need for socialism. He would also deal another blow to the witchhunt.

In actuality, however, Aptheker

fools no one by this stand. He is a well-known Communist. It is not because of the opinions of his neighbors that he has not included socialism in his platform, but because he hopes to make it clear to liberals that he is running on a liberal, and not a socialist, platform. In this he is successful.

His platform in general reads like something slightly to the left of the Americans for Democratic Action. It is vague and mushy, careful to avoid directly anti-capitalist conclusions which might offend liberals. For example, on the question of the war in Vietnam, he says the war is wrong and immoral, and should be ended. But he does not say how it should be ended. He doesn't demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops.

Within the antiwar movement, the Communist Party has pushed the line of supporting "peace candidates" running for the warmaking Democratic Party. Aptheker himself recently went before the New York state Democratic Party and pleaded with the party bosses to adopt a "peace" stand. The *Worker*, which reflects the views of the CP, has stumped for such "peace" candidates, including Theodore Weiss and Detroit Mayor Cavanaugh, both of whom ran in Democratic Party primaries as liberal critics of Johnson.

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THE MILITANT

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Court-Martial Set For Fort Hood 3

SEPT. 1 — A Sept. 6 court-martial has been set for the Fort Hood Three, the GIs jailed by the Army after they initiated a court challenge against the legality of the Vietnam war.

Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora and Pvt. David Samas had filed an application for an injunction in federal court June 30 against being sent to Vietnam on the grounds that the war there was "illegal, immoral and unjust." On July 7 they were illegally arrested by New York City and military police, minutes before they were scheduled to address a public meeting on their action.

They were confined at Fort Dix, New Jersey, until July 14 when they were ordered to board a special plane for Vietnam. This order was given despite the fact that their application for an injunction was still before the court. (The application was denied by a federal district judge and an appeal immediately filed with the U.S. Court of Appeals.)

On refusing to board the plane for Vietnam, the three soldiers were placed in solitary confinement.

The illegality of their original arrest was indicated even at the preliminary Army hearing prior to their currently slated court-martial. According to the transcript of that hearing, the major who investigated the arrest of Mora and Johnson reported that "testimony of witnesses . . . indicate that Pvt. Mora and Pfc. Johnson were unlawfully apprehended and detained . . ."

In preparing for the court-martial, an unusual move has been made. The two army attorneys assigned to defend the three along

with their civilian lawyer, Stanley Faulkner of New York, have joined with Faulkner in asking the court to summon as witnesses Secretary of State Rusk, and Secretary of Defense McNamara and to seek oral depositions from General William Westmorland, head of the U.S. forces in Vietnam, and from the commanding general of the military forces of Premier Ky.

Through examination of Rusk, the attorneys would seek to establish that the war is being conducted in violation of international treaties signed by the U.S. The testimony of the others would be used to establish that the war is being fought in violation of U.S. law.

Trial To Be Public

The three attorneys further requested that an oral deposition be sought from Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of north Vietnam regarding U.S. violations of the Geneva agreement which the U.S. had publicly declared it would abide by.

Army spokesmen said the trial of the three young men would be public. This is understood to mean that the press and families of the defendants will be permitted to attend. The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee will also seek to have sponsors of the committee present as observers at the trial.

In the two months of its existence, the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, under the co-chairmanship of A. J. Muste and Staughton Lynd, has won an encouraging amount of support from a broad cross-section of the antiwar, civil rights, liberal and radical communities.

There are now more than 100

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OPPOSE WAR. Pvt. Dennis Mora, Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas (left to right) face court-martial for challenging legality of Vietnam war.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

NEW YORK — On the day of the balloting on the second proposed settlement of the airline strike, which resulted in a two-to-one acceptance vote for the contract, I spoke to a number of striking machinists at the St. Albans Ballroom in Queens where the vote was being taken. They were members of Local 1056 (TWA).

One striker who voted against the contract told me: "After all these weeks, I can't see that there's much that's desirable here. The wages are all right for the mechanics, but not enough for the other fellows. As far as the pension goes, we were asking that the company pay for it. Their pension offer is nothing. They're offering nothing."

Discussing the escalator clause included in the contract, he said: "It's insufficient. It doesn't start until September of 1967. It doesn't mean anything in this form. It amounts to a maximum of six cents in two years. It should be adjusted quarterly, not yearly as proposed. We wanted a maximum of 15 percent a year, not three cents a year."

I asked him if he were in the leadership of the International Union, would he recommend settlement. "Definitely not," was his answer. "I would have advised the men to turn down the contract. I wouldn't have listened to Johnson, Morse, Wirtz and the people who want us to return to work."

He bitterly denounced the government's role in the strike, and said if government intervention in labor disputes became general, "it would destroy collective bargaining. It would return us to the Stone Age."

Dim View of Morse

I asked him what he thought of Senator Morse. "Do you want it in printable language? If he ran for Senator in New York state, labor would vote against him. He ought to take a running leap . . ."

I brought up the proposal of several local leaders on the International Association of Machinists on the West coast who want to see the formation of a labor party. "Good idea," he said. "It's about time. Labor has always thought the Democratic Party was their friend, but this is not very true. It's a good idea."

At this point, the leaders of the local came out of the St. Albans Ballroom, and I was able to ask them a few questions about the contract. They said, "nobody really likes it. Our local voted it down, but not by a big enough margin. Congress is holding a club over our heads."

—Ralph Levitt

LOS ANGELES — Members of Local 1932 and Local 1111 here rejected the contract by a two-to-one margin. In San Francisco, the largest airline machinists local, Local 1781, turned it down 3,044 to 1,000, over-riding a recommendation for acceptance from the local's executive board.

"The members out here are bitter about this contract," Adolph

Stutz, IAM assistant general chairman of District 141, told me. "We didn't get a shorter work week. We didn't get anything on a pension plan. We got a foot in the door on the cost of living clause, but that's all. What's happening is that the working man is paying for the war in Vietnam. We've already lost 10 cents this year in a cost of living increase."

"We got no improvements in the health and welfare plan, and in the vacation clause; all we got was four weeks vacation after 15 years service. We got a flat five-cent pay differential for any machinist who has a licence in any of three special qualifications, instead of 10 percent for each of the three licenses."

Understood Issues

"That's why our members out here voted against the contract," Stutz said. "They were educated on the issues."

He said that foreign carriers who employ Americans have a 37½-hour week, which was one of the demands of the strikers. They also get three weeks vacation after five years and four weeks after 10 years. "And they work right next to our members."

Statements from local machinist leaders were in agreement with Stutz about the contract. Tom Foster, Local 1932 (United Airlines) strike chairman, said: "We feel that the very weak improvements of this contract over the last offer which was rejected overwhelmingly do not warrant even serious consideration as to its acceptance. The cost of living proposals were very inadequate."

Larry Brassard, president of Local 1111 (TWA), said the new contract does not offer "enough money overall to bring us near to what we believe aircraft mechanics should be paid."

While I was talking to Stutz, someone called to him that the nation-wide machinist vote accepting the proposed contract had been confirmed. "That's it. It's all over now, and I'm tired," he said.

Where do the airline machinists go from here? Stutz said, "We'll have to start now preparing a bigger action in 1969 when the contract ends. By then we'll be \$1 behind the other machinists. We'll have a bigger strike for the airlines in 1969."

—Della Rossa

RISING LABOR MILITANCY REFLECTED

Air Mechanics Strike Charts Path

By Tom Kerry

The action of a section of the striking airline mechanics in calling for a break with the capitalist two-party system and the formation of an independent labor party is symptomatic of the growing resistance to the role of government as strikebreaker.

The increasing intervention of government on the side of the employers is especially galling in view of zooming corporate profits and bounding price hikes which have cut deeply into the workers standard of living.

The hoax of government "stabilization" used to gull the workers into acceptance of a policy of wage restraint has proven a patent fraud. Promises will no longer do. Being practical men and women, the workers react on the basis of the maxim: once bitten, twice shy! The demand for an escalator clause in the union contract as protection against the soaring cost of living is becoming a general and standardized part of union bargaining demands.

Capitalism rules through a combination of deception and force. After the counterfeit promises came the threats. Legislation to break the airline strike was rushed through the Senate under the prodding of liberal Democrat Wayne Morse and liberal Republican Jacob Javits, with the tacit approval of the Johnson administration.

The strikebreaking legislation stalled in the House of Representatives where fear of reprisal at the polls in the November elections acted as an effective deterrent. The vote on the last contract offer was taken under direct threat of the government to break the strike unless it was accepted.

Despite the enormous pressure exerted on the ranks, who had rejected two previous offers, over one-third of the machinists voted against the contract proposals.

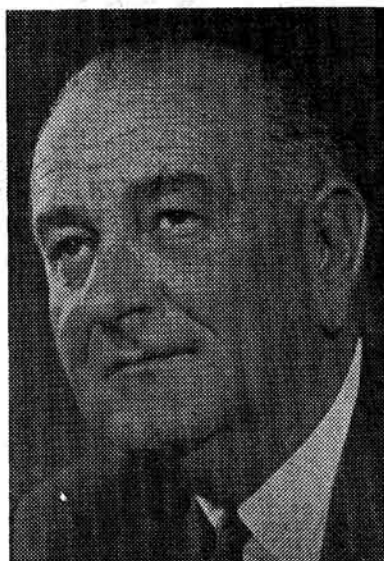
Discontent Growing

Discontent in the union ranks with the policy of the labor leaders is growing. Along with growing restiveness is an increased readiness to take militant strike action to win their just demands. Government intervention has failed to intimidate the workers. On the contrary, there is developing a wholesome contempt for the role of government as strikebreaker, together with a mounting suspicion and lack of confidence in union leaders more concerned with their "image" as labor statesmen than with their obligation to fight for the interests of the membership who pay their handsome salaries.

One of the more discerning reporters, Ed Townsend, labor correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor*, writing in the Aug. 25 issue, lists some conclusions drawn from the airline strike, which are worth quoting at some length:

1. "What is beginning to worry those who must deal with unions is the successful pattern for rank-and-file militancy that has been set, the rebellion against government peacemaking and, in part a result of the airline dispute and its settlement, increased restiveness in worker ranks."

2. "Now, more than ever, the union leaders expect rebellion against their bargaining policies, and expecting it, they are likely to be reluctant to settle for anything under top dollars and benefits."



Lyndon Johnson

3. "But not only the skilled are restive. The cost-of-living has been rising much more than anyone expected when contracts were written in 1964, 1965, or even early this year. Wherever there is no cost-of-living clause in contracts (to adjust pay automatically to rises in the government's consumer price index) there is discontent over high prices and, workers complain, lower buying power."

"This is reflected now in the workers' insistence that railroad, electrical manufacturing, and other negotiators demand — and if necessary call strikes for — cost-of-living 'escalation' in their next contracts. Airline strikers won this by their holdout. Other unionists may refuse to ratify contracts that have no cost-of-living provisions." And, last but not least:

4. "Sen. Wayne Morse (D) of Oregon, one of the government's most valuable labor troubleshooters, may have lost his value in future union-management disputes. Assistant Secretary of Labor James Reynolds, often effective before, found this conflict an exercise in frustration, but still fared better than his chief, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz." And just to put the frosting on the cake, Townsend adds:

5. "And the President, who kept warily out of the fray to the extent he could, won no plaudits from anyone for his role. As for Congress, it was drawn into the dispute reluctantly and was vastly relieved when it could escape from it."

All of this was no small accomplishment for just one little strike involving some 35,000 workers. But this end result must be viewed against a background of rising discontent with Lyndon Johnson's "guidelines" policy of

virtually freezing wages while the cost-of-living mounted and prices and profits soared. The workers are in no mood to shoulder the burden of Johnson's dirty war in Vietnam while the Merchants of Death enrich themselves by coining fabulous profits out of the blood, muck and filth of a genocidal atrocity.

Although 1966 was supposed to be the year of labor-management "peace" (the contracts of the big unions do not expire until the latter part of this year and the beginning of 1967) the number of strikes and the number of man-days "lost" exceed any but the year of the last general steel strike in 1959. The labor-management "experts" are plainly worried over what may happen next year.

"The factors that made a potentially peaceful 1966 turn strike-prone," writes Townsend in the Aug. 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, "are still at work. Corporate profits appear headed this year to a level 10 percent above 1965 — or \$7.5 billion above last year's \$75.7 billion level."

"Dividends are up 12 percent. Prices are 2.5 percent higher now, as measured by the government's consumer price index, and they may be up 3.5 percent by year's end."

Buying Power Down

"Although workers' earnings are up, Labor Department figures show their buying power is down slightly from last year."

One thing is certain — the Johnson administration's 3.2 percent "guidelines" wage freeze was effectively shattered by the militant action of the airline mechanics. Having convinced themselves that the workers can no longer be duped by the guidelines gambit, the liberal "friends of labor" in Washington are already busy sharpening their axes to do a hatchet-job on the unions after the November elections.

Under the sponsorship of Javits and Morse, a rider was attached to the recent Senate minimum-wage bill, calling on the administration to make good the "commitment it made last January" in Johnson's State of the Union Message, to further hamstring the unions by enacting additional anti-strike legislation.

The workers would do well to take a leaf from those striking airline machinists who, from their own experience in struggle against the liberal "labor friends" in Washington, drew the inescapable conclusion: to fight effectively against the strikebreakers in government, labor needs its own independent labor party to bolster its struggle for decent wages, hours and working conditions.

1,700 at Harlem Youth Rally Hear Black Power Advocates

NEW YORK, Aug. 25 — At a rally sponsored by HARYOU-ACT in Harlem last night, Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, told 1,700 young people of McNamara's plan to "salvage" 40,000 draft rejects over the next 10 months — 30 percent of which would be black. He said, "That man is out to exterminate us."

McNamara's proposal was rejected by all the speakers, including Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, Livingston Wingate, Executive Director of HARYOU-ACT, and New York City Human Rights Commissioner Booth.

Black Power

Most of the speakers called for black power. McKissick told the audience, "We now know the answer is not integration. For the first time in history, the white man is getting scared when he hears black power. Everybody

needs a definition of black power: it ought to make you go one step further . . . This definition will help you determine who your friends are, who they were and who they will be in the future."

He re-stated CORE's position for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and said that black people should realize that the white man doesn't want them to know they've got allies all over the world.

Carmichael said: "We've got to view our struggle as international. You've got to stop that nonsense about 10 percent . . . This country exploits black people all over the world. We are fighting the same enemy as colored peoples all over the world . . . We've got to get together . . . You've got to say to youth, 'Come out of coffee shops and stop writing poetry to Brother Malcolm X and start acting where he left off.'"

Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO By Art Prels

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ATOMIC EXPERTS EXPOSE GOV'T HOAX

New Sobell Trial Sought

By Harry Ring

"If we are executed, it will be murder of innocent people and the shame will be on the government of the United States. History will record, whether we live or die, that we were victims of one of the most monstrous frame-ups in our country's history."

These were the words of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in response to a government offer to commute their death sentences if they would confess that they really were atomic spies.

Now explosive new evidence has given dramatic added substance to the charge that the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell were, in fact, victims of a monstrous governmental frame-up.

The Rosenbergs were executed June 19, 1953. Morton Sobell is now serving the fifteenth year of a 30-year prison term.

A principal government witness against the Rosenbergs was David Greenglass, brother of Ethel Rosenberg, and a machinist at the Los Alamos project where the atomic bomb was developed. Indicted along with the Rosenbergs, he saved his neck by becoming a witness for the state. He testified that he had passed on to them a drawing of the cross-section of the bomb dropped on Nagasaki.

Now, two of the scientists who played a key role in developing the bomb have examined Greenglass' copy of the alleged drawing and branded it a worthless "caricature" of the bomb. They added that the descriptive material allegedly passed onto the Russians along with the bomb sketch was also worthless.

The two scientists, Dr. Philip Morrison and Dr. Henry Linschitz, offered their assessment of the government evidence in an affidavit filed in federal court in New York in support of a move for a new trial for Morton Sobell. Sobell had been convicted of "conspiring" with the Rosenbergs to commit espionage.

New Trial Sought

A federal judge will hear arguments by Sobell's lawyers, Sept. 12, on why he should get a new trial.

Since the convictions of the Rosenbergs and Sobell, a good many facts have been unearthed, strongly suggesting that the FBI had manufactured evidence to convict them. But the testimony of the two scientists who are unchallenged authorities on the bomb is the overshadowing new fact.

The Greenglass drawing had been impounded by the government since the time of the trial.



Morton Sobell

(For some unaccountable reason, defense attorney Emanuel Bloch had made the motion to impound it.)

The declassification of the drawing and accompanying descriptive material was won by Sobell's attorneys. An important factor in focusing attention on this and other additional evidence was the publication last year of the carefully documented study of the Rosenberg-Sobell case, *Invitation to an Inquest*, by Walter and Miriam Schneir.

At the trial, the purported sketch made it possible for presiding Judge Kaufman to declare in passing sentence on the Rosenbergs:

"I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb, years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb, has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties, exceeding 50,000, and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal, you have undoubtedly altered the course of history to the disadvantage of your country."

Dr. Linschitz says Judge Kaufman's statement has "no foundation in fact."

The two scientists also dealt a blow at the deceptive manner in which the government had presented its case about the sketch and descriptive material.

To vouch for the "authenticity" of the drawing, the government offered the testimony of John Berry, an electrical engineer who had worked at Los Alamos. He said that on the basis of the drawing, the Russians could build the bomb. Dr. Morrison and Dr. Linschitz say that Berry was not qualified to testify either on the basis of his scientific background or his work at the project.

Witnesses Not Called

It was further revealed that the government had submitted a loaded list of prospective witnesses which Judge Kaufman read to the jury. This list included the names of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and Dr. Harold Urey, both of whom helped develop the bomb. The reading of the list strongly suggested that they too were prepared to testify as to the authenticity of the sketch. But neither were actually asked to testify. Berry was the only "authority" produced by the government.

Now the argument is being advanced in some quarters that even though the sketch may have been worthless, the Rosenbergs still broke the law by passing it on to the USSR. This argument is despicable and false in every respect. To begin with, the government could not have been unaware the drawing was worthless at the time, and yet it deliberately presented testimony from an unqualified witness to the opposite effect. The government's argument for the Rosenbergs' conviction and

death sentence was based on the charge that they had not only committed espionage, but had actually given the Russians the "secret" of the bomb (Dr. Morrison's affidavit reiterates that there never has been any "secret" to building the bomb.)

Legally, it is considered doubtful that the espionage charge could have stood in the face of evidence that the material passed on was worthless.

Finally, if the government did go to such lengths to rig the key piece of evidence in the whole case, there obviously is far more weight than ever to the word of the Rosenbergs, who went to their death insisting on their complete innocence. And the same, of course, applies to Morton Sobell, who has remained steadfast in insisting on his innocence.

The Rosenberg-Sobell case was a keystone in the whole witch-hunt edifice built by the Republican and Democratic parties to fan hysteria and promote the cold war. Conducted in an atmosphere of unrestrained witchhunting, the trial was designed to terrorize radicals and silence liberals who might speak up in their behalf. The administration saw the case as an opportunity to appease the McCarthy movement which was branding the leaders of both parties as "soft on communism." The trial greatly strengthened McCarthy's position.

Significant Opposition

Despite the ferocious campaign by the government and all of the propaganda media, there was significant opposition to the murder of the Rosenbergs here and very strong protests abroad. It was difficult for people to determine the guilt or innocence of the Rosenbergs and Sobell, but it was apparent even then that regardless of their guilt or innocence, that they were victims of a judicial lynching in a trial whose motives were purely political and conducted without concern for facts.

Now the persistent work of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and the publication of such works as *Invitation to An Inquest* have posed a major challenge for the government to answer before the world. It must answer the charge that it deliberately framed-up and murdered two innocent people and incarcerated a third.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell is urging New York area supporters to attend the hearing where the argument will be made for a new trial for Sobell. This will be held Sept. 12 at the Federal Courthouse at Foley Square. The committee also asks that letters be sent to Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, urging him to support the motion for a new trial and to support the demand that Sobell be released on bail pending such a trial.

Further information may be obtained by writing to: Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.



Joseph McCarthy

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THEIR MORALS AND OURS: Marxist Versus Liberal Views on Morality: Four Essays by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey and George Novack. Merit Publishers, 5 E. 3rd St., New York, N.Y. 10003. 78 pp. 75c.

This new edition of Trotsky's famous essay, "Their Morals and Ours," published along with a counter-argument by John Dewey and a rebuttal of Dewey's article by George Novack, comes out at a very propitious time. As Novack writes in his introduction to this attractive pamphlet:

"Few questions trouble the New Radicals of the 1960s as much as the relations between morality and politics. Can these two aspects of human activity be reconciled and harmonized — or must they remain insuperably opposed to each other?"

Trotsky's essay tackles this problem of the relations between politics and morality head-on, as does his supplementary essay, "The Moralists and Sycophants Against Marxism," which is also included in the pamphlet.

This is followed by a rebuttal by John Dewey, the famous American philosopher of pragmatism, disputing Trotsky's view on the question of ends and means in politics and morality. Trotsky was assassinated before he was able to take up a reply to Dewey.

However, the final article in this collection is a reply made in Trotsky's stead by George Novack. Novack defends Trotsky's views on morality and adds a contribution of his own.

In "Their Morals and Ours," Trotsky writes, "A means can be justified only by its end. But the end in its turn needs to be justified. From the Marxist point of view, which expresses the historical interests of the proletariat, the end is justified if it leads to increasing the power of man over nature and to the abolition of the power of man over man."

Trotsky explains what this means: "That is permissible, we answer, which really leads to the liberation of mankind. Since this end can be achieved only through revolution, the liberating morality of the proletariat of necessity is endowed with a revolutionary character."

And further on, "When we say that the end justifies the means, then for us the conclusion follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation; or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organization, replacing it by the worship for the 'leaders.'"

All of this sets the stage for Dewey's counter-argument. Dewey disputes that the working class can be the agent for social change and says rather that an appeal to all people for social improvement could be more effective.

Novack takes up Dewey's argument and points out that the reality of class divisions and class struggle — now active, now quiescent — preclude an appeal to the privileged as having any real, dependable effect.

HARLEM STIRS, by Fred Halstead. Prologue by John O. Killens. Photography by Anthony Aviles and Don Charles. Marzani and Munsell 128 pp. \$2.50 paper.

Harlem Stirs tells the story of what it's like to live in the big city ghetto of Harlem and how the people of Harlem have resisted the conditions of oppression under

which they are forced to live. This story is told through an effective photographic album accompanied by *Militant* writer Fred Halstead's informative and sometimes moving text.

This is an exceptional book in that it sides with Harlem's people against their oppressors. John O. Killens, the famous Negro novelist, writes in his prologue, "The thing I like about this book is that it breaks sharply from the current trend of books about this much maligned community."

"Apparently it is not enough that the people of this black besieged city is exploited economically and politically. It must also be exploited literarily. Most books written about Harlem in recent years (by white and black writers alike) have made Harlem the anti-hero, forever the villain, never the protagonist."

"Most books depicted Harlem as the jungle, thereby immediately creating the Western image of a place inhabited by beasts and savages, where a few courageous white men (an assortment of Great White Fathers including missionaries and men of commerce and such) venture at their own peril to bring 'Christianity' and 'civilization' to the natives."

"Thus the real villains, society and the people from downtown who grow fat upon the black folk's misery, are never brought into focus. And thus the victim is blamed for being the victim. This type of reasoning would blame the Jews for their extermination by the Nazis, and blame the Algerians for their brutalization by the French."

Harlem Stirs begins by photographically contrasting the normal mode of life for the Harlem slum dweller and the white suburbanite. We learn, for example, that the conditions of poverty kill babies. According to the New York City Department of Health, "the reduction of the abnormally high infant mortality rate among impoverished Americans are inseparably linked with economic and social progress."

Infant mortality rates for Harlem Negroes is 45.2 per 1,000 live births — higher than that for Mississippi. The comparable rate for New York City is 25.7, for the United States 26.0, and for Mississippi 41.6 — the highest of any state in the union.

Another official city statistic is that 20-30 percent of Negro and Puerto Rican families live in dilapidated or substandard housing, as compared to six percent of other families.

The listing and picturing of these conditions is used by Fred Halstead to show the underlying reasons why Harlem has been stirring in recent years. The book's clear implication is that the fight of Harlem's people against their oppressors has only just begun.

Fittingly, *Harlem Stirs* ends with a portrait and the words of Malcolm X, the man who was best able to articulate the mood and aspirations of Harlem's people.

—Arthur Maglin

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By James P. Cannon

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A Dangerous Development

Commenting on one of the vicious mob attacks on anti-bias marchers in Chicago, Rev. Martin Luther King said: "I have seen many demonstrations in the South, but I have never seen anything so hostile and hateful as I have seen here today . . . It reminds me of the hatred of Hitler's Germany."

These words should serve as a serious warning for everyone who does not want to see this country sink deeply into a reactionary morass.

King's words are given added significance by the fact that the hate-inspired racist attacks took place in a largely working-class neighborhood.

The fact that working people who have no stake in the perpetuation of Jim Crow can be swept up in such a fashion is a clear indication of how deeply racism poisons every vein and pore of our society. A man like Malcolm X was branded a demagogue for pointing out that for the black man there is no basic difference between North and South — that it is really Down South and Up South, that South is anything south of the Canadian border. Racism is deeply imbedded in every area of the country and in every layer of society.

It is something more than a cause for shame for the union movement that white working people should hurl rocks and bottles and flaunt swastikas. It should be obvious that it is not only black people who will be the victims of this. Any deepening of reaction necessarily weakens the organized labor movement and poses a threat to it. And the scandalous fact is that the union officialdom has done nothing to combat this eruption of racism. If it continues to fail to act, all of labor will pay a heavy price.

... Vietnam War Escalation

(Continued from Page 1)
polls place the opposition at over 50 percent.

Thus in the Ohio 13th Congressional District, a poll showed that 54.4 percent of those responding felt that "it was a mistake for the U.S. to get so deeply involved in the war." In the Michigan 1st Congressional District, 53 percent checked "no" when asked whether they favored "current American policy" in Vietnam.

Other polls show similar results. In California's 7th Congressional District, a July 25 poll showed 32.9 percent for "pulling out now," and in Michigan's 7th District the number favoring immediate withdrawal was a whopping 41 percent, according to a July 26 poll.

GI's Against War

At the same time, more and more soldiers are speaking up in opposition to the war. A 20-year-old heavily-decorated veteran from Temple, Arizona, has come out for unilateral U.S. withdrawal and has volunteered to go back to Vietnam to conduct a fight against the war. The soldier, Spec. 4 Paul Edwin Fritz, told *Arizona Republic* reporter Robert Ariz:

"The ratio of Vietcong to North Vietnamese is about 9-to-1. The impression we get in this country is that it's an all-out invasion, when actually it's a civil war." Fritz, now a two-time volunteer for duty in Vietnam, is willing to

go to jail for his views. He plans to refuse to carry a weapon when ordered to in Vietnam.

Wayne Morse reported in Washington, Aug. 12, that he was receiving a number of letters from soldiers opposed to the war. Several were quoted by an AP dispatch of the same date. A private first class wrote: "I've seen my buddies killed and wounded, and the people we fight for don't give a damn."

Another soldier wrote, "Everybody thinks the morale of the men is very high but this is not true . . . On the outside . . . our morale does look high, but if you could sit around at night and listen, you would know it is an entirely different story . . . Most of the guys want to lay down their guns and go home just like the people in Saigon want us to."

What the soldier could have added if he weren't the victim of administration propaganda is "and just like most of the people back home want us to."

The antiwar movement has the obligation to expose the facts about the new plans for escalation coming out of Washington, and to reach the growing numbers of Americans who are becoming opposed to the war.

The best answer to Johnson's escalation in Vietnam is to escalate the movement here to bring our boys home now!

... SWP Endorses Aptheker

(Continued from Page 1)

In 1964, the CP supported Johnson to "stop Goldwater." At that time Johnson was pictured by the CP as a "peace candidate," and his victory was hailed in the *Worker* as a "people's victory."

In its attempt to cuddle up to dissidents within the Democratic Party on the war issue, the CP has generally played down the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, a demand which most Democratic Party liberals find repugnant to their role as capitalist party politicians. (Weiss, for example, is opposed to the withdrawal of U.S. troops.)

The CP is formally for both negotiations and withdrawal. For example, Aptheker urged the Democratic Party to come out for both demands. It hardly needs to be pointed out at this stage of the antiwar movement that the demand for negotiations implies that the U.S. has a right to interfere — to negotiate from a position of armed intervention — in the internal affairs of Vietnam. The withdrawal demand, on the other hand, clearly exposes the U.S. as the aggressor and presents the only workable solution to ending the war and guaranteeing the right of Vietnam to self-determination.

A Clear Stand

It would strengthen the Aptheker campaign a great deal, in the opinion of the SWP, for him to take a clear stand against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The SWP urges him to: 1) Repudiate the Communist Party's support of Johnson in 1964; 2) repudiate any support to phoney "peace" candidates running inside the warmaking Democratic Party; 3) come out clearly and unequivocally for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, without tacking on any request for U.S. imperialism to "negotiate" the future of Vietnam.

On the question of racism and the oppression of the Negro people, again Aptheker's program is a vague generality. All he says on the subject is that "racism is monstrous; that ghettos shamed the Middle Ages and are intolerable for the United States in this day and age." Everyone except open racists could agree.

But, the Communist Party has consistently attacked the militant wing of the Negro movement. In the July 7, 1963, *Worker*, for example, James Jackson wrote a long article on the Negro struggle in which he repeatedly attacked Malcolm X, praising in contrast the NAACP and Martin Luther King. "Malcolm," he said, "in no sense of the word can be considered a leader of the Negro people. He is an agent of their enemies and consequently an opponent of their progress."

CP on Black Power

During the primary elections in Alabama last May, when Rev. Martin Luther King was stumping for Negroes to vote for the moderate racist Richmond Flowers in the Democratic Party primary, Negroes in Lowndes County, Ala., were forming their own political party to run against the Democrats. Without mentioning the Lowndes County Freedom Organization ("Black Panther" Party), the *Worker* attacked SNCC for urging Negroes to "boycott the primary." Actually, SNCC workers had helped form the Black Panther Party, and were urging Negroes in Lowndes to form their own party on the primary election day instead of voting in the Democratic primary.

The Communist Party has failed to recognize the progressive nature of black nationalism, or of the demand for black power. Black nationalism represents the tendency of black people to unite as a group into a movement of their own to fight for freedom, justice and equality. It represents a potential break from capitalist society by black people, towards

N.Y. SWP Finishes Petition Drive

NEW YORK — In a record-breaking three-week period, the Socialist Workers Party has completed the task of getting the signatures on nominating petitions necessary to win a place on the ballot. The law requires a minimum of 50 signatures from registered voters in 62 of the state's 63 counties, with a minimum of 12,000 for the entire state. The SWP secured well above the required minimum in each county and gathered 19,000 on a state-wide basis to ensure the petition will meet any challenge.

struggle against the capitalist parties and system. Identifying with the anti-colonial struggles of non-whites around the world, it tends in an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist direction. This can be seen in the development of Malcolm X, the greatest spokesman for the Negro people in our time, and in the development of the Black Panther Party. (At a Communist Party convention press conference, Jackson said that in place of the Black Panther symbol, he would prefer "an American eagle with black and white feathers" — to symbolize integration).

The Socialist Workers Party urges Aptheker to adopt the following planks in his program: 1) Recognize the progressive nature of black nationalism and the demand for black power; 2) support independent black political action against the Democrats and Republicans, both in the South and in the North.

Coalition Politics

The thread that ties together Aptheker's stand on the war and the Negro struggle is the CP position on coalition politics.

For the past 30 years, the CP has given overt and covert support to candidates of the Democratic Party. This policy has strengthened the coalitionism with the Democratic Party practiced by the labor movement and most "respectable" Negro leaders.

The Democratic Party is a capitalist party. It is run from the top by the big capitalists, and is an instrument to carry out their policy, just like the Republican Party is. That's why it is a war party — the party which brought the U.S. into both World Wars I and II, the Korean War and the war in Vietnam (not to mention such things as the invasion last year of Santo Domingo and the blockade of Cuba, etc.) It preserves racism in the U.S. because racism is useful and profitable to the big capitalists. It initiated the witchhunt. Democrats have written, passed and used anti-labor laws against the unions. Just a few weeks ago, the Democratic President and the Democratic congressmen, including such "friends of labor" as Wayne Morse, attempted to break the airlines strike and are still preparing to pass new anti-labor legislation after the elections.

The big capitalists, although they run the Democratic Party, are a small minority of the population. To carry out their policies, they require the support of much larger layers, including workers and Negroes. Here's where the coalitionist labor and Negro leaders come in — they work to deliver the vote to the capitalist politicians.

The 30-year record of coalitionism has been a dismal one for the left, for the workers and for the Negroes. The results have been a steady shift to the right in the country. And, the development of mass labor and Negro parties opposed to the interests of the cap-

italists has been blocked. Breaking with the capitalist parties and building a mass party or parties of their own is an imperative necessity for the labor and Negro movements.

The SWP is urging a big vote for Aptheker precisely because he is running as a Communist against the two capitalist parties. But he is doing so in one congressional district, and against a reactionary Democratic Party candidate. The SWP urges Aptheker to break completely with the Democratic Party, and come out against all capitalist candidates — including liberal capitalist politicians.

Many members and supporters of the Communist Party would like to see the CP actively committed to a policy of independent political action. We hope that those who have this outlook will use the Aptheker campaign as a vehicle for pressing for a complete break with capitalist party politics.

Labor Party Needed

The SWP urges Aptheker to expose the Democratic Party as a capitalist party, and to call for the formation of a labor party based on the unions. Aptheker should declare himself for independent black political action.

And, most important in this campaign, he should declare himself against both the Democratic and Republican parties in the state-wide election. The test of every tendency calling itself socialist in this campaign will be its attitude toward the two capitalist parties in the most important contest — the election for governor. It is not enough to be running against the capitalist parties in one congressional district — Aptheker's attitude toward the Democrats and Republicans in the race for governor will be a clear demonstration of his real stand on coalition politics.

The SWP urges Aptheker to give his support to the SWP state ticket, headed by Judy White for governor, to strike a real blow to the capitalist parties, their Vietnam war, and their racist and anti-labor policies.

Atlanta SNCC Member Charged With 'Sedition' For Protest Against War

Twelve Negro antiwar demonstrators were sentenced to jail in Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 19, after holding a picket line against the war in front of the 12th Army Corps headquarters the previous day. One of them, John C. Wilson, has been bound for grand jury action on the charge of "insurrection." The Georgia statute involved carries a maximum death penalty sentence, and is patently unconstitutional.

The demonstration was sponsored by members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. According to an Aug. 18 AP dispatch, the marchers shouted "Black Power!" and passed out leaflets stating, "We are tired of the spilling of blood in white men's wars."

The sentences of the other demonstrators besides Wilson ranged from 30 to 90 days. They were charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest and failure to obey a police officer.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4963 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7751. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, 982-6051.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2295. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party, LA 2-4326.

The Logic Of Marxism

By
William F. Warde

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Smear of Cleveland Ghetto Hit

Citizens Group Rebuts Grand Jury

By Barbara Gregorich

CLEVELAND — From Aug. 23 to 26, the Cleveland Citizens Committee for Review of the Grand Jury Report held public hearings on the recent Hough area outbreak. The grand jury report said that a riot was caused in the Negro area by Communists and outside agitators.

Held at Liberty Hill Baptist Church, the public review was attended by audiences ranging from 300 to 800 people. The Citizens Committee plans to publish an answer to the grand jury report.

The first witness to testify was Earl Rowe, supervisor of the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Hough area. He described the conditions in the Hough area: housing owned by landlords who do not live up to city housing codes; overcrowded families — he mentioned one family in which the mother, father and four children sleep in one bed, and rats and mice regularly cross the children's faces at night; lack of garbage collection; abandoned dwellings; lack of jobs.

Sporadic Outbursts

Rowe was on duty during the outbreak, and saw no "outside agitators," only the same people he had been seeing for the past year. "It was sporadic outbursts brought on by frustration and anger — the only organization I saw was the National Guard."

When asked if there had been any change in Hough since the riots, Rowe said: "I have seen the greatest change in my life since the occupation of Europe, I have seen city machines roll into the area, and I have seen condemned buildings come down like magic. Over 500 jobs have been found for residents in the last four weeks. Hough residents are now supervisors in the Hough cleanup campaign. I have seen more officials, more supervisors, than ever before."

There were a number of Hough residents who testified about what happened to them during the eruption. One of these was Mrs. Dianna Towns, a 16-year-old mother who was shot by the police while she, her husband, brother and two small children were trying to leave their house on July 21 to escape a fire raging in the next building. Mrs. Towns was wounded in the shoulder and head, and her right eye had to be removed. When asked if police had questioned her, she said, "No, not until this day."

Her husband, Henry Towns, told this story: He was awakened by his wife around 4 a.m. Afraid the fire might spread to their house, they got dressed and put their seven-month-old baby and three-year-old son into the car, along with Mrs. Towns' 12-year-old brother. When Mr. Towns tried to back his car out of the driveway, he found a car was blocking it. He asked an officer to remove the car, but the officer ignored

Police Murder
Anthony Lewis, resident in the Hough area, testified to the Citizens Committee that he was walking to the store to buy some bread during the outbreak in the predominantly Negro area of Cleveland. He saw police put some people into a police wagon. Then he saw bricks flying and four cops got out and fired. "One took dead aim with a shotgun and one took dead aim with a revolver. I saw smoke, a fellow next to me hit the ground. Somebody came to help him, but the cop said, 'Stop! Don't touch him!' When I read the newspaper account, it said that a sniper shot Percy Giles. It wasn't. This was cold-blooded murder."

him. Finally, he blew his horn and drove across the lawn.

An officer yelled, "What the hell do you think you're doing?" Mr. Towns stopped to explain, and the police ran up to his car and began to drag him out. His wife grabbed him around the neck, and the police began to beat him with a club. The car lurched forward a foot or so, and the police opened fire. When the police stopped shooting, his wife was lying unconscious on the floor. His baby was covered with blood, his three-year-old son was shot in the head.

An ambulance finally arrived and took his family to the hospital. Mr. Towns was taken to jail, where he was given no information about their condition, until a lawyer came to offer his services. Towns' son suffered extensive brain damage. His wife suffered brain damage, also, and lost her right eye. Towns was indicted on a charge of "aggravated assault."

Another typical witness was Mr. Adams, who lives on Hough Avenue. He watched police from his apartment. When the police started to shoot in the street, six friends crowded into his apartment. Then police with shotguns shot down his door because, they said, somebody was shooting at them from the bedroom. The police made everybody kneel on the floor while they searched the bedroom and found nobody.

Put in Vans

Then the police made the innocent victims walk to the police wagon, hands over their heads. As Mr. Adams was leaving, he heard noises—when he was finally released, he found his record player torn to pieces. He was kept in a filthy cell with 60 other people, and charged with disorderly assembly the next morning. When asked why he did not call a lawyer, he said he wouldn't think of asking to make a call when those who did were clubbed by the police.

Mrs. Gwendolyn Franklin, also of Hough Avenue, testified that on the night of the riot, her son had just come home from night school when police broke down her door, cursed her and threw tear gas into her neighbor's apartment. They beat her son and said, "We ought to shoot you." The cops then took her to jail. When she was released, after being booked for disorderly assembly, she found her house a wreck.

Leroy Amy testified that he saw police arrest an old man, an old woman and a small boy. When a crowd, angered by this, began to throw bricks at the patrol wagon, police stepped out and began to shoot. One man fell dead. The victim turned out to be Percy Giles. Mr. Amy said Giles was "just walking up the street." When asked if he could identify the cop who shot Giles, he an-

swered, "I can identify him any day the sun shines."

When asked why he hadn't told the police about this, Mr. Amy said he saw a man shot in cold blood by a cop, and he wasn't about to tell another cop about it.

Fifteen-year-old Timothy Stewart told how at 10:45 on the evening of July 27, he went to a restaurant to get a chicken dinner for his aunt. He was pulled out of the restaurant for "questioning" by three white cops who put him in a patrol car. Stewart said the cops searched him and found a razor in his pocket. He said he told them the razor was for protection.

"We'll give you protection, all right, you black nigger," the cops said. When the car came to a red light, they hit him over the head with a club. They drove to a park, stopped the car and ripped his pants off. They told the youngster that they would castrate him with the razor. One of the three cops, a sergeant, put a shotgun to Stewart's head and said, "Ought to shoot you, you black nigger."

"Yeah," said another cop, "we ought to shoot you and say you tried to run away." The cops took him to the police station, where he was beaten bloody and charged with carrying a concealed weapon.

After three days of similar testimony, Baxter Hill, coordinator of the citizen's inquest, called for police surveillance squads, groups of men to follow the police with cameras and tape recorders.

MILITANCY AND SOLIDARITY URGED

New York Anti-HUAC Rally

NEW YORK — More than 500 people turned out on short notice for an anti-HUAC rally at the Community Church, Aug. 25, sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

Speakers at the rally were Arthur Kinoy, Henry de Suvero, Dr. Otto Nathan, Grace Mora Newman, Donna Allen, Rick Rhoades, Alan Krebs and Walter Teague III. Pete Seeger performed and Parade Committee chairman A. J. Muste presided.

Arthur Kinoy is the attorney who obtained the ACLU restraining order against the HUAC anti-war hearing and who was forcibly ejected from the hearing itself. Henry de Suvero, an ACLU attorney, spoke on behalf of John de J. Pemberton, national director of the ACLU. Dr. Nathan, member of the administrative committee of the Parade Committee, is a longtime opponent of HUAC. Grace Mora Newman is a sister of Pvt. Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood Three, the GIs jailed by the army for resisting the war in Vietnam. Donna Allen, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, recently won a court reversal of a contempt-of-Congress conviction for defying HUAC.

Witnesses Speak

Rick Rhoades of the Progressive Labor Party, Alan Krebs of the Free University and Walter Teague of the Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front, were among those hauled before the recent HUAC hearings.

Kinoy assessed the hearings as having a positive outcome for opponents of the committee. He attributed this to the fact that those subpoenaed had taken the legal offensive and had demonstrated their opposition to the committee during the hearings. He declared this militant approach had been made effective by the solidarity that had been achieved among the witnesses and the united support they had received. If that kind of militancy and solidarity is maintained and developed, he declared,

...Fort Hood Three Case

(Continued from Page 1)
sponsors of the committee including the following:

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE; Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of SNCC; John Henrik Clarke, editor of *Freedomways*.

Also Prof. Douglas Dowd, President of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy and Professors Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University and Noam Chomsky of M.I.T.

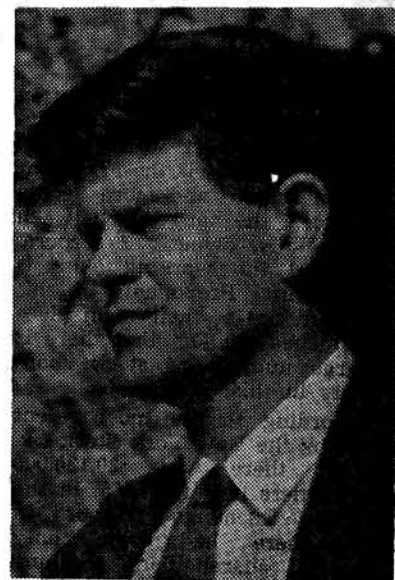
Also folk singer Peter Seeger, authors Nat Hentoff, Dwight McDonald, Lewis Mumford and Harvey Swados.

Also Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee; Ruth Gage Colby, of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Tom Hayden of Students for a Democratic Society; Gus Horowitz, editor of the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*; Frank Emspak of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Also Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party; George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party; William Epton of the Progressive Labor Party; David McReynolds of the Socialist Party.

Several trade unionists have become sponsors of the committee including Al Evenoff, educational director of District 65, AFL-CIO, in New York.

The District 65 Peace Action Committee has issued a very effective leaflet explaining the facts of the case to the union membership and showing its relevancy for the union movement by pointing out that James Johnson, Sr.,



Staughton Lynd

father of Pfc. James Johnson is a District 65 shop steward.

The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee has issued a number of leaflets publicizing the facts of the case and urging the public to protest the jailing of the three and to support the democratic right of all GIs to discuss and take a stand on the war.

The committee has also distributed many leaflets at army installations, bus terminals and other places, to inform servicemen of the facts of the case.

Contributions to advance the work of the committee may be sent to Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St., 10th floor, New York, N.Y. 10038.

ment that a voice be raised in support of the National Liberation Front. He said that as long as the American people believe they are faced with an "enemy" in Vietnam they could be convinced to go along with the war. However, he continued, if it can be demonstrated that the NLF is not an enemy of the American people, this will make the work of the peace movement more effective.

Pete Seeger entertained with songs against the Vietnam war, including one he had sung at the Newport Folk Festival, "Support Our Boys in Vietnam, Bring 'Em Home."

As a special feature, he sang a song he had just written about the Fort Hood Three.

Mpls. Court Hears Antiwar Flag Case

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 26 — Seven members of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam were tried here Aug. 24-26 on charges stemming from police harassment of a peaceful street meeting held by the committee on July 16.

All seven were charged with breach of the peace, and the chairman of the committee, Larry Seigle, was also charged with violation of a 1917 city flag ordinance. The charges against two of the defendants have been dropped for lack of evidence.

The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union is supporting the defendants' right of free speech and assembly. Douglas Hall, well-known Minneapolis civil liberties lawyer, and Lynn Castner, Minnesota director of the Civil Liberties Union, were attorneys for the defense. Among those indicted is Joseph Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator.

Judge Bruce C. Stone will hand down his verdict on the case on Aug. 31.

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Who Controls the U. S. Corporations?

By Dick Roberts

One of the arguments often raised against the Marxist contention that capitalist society is divided into classes is the argument that since more and more people own stock, the hard line between the capitalist owners of corporations and the working class is disappearing. Proponents of this argument use as their main piece of evidence the fact that there is a large number of stock share owners in this country.

According to the most recent count by the New York Stock Exchange, there were 20,130,000 shareowners in early 1965. In the previous Exchange "census" in 1962, there had been only 17,010,000 shareholders, meaning that the number of shareholders had increased at the rate of about one million a year. Eventually, according to this argument, "nearly everyone" will own stocks, and the "working class" will disappear.

One flaw in this argument is that according to these figures, only a little over 10 percent of the population owns any stock, and as a percentage of the population, the number of shareholders has not grown much.

But the major flaw in this line of reasoning tends to obscure the real process that is taking place.

Closer examination of the process shows that the spreading out of stock ownership does not serve to decentralize the control of corporations. It is one of the methods by which the biggest capitalists centralized their control and extend their arenas of power and profit.

False Argument

The flaw of the argument is that the mere fact of owning stocks does not make a worker into a capitalist, any more than drawing interest on a savings account does. Five or ten shares or even 100 or 200 shares, does not give an individual any say whatsoever in the management of a corporation — when corporations issue tens and hundreds of millions of shares.

Nor does ownership of a small number of stocks provide a sufficient dividend income to support an individual. More likely than not, he will still have to work eight hours a day, five days a week, 50 or so weeks a year. But the majority of share owners in America are precisely in this category of small share-ownership.

This can be seen from the breakdown of stock owners in relation to incomes, which was given in the 1965 Stock Exchange census. According to the census, 11 million, or 55 percent of those who owned stock, had incomes of less than \$10,000 a year; 5.2 million share owners had incomes of \$10,000 to \$15,000 a year; and the remaining 3.8 million share owners, 18 percent of the total, had incomes above \$15,000.

These figures show that 82 percent of the American share owners in 1965 had incomes of less than \$15,000 a year. As we shall

see, \$15,000 is a relatively high income compared to the national average, but it is not generally an income associated with the "leisure class" — and it suggests that most stock owners do not own many shares.

Looking more carefully at income patterns in America, it is evident that only a small number of stockholders actually derive the major, or even a substantial, amount of their income from stock ownership. This can be seen in the accompanying table which is a condensed version of a table in the *Economic Almanac* for 1964. It shows the sources of income for 48,061,000 individuals filing taxable income tax returns in 1960.

(There are, of course, drawbacks to using income tax returns as the basis for a general examination of income patterns. The table, for example, shows only taxable-income tax returns, where income after deductions comes to higher than \$600. Omitted from the table are 12,967,000 non-taxable returns for the same year — or almost 13 million individuals mainly from lower income groups. Distortions also occur in the upper income brackets, particularly the highest, where legal loopholes allow falsely-low incomes to be reported.



Nelson Rockefeller

(The table shows that "less than 500" Americans received annual incomes of \$1,000,000 or more. But it only shows a \$582 million income for this category, meaning that if even as few as 250 Americans are actually represented in the category, their average incomes would not be much over \$2,000,000 a year. This is an unreasonably low average for the incomes in the highest category, as is shown below.)

It is evident from the table that it is not until we get into income levels of \$100,000 a year or higher that a substantial amount of the declared incomes actually comes from stock and bond dividends and interest. For individuals declaring incomes of \$15,000 or less, almost 10 times as much income is made from wages and salaries as from dividends, interest, business, professional and capital gains sources.

In the declared incomes of the middle levels, these relationships begin to reverse. For persons declaring incomes between \$15,000 and \$100,000 a year, nearly the same amount of income was derived from wages and salaries as from business, professional, dividend, interest and capital gains sources.

But in the upper income level, much more income is derived from dividends, interest and capital gains sources, than from the other categories. Business and professional income is also smaller in relation to the total than it is in the middle income level. For the "less than 500" individuals in the highest income category, over 40

| Taxable Returns | No. of Returns (thousands) | Wages and Salaries (millions) | Dividends and Interest (millions) | Net Business, Professional & Partnership (millions) | Net Capital Gains (millions) |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| \$ 600 — \$ 3,000 | 10,557 | \$ 17,499 | \$ 532 | \$1,370 | \$108 |
| \$ 3,000 — \$ 7,000 | 23,666 | 106,036 | 2,070 | 6,877 | 458 |
| \$ 7,000 — \$ 15,000 | 12,163 | 98,903 | 3,038 | 8,459 | 868 |
| \$ 15,000 — \$ 20,000 | 785 | 8,454 | 1,093 | 3,003 | 332 |
| \$ 20,000 — \$ 25,000 | 323 | 3,719 | 807 | 2,059 | 240 |
| \$ 25,000 — \$ 50,000 | 441 | 6,233 | 2,154 | 4,785 | 703 |
| \$ 50,000 — \$100,000 | 101 | 2,312 | 1,535 | 1,773 | 636 |
| \$100,000 — \$150,000 | 14 | 482 | 548 | 253 | 281 |
| \$150,000 — \$200,000 | 4 | 174 | 292 | 81 | 169 |
| \$200,000 — \$500,000 | 5 | 209 | 582 | 77 | 452 |
| \$500,000 — \$1,000,000 | 1 | 32 | 204 | — | 239 |
| \$1,000,000 or more | less than 500 | 13 | 284 | — | 285 |

times as much income comes from dividends, interest and capital gains sources as from salaries — although the "less than 500" hardly pay themselves negligible salaries.

It is also clear from this table that although there may be more individual share owners in the "below \$15,000" level, as we have seen earlier, they receive less income from share earning than those in the upper bracket. Notice that 46,386,000 or 96.5 percent of the returns shown were filed for declared incomes of \$15,000 a year or lower. But these individuals received only \$5.6 billion or 43 percent of the total dividend and interest income.

On the other hand, 3.5 percent of those filing returns, for incomes higher than \$15,000, received 57 percent of the dividend and interest income.

(An additional point might be made that isn't clearly evident from the condensed table. In the capital gains category, small profits from sales of businesses are included along with huge profits from stock transactions. Note that the capital gains category is quite small in relation to the other categories for lower income levels, while it gets very large in the higher levels. One thing that is shown here is that most small share owners do not speculate on the stock market. Their share-ownership is roughly equivalent to owning Treasury Bonds or having savings accounts. In the high income brackets, on the other hand, millions of dollars are made in capital gains derived simply from stock manipulations.)

The figures for income sources in 1960, at least, clearly demonstrate the stratification of income levels in America. They show a sharp division between those who work for a living and those who own for a living. Comparing the extremes in this table, about 10 million Americans in 1960 declared incomes of less than \$3,000. They received \$532 million in dividend and interest income — roughly \$50.00 apiece. About 25,000 Americans declared incomes of \$100,000 or higher, and they collected \$1.8 billion in dividend and interest income. That comes to roughly \$72,000 apiece.

Few Own Much

The plain fact is that a small number of people with high and sometimes immense incomes own a disproportionately large number of stocks and receive most of the income from stocks, bonds and other securities. Among the masses of Americans, some own stock, but in negligible quantities as far as income and control of corporations is concerned.

The question nevertheless remains, how many shares of a given corporation do the people who direct it actually own? What percentage of the corporation's stock do they hold?

These questions are not easily answered. There are no laws in this country which require the capitalists to declare their holdings in corporations, even though they may thus become the bosses

of hundreds of thousands of workers. Nor do they have to declare their stock ownership on an individual basis.

There are, however, two laws relative to stock ownership: The Securities and Exchange Commission requires all officers in a corporation to declare their ownership in that particular corporation, and it requires any individual who is not an officer to declare his ownership if it is 10 percent or greater.

The first law is somewhat helpful, while the second one tends to be almost meaningless. Not required to register ownership are institutions such as mutual and pension funds, banks, trusts and other financial institutions of this type — which as a matter of fact are giant stockholders. In general, the growth of share ownership in this country is the result of shifts from savings accounts into mutual funds.

But control of the banks and insurance companies works the same way as corporate control: Decisions are made and advantages are gained by the giant investors, not by the hundreds of thousands of small savers and policy holders. Thus these financial institutions become another way through which the capitalist class extends and exerts its control.

Bank Control

A family like the Rockefellers holds no offices in the Standard Oil group, and no individual member owns more than 10 percent directly. But it is quite possible that the Rockefellers actually control 10 percent or more of Standard Oil through their control of Chase Manhattan Bank. It is this kind of control which completely evades the public eye.

Nevertheless, it is instructive to examine a big corporation governed by SEC regulations, because even though the officers listed do not include all major owners, they are at least a representative sample.

General Motors, which *Fortune* magazine listed as the largest U.S. industrial corporation in 1964, is a good example. In the previous year, according to *Fortune*, GM had total sales of \$16.4 billion, a profit of \$1.6 billion, and it employed an average of 640,073 workers. The total number of shareholders in GM is tremendous.

In its 1965 annual report, GM listed 285,585,486 outstanding shares and 1,310,000 stockholders. GM gave the following breakdown of share ownership: 41.3 percent of its owners, the report stated, own only 1-25 shares; 17.5 percent own 26-50 shares; 18.8 percent own 51-100 shares; 10.5 percent own 101-200 shares; and only 11.9 percent own over 201 shares each.

This breakdown completely coincides with the data we have already examined. Over 88 percent of the GM owners own 200 or fewer shares — and most of them many fewer. Two hundred GM shares — worth about \$16,000 at present market value — may seem like a lot to most of us, but it comes nowhere near classifying

its owner in the upper category of American society.

What about the members of the GM board of directors? As of June 10, the 28 GM directors, not including the late Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., had reported to the SEC that they and their families owned 2,157,859 shares. That is an average of over 75,000 shares — \$6 million worth — per family.

The 1966 directors of GM include Richard K. Mellon, whose family holds 249,221 shares, valued at roughly \$21 million, and John L. Pratt, individually owning 646,426 shares. These names should ring a familiar bell.

Both are members of America's "Sixty Families." This term was coined by Ferdinand Lundberg in his 1937 study of America's wealthiest families — a study that to this date has not been equalled in scope or comprehension.

Neither the Mellon wealth, nor Pratt's, originally derives from General Motors, which in Lundberg's study was found to be over 25 percent-owned by the duPont family. In Mellon's case, it comes from the Aluminum Company of America, and in Pratt's, from Standard Oil. Thus their giant holdings in GM do not constitute the source of their fortunes, but are merely extensions of them.

Mellon, who is the Chairman of the Board of the Mellon National Bank and Trust Company, owned 665,587 shares of ALCOA as of Feb. 11, according to the most recent proxy statement of that corporation. According to present market values, this would be about \$58 million worth.

Mellon's income in dividends from his stockholdings in GM and ALCOA alone would come to over \$5 million a year. This is the "less than 500" category of 1960 income tax filers. And it is here — in the two-ten-thousandths of one percent bracket on incomes — that actual control of the big U.S. corporations rests.

(To be continued)

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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.]

Memorial Tribute

Cleveland, Ohio
Mrs. Joyce Arnett, young mother of three, was the first victim of police repression in the Hough-area rebellion last month. Local newspapers shed crocodile tears over the death, describing her as an innocent victim of "criminal rioting" by "hoodlums." But they are unconcerned about the masses in the ghetto, all of whom are innocent victims of a racist society and a bigoted city administration. Nor did the grand jury, in its whitewash of the facts about the uprising, even bother to examine Mrs. Arnett's murder, which the coroner has attributed to a bullet of the same caliber used by the police.

Nor have any of the power-structure newspapers or investigators learned that Mrs. Arnett was a freedom fighter herself. Last summer, she was a staunch and militant supporter of the rent strike in Alhambra Village, one of the worst buildings in the Hough slums.

She was a victim then, too, of the same power structure when she, along with dozens of other striking tenants, was evicted for non-payment of rent.

The police, who put her and her little children on the street on behalf of an exploiting slumlord, are the same police who are today defending the interests of the same exploiters in keeping the black people "in their place" by force and violence when they revolt against intolerable living conditions.

Yes, Joyce Arnett was a victim. But she was also a fighter against her victimization. Her memory will be preserved by the black people of Cleveland as the Crispus Attucks of the Hough Rebellion.

Douglas Brown

Fan-Mail Dep't

New York, N.Y.
The mark of a revolutionary is whether he or she can study the past, see in what direction it moved, and analyze the present situation to determine where things are going — and then to act on it, of course.

This came to mind when I was looking through the files of bound volumes of *The Militant*. I came across a front-page headline dated Feb. 10, 1964, which declared: "It's High Time to Bring GIs Home from Vietnam."

T.R.

United Political Action

Long Beach, Calif.
I think it is time for a Socialist Labor Party or a Progressive Labor Party to really run for office and clear out some of the old deadwood in the Congress and Senate which we have been

plagued with for so many years. The U.S. and the world will not progress unless this happens, as it is the capitalist policies pushed by the U.S.A. as the most powerful exponent of these policies that is responsible for 80 percent of the world's troubles.

It's high time that the various leftist groups, socialist groups, etc., united on a common program to produce the socialist state. I know that different concepts on these subjects have separated these groups in the past, but unless they unite on a common program their efforts will be futile.

J.W.

For Legalized Abortions

San Francisco, Calif.
On Aug. 18, Patricia Maginnis, leader of a committee to legalize abortions in the State of California, challenged the city ordinance which bans distribution of literature advertising abortions. Her challenge and organization are part of the continuing struggle that reflects changing attitudes and conditions of life. Miss Maginnis' organization for a while was centered among the students at San Francisco State College. Hers is the latest of a whole series of challenges to the present laws.

Several months ago, almost two dozen doctors in the Bay Area were charged with illegal abortions in test cases where the women had been exposed to measles. The SWP has never been one to tail-end the struggle. In the 1963 SWP San Francisco mayoralty campaign, the demand for legalized abortion was included, but was qualified by the call for a panel of psychiatrists, doctors and sociologists to rule on requests.

Today the climate has changed so completely in the Bay Area that qualifications become outrageous. Two years ago Dr. Garrett Hardin, a distinguished biologist and educator, called for the abandonment of all legal barriers to abortion. In a public lecture on the Berkeley campus, he argued his case for "abortion and human dignity." Any woman, at any time, should be able to procure a legal abortion without even giving a reason. "Abortion on demand," Dr. Hardin declared, "has the same purpose as all birth control methods: to free women from a now endless form of slavery, to make a woman master of her own body."

And he added: "The emancipation of women is not complete until women are free to avoid the pregnancies they do not want. Ethical systems which deny women this freedom are the product of men, the residue of an ancient world in which women were, quite literally, put in a legal class with children, idiots and slaves."

Dr. Hardin insisted that current efforts to legalize certain abortions under stringently controlled regulation by committees of physicians are dangerous halfway measures. By ringing abortions with red tape, such a law might well delay the procedure until it becomes dangerous, he maintained.

The best estimates indicate that somewhere around a million

American women undergo illegal abortions each year, Dr. Hardin said. Most of the women are married, and most of the abortions are performed by licensed physicians, he said.

In the light of Dr. Hardin's remarks, the changed attitudes and the continuing struggle, I think the Socialist Workers Party should remove its qualifications from the demand for legalized abortions as expressed in the SF mayoralty campaign election program in 1963, and *The Militant* should throw its support behind the cases of the doctors and Patricia Maginnis.

Joan Jordan

For Black Nationalism

Detroit, Mich.
The term "black nationalism" has served to cause much apprehension throughout our country, and especially in the liberal community. As a white liberal I have, in the past, strongly opposed such a principle as both divisive and undemocratic. However, upon closer examination, I feel that this entire "problem" is largely one of semantics and the failure of understanding in depth the culture drain upon Negro-Americans. Our history books are devoid of any mention of the contributions of such outstanding men like Du-

Thought for the Week

"WASHINGTON, Aug. 29 (CDN) . . . the Johnson administration is more convinced than ever of the value of bombing in the Vietnam war . . . it is asserted with . . . conviction that there is no sign that the destruction of civilian life and property in south Vietnam is turning the population against the U.S. Orientals have a different attitude toward death, it is argued, and do not seek to lay the blame for the accidental killing of non-combatants."

Bois and Garvey. "White America" has literally robbed the Negro of his very blackness. The Negro must take the lead in his true emancipation and rediscover his direct heritage with the powerful black civilizations that existed in Africa.

Civil rights alone will not help the Negro unless he knows himself; and this can only be done through a massive awakening of the social conscience. Too many of us dismissed the late Malcolm X as simply a "black racist" and thus failed to see that he actually was starting to mount a "crusade" to teach the Negro a sense of reasoned and justified pride in his race. This is what constitutes Black Nationalism! Our black Americans must make their vital contribution to this country by means of their race and not because the white power structure hopes to acclimate the Negro into "think-

ing white." Pride in one's race does not necessarily denote racism or extremist nationalism. Only now is Black Africa emerging from neo-colonialism and basing its independence upon a true concept of its black heritage and culture. This is what the American Negro must do to be truly free.

It is politically and culturally immoral to attempt to mold the Negro into a white image. Both races have their legitimate contribution to make, and they can make it only through their distinct separate character. When the Negro finally discovers who he is, then he will know WHAT he is; and this discovery will finally make him a free American! In this manner I support Black Nationalism and hope that a vigorous "Black America" and a dedicated "White America" will blend into a democratic and just America!

Richard M. Woodruff

It Was Reported in the Press

The Great Society — The *New York Times* advertising section carries numerous glowing offers by employment agencies for imported Latin American domestic help. One such ad announces: "Place Your Order Now for Fall Delivery." Another declares: "If she doesn't live up to your expectations, you may feel free to return her to our office and take advantage of our liberal replacement policy."

With a Southern Drawl? — William Benton, U.S. delegate to UNESCO, called on the administration to intensify its teaching of English throughout the world as "a major goal in the conduct of foreign policy." He said a knowledge of English would "liberate man's mind from ignorance."

Free World Standards — The Saigon regime has a sliding scale of compensation for civilian victims of allied forces. Payments to relatives range from about \$42 to \$254. The amount is determined by the deceased's social standing.

Giving His All — The American people can relax. Secretary of State Dean Rusk has issued an assurance that he has no immediate intention of resigning even though he has exhausted his savings and is now trying to squeak by on his salary of \$700 a week.

The American Way — Young Negroes obtained only 3.7 percent of summer jobs this year, although Negroes are 11 percent of the population. Commenting on these figures, a U.S. Labor Department spokesman said: "They just don't have the connections."

Feature That — On the basis of an extensive study, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare concluded that poor people live differently than non-poor people. The study found, among other things, that poor people tend to get married with less fanfare, that they take patent medicines instead of going to the doctor and that they "buy necessities first, luxuries last." The report didn't say how much it cost to find all this out.

New Fee-Splitting Game? — The Bartenders Union in Dubuque, Iowa, has initiated a program

to have its members refer distressed drinkers to local clergymen for professional advice.

Shopping Hint — Tiffany's now supplies small shopping bags to purchasers of large diamonds.

Real Wild — Outlining a new soap suds advertising campaign, a Lever Bros. spokesman said: "Our advertising campaign is directed to the young marrieds. Maybe their mothers used Rinso and Rinso Blue, but we want them to know that Sunshine Rinso is young and exciting."

Semantics Dep't — Saigon figures on "enemy structures" destroyed include civilian homes. Once destroyed, they are listed as "enemy structures."

A Truly American Magazine — A newspaper ad for *Good Housekeeping* advises potential advertisers that the magazine stands for "Love, Motherhood, Home, Apple Pie and Cold, Hard Cash."

Real Thrifty — A fashion item in the *New York Times* discloses: "Some women of affluence refuse to jump when fashion shouts

'go' . . . Although they can afford to spend more, many of them are drawn to dresses labeled Posh, the majority of which sell for \$90 to \$160."

Florida Standards — Florida officials voted down a proposal to allocate \$20,000 to help relocate 7,000 poverty-stricken Negro families whose homes are being demolished to make way for a new state expressway. Officials expressed sympathy for the plight of the Negro families, but said they didn't know where to get that much money. Meanwhile it was disclosed that the state had sunk \$3.3 million into its exhibit at the World's Fair.

Subversion on Fifth Avenue — The night parade of the Veterans of Foreign Wars down New York's Fifth Avenue which lasted till past midnight drew a flood of complaints to City Hall from irate dwellers of the plush area. VFW spokesmen responded that those who made the complaints should be reprimanded by the mayor and investigated for possible un-American activities.

—Harry Ring

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Berkeley VDC Fights Administration Curbs

The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee was officially banned from the University of California campus Aug. 17 in a transparent move to stifle antiwar activity on that campus. The VDC is probably the most well-known antiwar group in the country.

The grounds for banning the committee, according to one university official, was that it had failed to notify the administration when it sponsored a rally including non-campus speakers, and it owed the bursar "more than \$500" in unpaid bills. Within 24 hours, the VDC had disproved both these charges and demanded an impartial public hearing on the question of the banning of the committee.

Peter Camejo, a VDC steering committee member, pointed out that the rally in question had not been sponsored by the VDC but rather by the ad hoc committee for the August 6-9 days of protests; and he produced a bill for \$281.72 which had been charged to the VDC, but was actually owed by a San Francisco rock n' roll promoter for a dance sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"Deliberate Act"

"It's obviously a deliberate act on the university's part to suppress us rather than enforcing the rules," Camejo charged. "The French Club, for instance, wouldn't be penalized this way." In a letter to the administration demanding a public hearing before a non-partisan group, Camejo protested that the university had violated the right of free speech and was acting "as judge, jury, and executioner all at once."

In a related development, the university fired a 22-year-old graduate student, Karen Liberman, from a campus job on the grounds that she had been su-



Peter Camejo

spended earlier in the year for activities in the Peace Rights Organizing Committee. It was a mistake to hire her, one official stated. Her suspension "was regarded as necessary for the welfare of the campus community."

At a rally held to protest both the banning of the VDC and the firing of Mrs. Liberman, Camejo called the administration a "monarchy by appointment. . . It's easy to find a criteria to kick groups off campus if you write the laws."

He stated that "the firing is the first political firing in California in many many years," adding that people have a right to hold campus jobs regardless of their political beliefs.

The ban on the VDC will run to Oct. 3, at which time the Committee will have to request recognition from the administration.

Detroit Cops Create a 'Riot'; Ghetto Residents Framed Up

By Judy Hagans

DETROIT — A broad defense movement is coming to the aid of victims of a police frame-up of ghetto residents and black militants here. One hundred and eighteen people were arrested between Aug. 9 and 12 in a so-called "riot" in Detroit's predominantly Negro east side.

Every leader and many members of two organizations, ACME (Adult Community Movement for Equality) and AAYM (Afro-American Youth Movement), were arrested during the three nights. Al Harrison, Thomas Abston, Moses Wedlow and James Roberts have been charged with inciting to riot. Their arrests were based on the testimony of two juvenile police witnesses who said they attended AAYM meetings and were instructed in terrorist tactics to be used against white people and the police.

The police and the white press of Detroit have cooperated completely to present a biased, one-sided accounting of the events. An organization called Citizens for Fair Law Enforcement was forced to buy a large ad in the *Detroit Free Press* to counteract and refute the distortions which had been printed about the incident.

An Invasion

What actually occurred was an invasion of a Negro neighborhood, intimidation and harassment of the residents by the police and provocation and wholesale arrests of many innocent people. Those bearing the brunt of the police attack were the militant members of the two groups. For the last two years, first ACME and then its predecessor, AAYM, have been waging a war against police brutality and



Milton Henry

harassment from their office on Kercheval Avenue. They have staged demonstrations, held street rallies, circulated petitions, and published periodicals exposing the police for their brutal actions in the ghetto.

The trouble began when Wilbert McClendon, Clarence Reed and James Roberts were ordered by four cops in a cruiser to move from where they were standing. McClendon, a former co-chairman of ACME asked, "For what?" The three were immediately arrested for loitering. During the arrest, Clarence Reed was beaten so badly that he was taken to Detroit General Hospital for treatment. The police say that the trio began yelling that the riot had started, so additional forces were requested. Within a minute, between 15 and 25 squad cars arrived. For the next 72 hours, the area was literally under martial law.

2,500 Cops

The *Free Press* of Aug. 12 reported that in accordance with a three-year-old "Riot Plan A," Police Commissioner Girardin assigned 2,500 cops to the area. This massive force included 19 "heavily armed, specially trained" Tactical Mobile Unit (TMU) cars, and "two squads of motorcycle patrolmen trained as commandos and armed with rifles, shotguns, tear gas and machine guns."

The *Detroit News* reported that "Mounted Division men with bayonets on their riot guns were rushed into the area." Three squads of cops on foot marched in forty-man "waves" down Kercheval, using bullhorns to tell the angry and indignant residents to go back home.

The presence of this terrible display of force was answered with bricks and bottles hurled at the invading army.

Despite the use of a riot plan and riot cops, Girardin continually insisted that there was no riot. The elements weren't present for a riot, he said.

Councilman's Statement

Detroit's only Negro councilman, Rev. Hood, issued a statement that the police were harassing the residents of the community.

A cop shouted out of his TMU car window at a group of people standing outside the AAYM office, "Get off the street, niggers." The group contained members of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission and U.S. Representative Charles Diggs.

Four affiliates of the AAYM,

General Baker, Glanton Dowdell, Rufus Griffin and Nobel Smith, were also arrested early Aug. 10 on the freeway. They were charged with carrying concealed weapons. Police reports concerning these arrests are contradictory. Different versions as to where and why the arrests took place have been presented.

Will Be Tried

The four have been bound over for trial. Prosecuting attorney Nolan had tried to enter a statement by an FBI agent working among black militants in the city which supposedly led to the arrests, but refused to present the witness at the pre-trial hearing. Defense attorney Milton Henry objected to what he referred to as the "words of a faceless informer" and the evidence was thrown out of court.

The charges against the original three arrested have been increased to participating in a riot, conspiracy to incite a riot, inciting a riot and obstructing an officer in the performance of his duty. Six white persons arrested on their way to the area with molotov cocktails in their car were never arraigned.

19 Lawyers

Despite the fact that members of both ACME and AAYM were seen trying to calm down the crowd during the nights of police harassment, these high-punishment charges still stand. Nineteen lawyers have pledged their energies to the defense of all those arrested. Federal suits have been filed demanding that charges be dropped because the constitutional rights of those arrested have been violated.

Protests are also being made that a fair trial is impossible at this time because the defendants have already been tried by the newspapers. The only paper which has reported the events fairly has been the Negro weekly, the *Michigan Chronicle*.

This vicious attack on black militants is another attempt by the ruling class to stifle all voices of opposition to its racist policies. And, the attack has served as a training ground for Detroit cops. They staged a fake "riot" so that they could better prepare themselves for a possible real revolt.

Thousands of dollars must be raised for the defense of the victims of the police "war games." Contributions can be sent to: Afro-American Youth Movement, 9211 Kercheval, Detroit, Mich.

Protests Urged For Hugo Blanco

An appeal has been made for letters of protest against the reported plan of the Peruvian government to execute Hugo Blanco. The revolutionary socialist peasant leader has been held prisoner since 1963 and now faces a secret military trial.

Blanco had organized peasant unions in the Cruzco region of Peru, which led struggles for land reform.

Letters of protest should be sent to: Presidente Fernando Belaunde Terry, Lima, Peru, and to the Tercera Zona Judicial de Policia de Arequipa, Peru.

Any contributions for Blanco's defense sent to this paper will be forwarded.

PHILADELPHIA 'DYNAMITE' CHARGE

Rights Forces Hit Frame-Up

PHILADELPHIA — A preliminary hearing was held here Aug. 22 in the case of six young men charged with possession of dynamite. The case has been the subject of a big scare campaign about civil rights "terrorism." James Forman of SNCC and other rights leaders have branded the whole affair a police frame-up. At the hearing, more than 300 people packed the courtroom in response to a call by SNCC.

Four rights activists and two unaffiliated individuals were arrested Aug. 13 in sensational staged raids involving 200 heavily armed cops. The raids were on the SNCC headquarters, the Freedom Library, the Young Militants Corps and a private apartment. After the raids, the cops claimed they found two-and-a-half sticks of dynamite (without caps) under a couch in the private apartment, which they falsely labelled a SNCC headquarters. Only literature was seized at the other offices.

Police Slander

Acting Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, well-known for his hostility to the rights movement, told newsmen the raided headquarters were being used as a storage place for arms. He branded those arrested as "thugs and hoodlums" and asserted a serious incident had been averted.

The dynamite was found in the apartment by an unaccompanied officer after ten cops had searched it for 15 minutes. Pictures of the "evidence" splashed all over the

papers were made at police headquarters, not where it was allegedly found.

The police said they acted on a tip from an informer whose identity they refuse to disclose.

Those originally arrested were Barry Dawson, a SNCC worker, and George Brower, Eugene Dawkins and Carol West of the Young Militants Corps. They were advised by their attorney, NAACP President Cecil Moore, to cooperate with the police. The cops then reportedly got some kind of a statement from Dawson which they have frequently referred to, but never released.

Assertedly on the basis of this statement, warrants were issued for Winston Eley, unaffiliated, and Fred Meeley, former Philadelphia SNCC chairman. Eley gave himself up. He, too, made a statement leading to the arrest of John Jenkins, also unaffiliated, a construction worker who allegedly obtained the dynamite.

Bail was originally set at \$50,000 each. But at the hearing, the prosecutor moved to reduce bail for Dawson to \$7,500 and to \$1,000 each for Eley and Jenkins. The others were released as "peripheral" to the case.

Len Holt, the civil rights attorney, was retained by SNCC to represent Barry Dawson. He sought unsuccessfully to obtain copies of statements allegedly made by defendants, and the name of the police informant. He also sought to obtain a copy of the original complaint, charging that

an FBI agent had been one of the plaintiffs.

Presiding Judge, Leo Weinrott, who recently convicted four rights demonstrators who had been beaten by cops at Girard College, rejected Holt's contention that no criminal intent or conspiracy had been shown. He read from an editorial in the morning paper and from a speech by President Johnson on the need for "responsibility," the rule of "law" and the protection of private property in seeking social change. He expressed his gratitude to the police.

The case has been used for an orgy of anti-civil-rights propaganda which seeks to associate black power with terrorism. SNCC has been the principal target of this smear campaign.

Forman, who came here to take charge of the defense, has been denounced by Commissioner Rizzo as an "outsider" who had "injected race" into the case!

After the hearing, a rally was held outside City Hall. It was addressed by Forman and Walter Palmer, a militant nationalist leader. Palmer denounced the war in Vietnam and "white racist capitalism." He said black people must take a revolutionary course, declaring: "Take down JFK and Jesus from your wall and put up Malcolm X."

Forman urged a grass-roots defense in the case. He too called for withdrawal from Vietnam and spoke of black consciousness and unity as part of a world-wide black revolt.