

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 38 Monday, October 24, 1966 Price 10c

LBJ's Terms Prevail at GE

By Farrell Dobbs

A new contract providing modest wage gains for General Electric workers has been ratified by leading bodies of 11 AFL-CIO unions. It restores the principle of a cost-of-living escalator clause which the corporation had knocked out of the contract in 1960. For the first time in years, GE was forced to make a money settlement somewhat above its original offer. The reported pay increase is over five percent a year, considerably above Johnson's "guidelines."

More could have been won if the unions had fought in the spirit of the transit workers and airline mechanics. Many GE workers showed themselves ready for such a fight, and they would have gained tactical advantage by acting before the November elections, especially since Johnson is obviously preparing for a stiffening of the anti-labor laws by the next Congress. Yet the union leadership quickly buckled under Johnson's pressures against a strike, no doubt welcoming the pretext he gave them to avoid a showdown with the labor-hating corporation.

Escalator Clause

Under the new escalator clause, the percentage of wage increases will lag behind the rate of climb in war-inflated prices. If the cost of living rises between 2 and 3 percent during a given 12-month measuring period, workers will get a 1 percent increase in pay; if living costs rise 3 to 3.5 percent, they will receive a 1.5 percent increase, etc. The clause provides that the workers will receive not less than 3 and not more than 10.5 cents an hour in cost-of-living increases during the life of the three year and 26 day contract.

Total wage and benefit increases, including both hikes in job rates and pay rises through the escalator clause, are reported to average 17 cents an hour each year. The minimum wage increase will be 6 cents an hour, a figure that means a raise for workers in GE's Southern plants where job rates are below the corporation



Strikebreaker of the Year.

average. Straight wage increases on a corporation-wide basis will raise the average pay of GE workers from the present \$2.84 an hour to \$3.12 an hour over the length of the contract.

Other items include a ninth paid holiday in 1968; longer vacations; improved pension, health and welfare benefits; and more pay for skilled workers.

Opposition

The new contract has been approved by a four-to-one vote of the GE conference board of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). Opposition to the settlement stems from several causes. The workers are stuck for three years with a defective escalator clause in the face of runaway prices. There was no correction of geographical differentials in job rates, which run as high as 80 cents an hour. Union officials gave up the demand for a reduced work week with no cut in pay. Perhaps the biggest aggravation of all, to those opposing the settlement, was the failure to do anything about the big backlog

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How Vietnam Changed A Reporter's Mind

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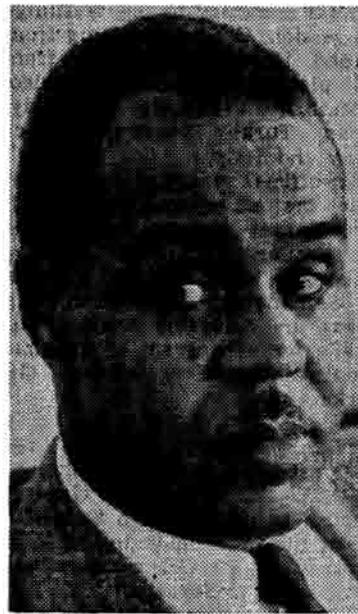
Black Power Attacked By Old-Guard Leaders

By Barry Sheppard

In a three-quarter page advertisement in the Oct. 14 *New York Times*, seven leaders of the conservative wing of the Negro movement attacked the concepts of black power. The form of the ad was a "restatement of basic principles."

Without mentioning the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) or the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or black power, these leaders declare: "There is nothing new about these principles. What is new are the conditions which compel us to restate them — not the least of which is their abandonment by some individuals and groups whose positions are nevertheless frequently interpreted as representing the civil rights movement." Neither CORE nor SNCC, who are advocates of black power, were asked to sign the statement, because "of our assumption that they were not likely to be in accord," said Dr. John A. Morell of the NAACP.

The ad was signed by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP; Bayard Rustin; Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Amos T. Hall, executive secretary of the Conference of Grand Masters, Prince Hall Ma-



Roy Wilkins

sons; and Hobson R. Reynolds, grand exalted ruler, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has switched back and forth on the question. In an interview in the Oct. 10 *Times*, King said that "some of his advisers" believe the "black power movement is directly responsible for much of the sharp opposition that the civil

rights movement has encountered in recent weeks" (see *Militant*, Oct. 17).

When asked if he was considering a campaign in opposition to CORE and SNCC, King replied "Yes."

King did not sign the advertisement. Then, on Oct. 15, at a press conference, he endorsed the statement. The *Times* explained this as King's backing of "Negro repudiation of black power concepts." But at the same press conference, King said, "It is a false assumption that the so-called white backlash is caused by the slogan 'black power.' Actually, the black power slogan has been exploited by the decision makers to justify resistance to change."

King made a further "clarification" on Oct. 16, saying he endorsed the four major principles of the advertisement, but he was not signing it because he feared it might be interpreted as an attempt to "excommunicate" organizations like CORE and SNCC. He reiterated his opposition to the "black power slogan" the *Times* said.

King's role has been to join in the condemnation of black power while attempting to maintain his image as a militant leader and not isolate himself altogether from the supporters of the black power organizations, whose concepts lie closest to the aspirations of the black masses. That this position

(Continued on Page 4)

SALUTE TO ANTIWAR SLATE

New York Election Dinner

NEW YORK — Friends and supporters of the Socialist Workers gubernatorial slate will get together at a Salute to the Antiwar Candidates dinner to be held here Saturday evening, Oct. 29.

In addition to Judy White, gubernatorial candidate, and her running mates, a number of in-

dependent voters who are supporting the SWP antiwar slate will be special guests at the dinner. Among those who will make brief statements of support for the Socialist Workers ticket are:

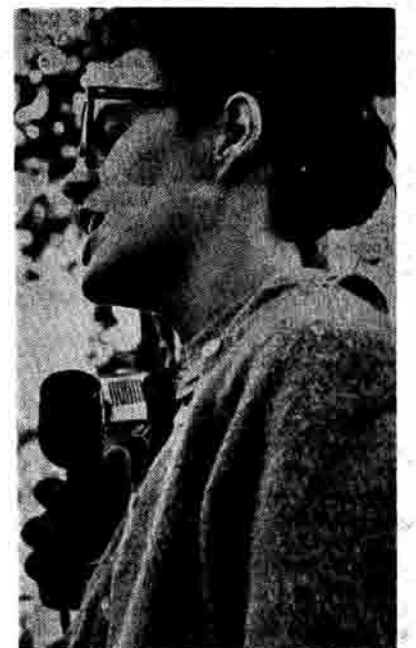
John Gerassi, authority on Latin America and coordinator of the American Branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; Grace Mora Newman, sister of antiwar GI Dennis Mora; James Houghton, director of the Harlem Unemployment Center; Denzil Longton of Citizens Committee Against Napalm; Peter Seidman of the Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam; Linda Dannenberg of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; and Mark Feinstein, co-chairman of Queens College SDS.

The buffet dinner, which will be held at the Militant Labor Forum hall, 873 Broadway, will begin at 6 p.m. The program will be at 8 p.m.

Rita Shaw, campaign manager, announced that independent endorsements of the SWP slate are still being made. Recent endorsements include: Nelson Blackstock and Patrick Evans of the Atlanta, Ga., Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Prof. John A. Strong and Prof. Robert J. Cooke of Southampton College in Long Island; George E. Wells and Da-

vid Reeder, Southampton College students; Mark Feinstein, co-chairman of Queens College SDS; and Emma Jean Macafay of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The complete list of endorsers, numbering about a hundred, will appear in a full-page advertisement (Continued on Page 6)



Judy White

How to Get Drafted in Vietnam

QUI NHON, Vietnam — A 299th Engineer Combat Battalion soldier, who is a first generation Japanese American, recently experienced a very embarrassing moment when he was mistakenly drafted into the Vietnamese Army at Qui Nhon. As Specialist Four, Alfred B. Lee, 20, who works as a personnel specialist with HQ Company, was returning from pass at Qui Nhon recently, he noticed a Vietnamese Army truck stopped further up the road, with a serious-looking ARVN soldier waving him over with an M1 carbine. The civilian-clad specialist followed his natural instinct and accepted the soldier's invitation.

Lee was ushered into the truck in which several Vietnamese civilians were dejectedly sitting. By virtue of sign language, he then realized that he had just been drafted into the Army of the Republic of South Vietnam. Fortunately for SP4 Lee, some of his buddies, who had been watching the scene from inside the nearby 299th Battalion compound, rushed down the road with the Battalion interpreter and saved the day by explaining that Lee was presently on active duty in the U.S. Army. — *The Vietnam Guardian* (Saigon), last Aug. 3, as reported in *I. F. Stone's Weekly* of Oct. 10.

SWP Nominees On TV and Radio

NEW YORK — The following radio and television broadcasts are scheduled for the Socialist Workers nominees:

Sunday, Oct. 23: Judy White, WHM Radio, 10:35 a.m. Judy White, Paul Bouteille, Ralph Levitt, WNBC-TV, 10:30 a.m.

Tues., Oct. 25: Richard Garza, Channel 31, UHF, 6 p.m.

Sunday, Oct. 30: Richard Garza, WMCA radio, 12:30 a.m. Judy White, WABC-TV, 1 p.m. Ralph Levitt, WNEW-TV, 9 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 6: Judy White, WCBS-TV, 12:15 p.m.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Background on GE Dispute

General Electric, the giant monopoly corporation that has spearheaded a union-busting drive in the electrical industry, could easily meet in full the just demands of its unionized employees in the present wage dispute. The AFL-CIO reports that GE's profits after taxes have risen 100 percent in the last six years.

A key factor in this profits grab has been a rise of 26 percent in labor productivity between 1960 and 1965. Output per worker (based on company sales) was \$3,135 higher than the average of 26 other electrical manufacturers, all competitors of GE.

Another factor contributing to GE's fabulous profits is the use of various dodges to fix robber prices and monopolize sales of electrical products. One such dodge, in the marketing of light bulbs, has been disclosed in a current anti-trust action brought against GE by the U.S. Department of Justice.

The corporation is charged with fixing prices for bulbs at artificially high levels which dealers cannot cut, doing so through a series of agency contracts with its wholesalers and retailers. The government states that GE controlled about 50 percent of total industry sales of bulbs in 1963, grossing more than \$173 million.

GE's desire for uniformly high rates nationally, which it manifests in fixing prices for electrical products, does not extend to its wage policy. The corporation undertakes to base its wage structure on prevailing rates in each separate city where it has a plant. As a result, geographical differentials in job rates are often as high as 80 cents an hour.

In terms of national averages, GE workers earn 20 to 25 cents an hour less than workers of comparable skills in aerospace, auto and steel.

In opposing wage increases, General Electric contends that to meet union demands would mean loss of business to foreign competitors and consequent loss of jobs for GE workers. The AFL-CIO has debunked this argument with some pertinent facts.

GE is an international corporation with subsidiaries in at least 31 countries. It has four main competitors abroad, which it labels the "Fearsome Four," in propaganda designed to deceive GE

workers. In 1963, profits per employee for the "Fearsome Four" were \$270 — for GE, the figure was \$1,080. With an edge of more than 3 to 1 in profits per employee, GE could easily meet union wage demands and still outstrip its foreign competitors in profit making, due to its intensive exploitation of labor.

Delegates representing GE workers in plants abroad were invited to an AFL-CIO session held in Washington last May. The aim was to solicit their cooperation with the newly-formed AFL-CIO Committee on Collective Bargaining.

The invitation was extended through the International Metal Workers Federation, which sent its general secretary to the Washington session. Others attending from abroad included delegates from GE plants in Canada, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Uruguay, Japan, Turkey, Australia, Germany and Italy.

An official report of the session states that all present were in full accord that unions everywhere face similar problems in their negotiations with GE. In addition to exchanging information and ideas, the delegates worked out details for a program of international cooperation among GE workers.

In this country, unofficial reports set the total membership of 11 AFL-CIO unions in General Electric at 125,000, with about 80,000 of the total belonging to IUE. Another 26,000 GE workers belong to UE (independent).

Union membership at Westinghouse is said to include about 40,000 in the AFL-CIO, mostly in IUE, and around 20,000 additional, who are members of UE.

UE has been excluded from the union bargaining coalition set up by the AFL-CIO.

A fighting mood in the ranks of the electrical workers is revealed by recent walkouts at various General Electric plants around the country. An estimated 44,000 workers have been involved.

To cite a few examples: some 12,000 workers struck at Schenectady; 4,000 at Syracuse; 2,000 at Ashland, Mass.; 1,100 at Detroit; 500 at Milwaukee. Members of both the IUE (AFL-CIO) and UE (independent) have been involved in these and other stoppages.

The strikers, who walked out

over local disputes and outstanding grievances, ignored Johnson's contention that a strike against GE would "damage the Vietnam war effort." A local union official in Schenectady said, "The presidential request [that there be no strike over a new contract] has nothing to do with us."

Top union officials have sought a quick end to the walkouts called by local unions. They have also given major prominence to a demand that General Electric agree to arbitrate grievances, a step the corporation has refused to take in the past. Complaining that GE has left the union no recourse but to strike over unsettled grievances, an AFL-CIO ad, published in major newspapers Oct. 12, said, "We want to substitute the judicial process for the law of the jungle."

This demand — which GE has rejected — shows the typical reaction of labor bureaucrats to an arrogant corporation that cynically violates any contract it may sign and then dares the union to do something about it. Misleaders steeped in class-collaborationist notions begin looking for a mythical "impartial" arbitrator to take them off the hook, if only they can get the corporation to join them in being "statesman-like."

The catch is that there is no such animal as an "impartial" arbitrator in worker-capitalist disputes. Arbitrators always wind up being "neutral" on the capitalist side. GE knows that, and it is not fearful of arbitration as such. It is simply contemptuous of the fighting capacity of the top union officials and figures it can beat them through the very "law of the jungle" about which the union bureaucrats complain.

Actually there is no escape for the workers from the "law of the jungle," if their rights and interests are to be defended. Unions should never surrender the right to strike, and they should stand ready to use it whenever a capitalist fails to live up to a working agreement. In fact, many GE workers appear to have come to the realization that the only way you can hold your own against a labor-hating corporation is to fight it. Their comprehension of that fact seems reflected in a union report that up to July 25 there were 30 strikes over unsettled grievances in GE plants this year.

The missing ingredient is a union leadership with the ability and courage to carry through a showdown fight against the labor-hating corporation.

...GE Settlement

(Continued from Page 1)

of unsettled grievances which exist throughout all GE plants.

While contract negotiations were going on, thousands of GE workers struck at various plants over local issues, and they were developing strong momentum toward a national walkout in a general showdown with the corporation. GE arrogantly responded by declaring it would maintain an "open-plant" policy; that is, it would try to break any strike the unions called. Caught in a bind between worker militancy and corporation arrogance, the top union officials presented the ludicrous spectacle of both talking tough and whining about GE's lack of "statesmanship." They were obviously yearning for the White House to take them off the hook.

When the previous GE contract expired, Johnson stepped in on Oct. 2 to demand a two-week postponement of any strike on the pretext that it would interfere with the war in Vietnam. The union and GE negotiators were called into a briefing session by the top brass at the Pentagon where they were lectured about "jeopardizing the war effort." Johnson demanded that the negotiations be moved from New York to Washington where constant pressure could be brought to bear on the timid union officials.

Not a Threat

GE brushed aside Johnson's pitch about Vietnam, stating that it carried on war production in less than 12 of its 165 plants. "We would hope that responsible union officials would refrain from work stoppages in these few locations," the corporation piously said. "Then, any strike in our other plants would be no threat to our national security." GE plainly felt that it had the measure of the weak union leadership, and it didn't want Johnson to interfere with its plans to break any attempted strike.

Johnson still wanted to prevent a strike and he could do so only by forcing the unions to give in. So it can be assumed that he pulled a few strings to get GE to make further small concessions to the workers, and then he publicly confronted the union leadership with the threat of a Taft-Hartley injunction if a strike was called. The top AFL-CIO officials folded under Johnson's pressure, grabbed the new small concessions as a face-saving device and settled on the corporation's terms.

Boulwareism

Johnson performed this strike-breaking act for a monopoly corporation that has long ridden roughshod over the workers. Its own union-busting policy, named "Boulwareism" after a GE vice president, is looked upon as a model by other labor-hating corporations. GE has bombarded its employees the year round with anti-union propaganda. When a contract came up for negotiation, it made a limited money offer, calculated to split labor's ranks, and stuck to it. The last successful national walkout against GE took place in 1946. Since then, strike after strike has been broken, and in 1960 "Boulwareism" needed only about three weeks to defeat an attempted corporation-wide tieup.

At the time of the successful 1946 strike, the GE workers were compactly organized in the United Electrical Workers (UE), then a CIO affiliate. In 1949 the UE was expelled from the CIO on witch-hunt charges of "Communist domination." At that time, a right-wing split-off formed the IUE, a present AFL-CIO affiliate, and since then, UE and IUE have functioned as rival unions in electrical manufacturing. The expulsion of UE from the CIO was taken as a signal for various craft unions to grab off members in the industry and this helps to account for the

present division of GE workers among 12 different unions.

"Boulwareism" was designed to capitalize on a situation in which a single giant corporation faced a conglomeration of weak unions. Its essence has been a "take it or leave it" bargaining policy which counted on the use of capitulation by one or another union as a wedge to force the rest into line. The policy has worked with fiendish efficiency at the expense of the GE workers.

In an effort to strengthen the union forces, the AFL-CIO formed a bargaining coalition of its 11 affiliates with members at GE. From the outset, there was a major flaw in the coalition due to the factional exclusion of UE. Another critical flaw has been the weakness of the AFL-CIO leadership which has wound up setting the stage for yet another capitulatory and piecemeal contract settlement.

As a result, the workers at Westinghouse, where the unions are stronger than in GE, are put at a disadvantage in using their strength, and the corporation is in a good position to ride into a cheap settlement on the coattails of GE. The UE, which has to go it alone in its continuing negotiations at both GE and Westinghouse, finds its position compromised by the AFL-CIO settlement with GE. In addition, the national settlement leaves local issues at GE plants unresolved, and many of these issues are sore points with the workers.

Local Grievances

On the heels of the IUE conference board's ratification of the new pact, some 34,000 workers struck at 10 GE plants over unresolved local contract terms and unsettled grievances. Their anger could hardly have been cooled down by the news just released that GE made a profit of about \$272 million in the first nine months of this year, a rise of 14 percent over last year's take. This jump in corporation profits is over four times as big as the maximum percentage of wage increases allowed under Johnson's "guidelines."

Johnson has already started to invoke Taft-Hartley injunctions against the local strikes in GE plants, still using the pretext that they interfere with the war in Vietnam. But an 80-day "cooling off" period won't stop the speed-up on production lines, it won't correct discriminatory wage differentials, and it won't clear up the big backlog of grievances.

It follows that worker militants will be looking for opportunities to fight in defense of their interests, seeking tactical advantage from the fact that the new contract still leaves them free to strike over disputes about its enforcement. In that respect, a fighting membership can turn to its advantage GE's rejection of the union leadership's plea for "statesmanlike" arbitration of disputes under the contract. It can also be expected that in due course the workers will turn to the long overdue task of a general housecleaning in the union leadership.

Weekly Calendar of Events

BOSTON

COUNTERREVOLUTION IN INDONESIA. Speaker: Ralph Levitt, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York State Controller. Fri., Oct. 28, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

NEOCOLONIALISM IN GHANA. Speaker: Ernest Benjamin, asst. professor, political science dept., Wayne State University. Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MARXIST COMMENTARY. A bi-weekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., Oct. 31, 6 p.m. (repeated Thurs. Nov. 3, 1 p.m.) KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM. Weekly sessions. Thursdays at 7:30 p.m., The Chinese Revolution, Theodore Edwards; Fridays at 8:00 p.m., The Heritage of Malcolm X, George Jones; Saturdays at 2:00 p.m., The Philosophy of History, Max Goldman; and Sundays at 11:00 a.m., Women and Society, Della Rossa. 1702 E. Fourth St. AN 9-4953.

NEW YORK

A DINNER in behalf of the antiwar candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Meet the candidates. Hear brief statements of support by: John Gerassi, coordinator of the American branch of the Bertrand Russell war crimes tribunal; Grace Mora Newman, sister of Pvt. Dennis Mora; James Houghton, director, Harlem Unemployment Center; Linda Dannenberg, Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Comm.; Denzil Longton, Citizens Committee on Nepal; Peter Seidman, Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam; Mark Feinstein, co-chairman Queens College SDS. Sat., Oct. 29. Dinner at 6, program at 8 p.m. Contrib. \$2. (program, \$1.) 873 Broadway at 18th St. Ausp. SWP Campaign Comm.

PHILADELPHIA

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Franz J. T. Lee, S. African freedom fighter. Fri., Oct. 28, 8:00 p.m. Church of the Advocate, 18th and Diamond Sts., contrib. \$1.

TWIN CITIES

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION TODAY — What the "cultural revolution" means. Speaker: Lynn Henderson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m. 1704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

The First 10 Years Of American Communism

Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

The author is a founder of American Trotskyism and the only living top leader of the early years of the U.S. Communist Party who has not repudiated communism.

The book contains: Sketches of Foster, Ruthenberg, Browder, Lovestone and others, as well as of leading figures in the Communist International.

Essays on the Industrial Workers of the World, Eugene V. Dubs and the socialist movement of his time, and the effect of the Russian Revolution on the U.S. Negro struggle.

\$3 (Reg. \$6)

Order through:

Merit Publishers

5 E. Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003

The Black Panther Party

Speech by John Hulett — Interview with Stokely Carmichael — Report from Lowndes County

25 cents

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

Joseph Johnson, In Interview, Explains Antiwar Position

Joseph Johnson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, has added a new meaning to "peace candidate" — a term widely used in the present election period. The occasion was an interview between Johnson and a reporter for "Vietnam Crisis," the newsletter of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Johnson was asked, since he stands for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, whether he would call himself a "peace candidate." After replying in the negative, Johnson explained: "You know how movie stars are told to smile at the press cameras, how they are told that a way to do this is to say 'cheese.'"

Say "Cheese"

"Saying 'cheese' makes them smile, even when they don't feel like smiling at all. But when they say 'cheese' it mechanically makes them smile. Well — in the very same way a lot of candidates say 'peace.' They are part of the Democratic and Republican war parties. They know they will have to go along with their war party. But they smile and say 'peace.'"

Johnson pointed out how "any army general can say peace, run for office and be a peace candidate. LBJ said 'peace' in 1964, ran for president and now is our 'peace president.'" He continued, "I am not a peace candidate. I am not a candidate for peace in the abstract."

The newsletter reporter asked



—Photo courtesy Minneapolis Tribune

SWP CANDIDATE. Joe Johnson, SWP nominee for Senator (seated, far end of table) at literature table at candidates meeting.

Johnson whether he thought his running for office would help the antiwar movement. "Yes," he replied. "I will be speaking on radio and TV, thousands of platforms have already been distributed and thousands more will be distributed before the election."

"In my speeches and in the platform, truth about the war, truth about the 'illegal, unjust and immoral' war in Vietnam is explained and the demand of withdrawal of American troops is put forward. This helps the antiwar movement and puts forward the ideas of the movement in Minnesota."

Did Johnson think he could win the election? "I will win people for the antiwar movement. I will organize people to act against the war in Vietnam. My campaign will extend and deepen the antiwar feeling in Minnesota. Will I get a job with the U.S. government? I don't think so."

Johnson is currently fighting an attempt by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to force him to deport himself. The government has declared Johnson a "stateless" person, and has ordered him to find a country to be deported to. This bizarre per-

secution is being directed against Johnson in spite of the fact that he is a native-born American citizen.

When he was a young man, Johnson went to Canada to escape McCarthyism and racism he experienced in the U.S. While in Canada, he became a convinced socialist. Upon learning that the FBI was looking for him, he went back to the U.S. in 1959. He was placed under arrest on charges of failing to notify his draft board of his whereabouts, was convicted, and served a two-year sentence — a sentence only a citizen need serve.

Five years after his return in 1964, the government, in an obvious case of political persecution, charged that he had given up his citizenship while in Canada by voting in an election. The case is being appealed.

"The revolutionary, the ideological motor force of the revolution, is consumed by his uninterrupted activity, which can have no other end than death until the building of socialism on a world scale has been accomplished." —Che Guevara.

The defendants still claim they acted under U.S. auspices.

Dole System

The specific amounts and purposes of U.S. military aid to foreign nations is highly classified information, and it is easy for Washington to deny that it is supplying guns and bombs to foreign dictators. The following information, however, was de-classified about the "military assistance program" for fiscal year 1967:

Denmark, Norway, Portugal and Spain — the only European nations included — will receive a total of \$36,129,000. (*Congressional Record*, p. 24250.) This does not include NATO commitments or unspecified loans which are made to these countries through banks. It's a safe bet that much of the \$36 million will go to Portugal for use against freedom fighters in Angola and Mozambique.

Labor Action

TRIESTE, Italy, Oct. 9 (AP)—"Calm settled over this port city today as authorities reported 80 people injured and nearly 500 arrested in the worst rioting in

years. The police were braced for any resumption of workers' demonstrations, which broke into wild rioting Saturday morning and continued sporadically until after midnight.

"Workers were called out by a Communist-led union to protest a government plan to organize shipbuilding in the Trieste and Genoa port areas. The workers fought the police in battles that paralyzed the town of Trieste. Policemen in jeeps, firing tear-gas grenades, clashed with rioters who fought with iron bars, bricks and stones."

Student Strike

Mexican troops, including paratroop units, were used to quell week-long student demonstrations at Morelia University, in the first week of October. The students were striking because one of them had been shot and killed by a cop during a demonstration in protest against higher bus fares.

As of Oct. 9, the engineering college students had prepared to return to class and the law school was reported to be nearing the same decision. The remaining student body was still on strike in spite of the military occupation.

—Ed Smith

A Dialectical Dilemma

By Herman Chauka

I stopped off at an East Side bar for a couple of beers the other night. At the end of the bar, two CPers who I've seen around over the years were having a political discussion. The one fellow, Stanley, seemed to have a good grasp of party policy. The other fellow, Max, was raising questions.

They had apparently just come back from an Aptheker campaign meeting in Brooklyn and Stanley seemed enthused.

"It's really good to see the party stepping out on its own again," he said. "It's Marxism-Leninism in action."

"I guess so," Max responded. "It's about time we stopped hustling votes for Democrats."

"What are you talking about?" Stanley said, somewhat frostily.

"Well, I listened to that five-hour speech by Gus Hall at the party convention. He said we hadn't asserted our independent role enough. In fact, he said, our criticism of Johnson in '64 was made so quietly that some people got the mistaken idea that we favored voting for the guy. It's true. I was one of them."

Vanguard Party

"That's so, Max. We didn't assert our independent role sufficiently in that one. But the Aptheker race is a real national demonstration that we're a vanguard party."

"Good deal, Stanley. We need more of that."

"Yes. And the campaign provides a wonderful opportunity for us to project the real issues. Like Vietnam, for example."

"I go for that," Max said. "But I was wondering. How come Aptheker doesn't come out in favor of getting the U.S. troops out of Vietnam?"

"Max, that's a Trotskyite slogan."

"Oh."

"Furthermore, it would only isolate us from the masses."

"You mean like the kids in the army, or the ones that are getting drafted?"

"Well, no, that's not really the problem. The problem is not to isolate ourselves from the politically advanced elements in the community. They tend to look for more realistic solutions. Like negotiations for example. Many of these people have come to recognize Herb as a responsible political figure. He can't just be shouting about getting out of Vietnam."

Members Only

"So how come, Stanley, at the party convention we had this big banner on the stage that said to bring the boys home now?"

"That's for the members."

"Oh."

"Besides, we have to advance more fundamental solutions."

"You mean like socialism?"

"No, Max. We don't want to get way out in left field. As Herb pointed out, socialism is not what his neighbors are concerned about."

"So tell me, Stanley. How do we get them concerned?"

"By projecting the issues."

"For instance?"

"Well, Herb has come out very vigorously against higher prices."

"Who hasn't?"

"That's not the point, Max. You have to view this dialectically."

"You mean we have to see the contradictions?"

"Max, for heavens sake, no! It's really quite simple. By projecting the issues in a general way and not permitting anyone to tie us down to specific solutions, we demonstrate that we're not dogma-

tic. Or, as our New Left friends put it, we're not irrelevant."

"You mean, Stanley, that if we say anything relevant, we're being irrelevant. That does sound pretty dialectical. But there's another thing. What about the governor?"

"The governor? What about him?"

"The election, Stanley, the election. Who are we for for governor?"

"Well, Max, we're certainly against Mr. Big."

"Who?"

"Mr. Big. Rockefeller. He definitely has to be stopped at all costs."

"How?"

"That, Max, is admittedly a difficult question."

"Why?"

"Well, unfortunately, the progressive forces are divided in this election. The Liberals have gotten themselves caught out in left field with their own candidate. And it must be admitted that O'Connor is not a very appetizing product to offer anyone."

"So why don't we vote socialist?"

"What in the world are you ever talking about, Max?"

"Well, the Trotskyites have a ticket. Why not vote for them?"

"Max, are you aware of the meaning of an ultra-left deviation?"

"You mean like when the party backed Wallace in '48?"

"That's one example. But right now you're got to see this gubernatorial election in perspective. The important thing is not to permit ourselves to be isolated from the mainstream."

"I know, Stanley, I know. So who do we vote for for governor?"

"Look, Max. You can't lose sight of the forest for the trees. It's not the job of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party to take a position on every little issue. We have to concentrate on the big picture!"

"Which is what?"

"Max, the party has enough problems. Why don't you go out and help blow up Aptheker campaign balloons?"

CORE Pickets Back Antiwar Navy Man

NEW YORK — A picket line of about 75 people in support of Mallie McBryde, a 19-year-old black Navy reservist, was held outside the main gate of the Navy Reception Center at Vanderbilt and Flushing Avenues in Brooklyn on Saturday, Oct. 15, from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. McBryde was arrested by the FBI and thrown into the brig at the Brooklyn Navy Yard on Oct. 7.

The demonstration, sponsored by New York University CORE, included members of Brooklyn CORE, Balck Women Enraged, Harlem Unemployment Center, Lower East Side Action Project, Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, Youth Against War and Fascism and various independent anti-Vietnam-war activists.

Young McBryde is married and has a child. He joined the Navy Reserve at 17 when in high school. A leaflet distributed at the demonstration by NYU CORE stated, "He realized soon that he's made a mistake, that the war was wrong, that the fight for freedom was here in the ghettos."

"Mallie requested a discharge as a conscientious objector and his request was denied . . ."

Mallie McBryde refused to go on active duty, making clear to the authorities that he recognized the racist nature of the war in Vietnam and that as a black man he could not fight in such a war.

World Events

Runaway Inflation

The cost of living in Brazil has risen 35.2 percent in the last year. Food prices are the hardest hit: Rice has gone from 200 cruzeiros (12 cents) a pound to 400 cruzeiros during the last year. Meat has risen from the cruzeiro equivalent of 25 cents a pound to 50 cents. Beans have gone from 7 cents a pound to 18 cents.

Here's A New One

The CIA now admits that it had known beforehand that bombers were to be exported last year to Portugal. In an unusual development of the trial of the two men who are accused of "selling" B-26 bombers to Portugal "without proper authorization," a CIA spokesman took the stand and revealed that the agency had actually known about the planes.

In fact, the CIA official stated, information on the B-26 flights had been supplied to the State Department, the Defense Department, the Navy, the Air Force, the Army and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and "10 other agencies." However, the CIA officer contended, his department had no jurisdiction in the matter.

THE MILITANT

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

Vol. 30 - No. 38

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Monday, October 24, 1966

Report on Status Of Cuban Women

[Recently the Chicago Daily News featured a series of articles from Havana by a member of its foreign staff, Georgie Anne Geyer. While she is not a partisan of the Cuban revolution, her articles indicate she was favorably impressed by many of the things she saw in Cuba. Perhaps her most positive reaction was to the gains in the status of women in Cuba since the revolution. The following are excerpts from her article on this question which appeared in the Daily News on Sept. 8.]

Cuban women always were a little different from other Latin American women. Known for their voluptuous beauty and coloring, they were more vivacious, less hampered by traditional ties.

Still, they lived within a certain framework of male dominance, just as other Latin women do. Men regarded the home as the family bastion and protected her from a host of imagined seducers.

Since the family dominated everything and personal ties were all important, the marriages of daughters were carefully watched.

But now, eight years after the Cuban revolution that transformed Cuba into a Marxist state, women serve in the militia, study in the universities, have equal opportunity to jobs and usually marry whom they please.

The changes have been met with some gnashing of teeth, even among the most devoutly Communist men.

Was Backward

"No man looks at the emancipation of women exactly with pleasure," one young Cuban diplomat, who is fiercely Marxist, told me in a confessional moment. "I have to admit that I was one of the ones who was backward. I didn't want my wife to go out of the house, or to take part in anything."

"Before the revolution, only the middle-class girls worked in shops and the peasant girls in the fields. There was discrimination. She was a slave. She only went on the street when her husband came for her."

"Now we see it as natural" — his expression was one of resignation — "that she should have a job, but we have to create a quantity of services so she can do this."

"Ideologically, men are not against the emancipation of women," said Haydee Santamaria, one of the top female Communists in Cuba, "but in reality — yes."

"Ideologically, the man is advanced. But when he arrives at home, he wants his wife there, preparing dinner."

Haydee Santamaria, a member of the powerful central committee of the Cuban Communist Party, is a romantic figure to Cuban revolutionaries. She took part in Fidel Castro's abortive 1953 attack on the Moncada army barracks in Santiago, Cuba, and lost both her brother, Abel, who was Castro's co-leader, and her fiancé in the fighting.

She sees the changes for Cuban women as coming largely through economic liberation. "This is why American women are free," she said.

"They are educated and they work. Before, if you left your husband, you had to go back to your

father's house. Before, a woman 30 years old had to ask permission to go to the movies, and had to ask for the 50 cents, too."

Now in Cuba, as in other Communist countries, half the medical students are women. Police girls in attractive green-and-white uniforms direct traffic.

One of the most powerful political figures in the country is a thin, intense young woman, Celia Sanchez, who also fought with Castro in the Sierra Maestra and, as secretary to the presidency, is Castro's right arm. She has been spoken of as a possible president.

But if women were not allowed to work before, they now do little else. It often means long periods of removal from their children, who are given to the state to educate and develop.

Cuban shoes, with big, round toes and stumpy heels, cost about \$5. Better clothes are rationed, but sandals and washcloths are usually available. Nevertheless, the Cuban women dress and look attractive, despite the awful quality of the greasy Cuban lipstick.

In the countryside, women have been extensively incorporated into agriculture, which is largely state-controlled. In one plan, they work 15 days in the fields and then spend three to four days at home.

Meanwhile, their children, from the age of six months up, are taken care of in "circulos infantiles," or day nurseries, and the wave of the future is that all children will be taken care of in these circulos and later in "internados," which are boarding schools.

Women get 42 days off before birth and 42 after. The circulos are usually located in the block or building where they work, so if they are breast-feeding they can continue.

Present Morality

Sexually, Cuban Communism is a blend of freedom and puritanism.

Havana was known as a licentious town, and American tourists were the greatest enjoyers of some of its pleasures. But the Cuban Communists pit the "bad, bad past" against the "moral present" and the blame for the past, of course, rests with the "imperialist Americans."

A typical revolutionary girl will marry in the notary's office to the man she, and not her family, picks; have her reception in the Palace of Weddings, which is the former Spanish Club; and honeymoon in one of the attractive INIT resorts.

She will work after marriage, put her children in the circulo infantil, send her laundry out, serve in the militia and be a member of the Federation of Women.

The federation, headed by Raul Castro's wife, Vilma Espin, is the final chink in the armor-like formation of the new Cuban Communist woman. Before the revolution, there were private women's groups — religious, social, largely based on class.

Now there is this one, big, centralized women's group . . .

"The organization is one arm of the revolution," Vilma, a mother of four, told me, "to teach woman the role she has to play in the new society, to prepare her for her incorporation into society."

... Old Guard Attacks Black Power

(Continued from Page 1)
is becoming more untenable is evidenced by the gyrations King has gone through in the past week.

The advertisement states four principles. The first is rejection of "separatism, either moral or spatial." Neither CORE nor SNCC believes in a separate nation, while some black nationalist groups do. (The question of separatism itself remains unsettled, and the future will tell whether the masses of Negroes become convinced that separatism is their program for the achievement of equality. In any case, separatism is not the same thing as "racism in reverse," nor does it imply oppression of whites. It is one possible, if at present apparently unlikely, path to Negro equality and freedom.)

But what is meant by "moral separatism"? It appears that what is being criticized here is the concept, developing within the black power movement, of black independence from and opposition to the system in the United States. This can only frighten the moderate and "responsible" leaders who attempt to keep the Negro struggle within the bounds of the two capitalist parties and within the capitalist system as a whole. The problem with their stand, and the promise of black power, is that no meaningful progress can be made by the Negro people except in struggle against this system.

Liberal Support

Another principle affirmed by the signers of the Times advertisement was "welcoming" and "urging" the "full cooperation of white Americans in what must be a joint endeavor if it is to prosper. It should go without saying, that, in seeking full equality for Negroes, we cannot and will not deny it to others who join our fight."

This misses the point about white support for the Negro struggle. It is not a question of denying whites "equality." CORE and SNCC both have white members, but want black leadership. Some black nationalist organizations do not allow any white members. But this, too, is not "racism in reverse." The Negro struggle is, after all, the struggle of black people. What is wrong with black people leading their own battles?

And the Negro people have had experience with white "support," especially from rich liberals who "support" the struggle with money as long as they can control it. This kind of support has almost always been a conservatizing influence on the Negro movement. There has been much talk about liberals who are no longer giving money to CORE and SNCC — because they don't agree with the policies of black power. In other words, since they can't control these organizations, they want to kill them.

White Role

Whites who genuinely want to support the Negro struggle should support the development of an independent Negro movement striving for the power to change the condition of the black masses. They should be actively defending black power against white racism.

The advertisement also says: "We repudiate any strategies of violence, reprisal or vigilantism, and we condemn both rioting and the demagoguery that feeds it." This "principle" amounts to nothing more than joining the racist smear attack on black power as meaning lust for violence. CORE and SNCC do not advocate violence. They advocate Negro self-defense against violent racist attacks.

The advertisement twists the black power stand on self-defense by stating, "Defense of one's family, home and self against attack is not an issue; it is a basic American principle and must not be perverted into a cover for aggressive violence." The implication is that SNCC and CORE are "perverting" self-defense into a call

for violence. This plays right into the hands of the racists, who are trying to smear the entire movement with the same accusation.

The so-called riots which have exploded in the ghettos of many major cities have not been "fed" by demagogues. In practically every case, they have been triggered by an act of police violence. The reaction of the Negro masses is not only to that specific act, but to the whole pattern of police brutality which is part of their daily lives.

In almost every case, the looting and burning accompanying these outbreaks have been directed against white businessmen in the ghettos who have gouged the masses for years. And the "riots" are almost always deepened and kept going by massive use of police and national guard fire-power against the whole black population.

Racist Violence

The violence which causes the riots is the systematic, daily violence directed against the Negro people, brought to a higher ferocity during a "riot." The signers of the advertisement should direct their anger and pleas for nonviolence at the perpetrators of violence — the racist rulers — and not at their victims.

The final "principle" in the ad is commitment "to the attainment of racial justice by the democratic process." They spell out what they mean: "The force of law and its fulfillment in the courts, legislative halls and implementing agencies, the appeal to conscience, and the exercise of the rights of peaceful assembly and petition are the instrumentalities of our choice."

This "principle" is intended to show white folks that these leaders "know their place" and are not going to do anything to disturb the system. They look to the courts, to Congress, to the President and to the FBI to bring equality to the Negro people. And, oh yes, they will engage in peaceful petition and appeals to the conscience of the racist rulers.

Conspicuous by its absence is any demand for gaining political power. One of the most promising features of the black power movement is the possibility of the dev-

elopment of independent black political action to win some real power to begin to change the conditions in the ghettos. While SNCC and CORE do not have an unambiguous stand on this question, we have the example of the Black Panther Party in Alabama, which is a big step in the direction of winning such power. But the signers of the ad are dead set against this kind of peaceful, democratic political action. All of these leaders are conscious vote-hustlers for the Democratic Party and view independent black politics as a plague.

Through omission, the ad intends to imply that independent black political action, organizing for black control of ghetto schools, black control of ghetto police and other black power demands are not democratic or peaceful.

This last "principle" is related to the one about violence. These leaders condemn "demagogues" who "feed" the "riots." This is obviously aimed at such figures as Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, who presently faces charges of inciting a riot in Atlanta. The facts, however, are that the Atlanta "riot" was provoked entirely by the police.

Police Murder

The disturbance in Atlanta began when police shot a young man whom they falsely suspected of stealing a car. The ghetto residents were angered over the incident and called the SNCC office. SNCC helped them organize a protest march against police brutality — a peaceful petition — which the cops and the mayor broke up with bullets, tear gas and an assault upon the whole Negro community. Negroes fighting back in such a situation are called "rioters," while the attacking police are "forces of law and order."

The black power movement is a development in the direction of independence from the racist capitalist system in this country. This independence is necessary if Negroes are going to develop the tools and program of struggle to free them from the oppression engendered by the system. Those who signed this ad, and the Reverend who endorsed it, are doing a disservice to their people by attacking the black power movement.

'The Alternatives Of the Bearded Ones'

[The following is a translation of an article, "The Alternative of the Bearded Ones," which appeared in the Sept. 11-23 Caretas, a Lima biweekly.]

In Tacna, the chapter called Hugo Blanco has been closed. The military tribunal, disregarding the petition of the Auditor, Colonel Jesús Fernández, calling for the death penalty, sentenced the leader to 25 years in prison, to be served in El Frontón. Blanco, who had been detained for three years following the disintegration of the guerrilla movement which he commanded in Cuzco, admitted having organized the assault at Pucyura and the ambush at Mesacancha. In the two skirmishes, three civil guards were killed.

The Tacna trial, in which Blanco, his lieutenant Pedro Candela and others exhibited continual defiance — each session ended with the cry of "Tierra o Muerte, Venceremos!" [Land or Death, we will win!] — and at times something like impudence, was closely followed by the national and foreign press. The ex-student, who returned from Argentina a Trotskyist, enjoyed publicity out of all proportions from the time he entered the valley of La Convención. The campaign, conducted particularly by "La Prensa," as well

as a public relations organization that was the envy of the other leftists, contributed to his notoriety in Peru and abroad.

In the very scene of his operations, the conditions he found greatly helped him. Proof of this is that a youth who organized a union converted himself within a few months into a supposed "Fidel Castro of Peru."

Twenty-five years—and 160,000 soles in civil damages to be paid by all those found guilty — ended the bloody chapter of Hugo Blanco. The announcement that the sentence is being appealed will not alter this fact. The only thing that could alter it would be tragic blindness, a stubborn lack of understanding among those who confuse the closing of a chapter with the ending of the problem in general. As if after Hugo Blanco there had not occurred the much more serious outbreaks of the MIR guerrillas!

No, the threat of violence will not disappear until the tremendous social problems of Peruvian agriculture are eliminated.

"Capitalist law reflects the material substructure of capitalism. The theory of that substructure is war, conflict, struggle." —Daniel DeLeon.

How Vietnam Affected a Times Reporter

By Dick Roberts

"If the United States were to disengage from Vietnam under adverse conditions, I believe that the resulting political and psychological shockwaves might undermine our entire position in Southeast Asia. We shall, I am afraid, have to put up with out Vietnamese mandarin allies.

"We shall not be able to reform them, and it is unlikely that we shall be able to find any other Vietnamese willing to cooperate with us. We shall have to continue to rely mainly on our military power, accept the odium attached to its use and hope that some day this power will bring us to a favorable settlement.

"But I simply cannot help worrying that, in the process of waging this war, we are corrupting ourselves. I wonder, when I look at the bombed-out peasant hamlets, the orphans begging and stealing on the streets of Saigon and the women and children with napalm burns lying on the hospital cots, whether the United States or any nation has the right to inflict this suffering and degradation on another people for its own ends. And I hope we will not, in the name of some anti-Communist crusade, do this again."

These are the final lines of what is undoubtedly the most devastating indictment of U.S. Vietnam policy yet to appear in the major press. They were written by a veteran war correspondent for the *New York Times*, Neil Sheehan, who was stationed in Vietnam from 1962 until last month with a leave in 1964. And they were published in the *Sunday New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 9, under the title "Not a Dove, But No Longer a Hawk."

Destroys Myth

Sheehan's article destroys every single basic myth which makes up the fabric of Johnson's justification for invading Vietnam; he reveals the horrible results that Johnson's invasion actually has had; and he soberly explains that the best Johnson can accomplish if he pursues the attack to the bitter end is to re-establish a regime "incapable . . . of looking beyond individual and family interests," whose "overwhelming concern" is with "me and my relatives," and which "discriminates against the poor and prevents social mobility."

In other words, the one thing Johnson could accomplish with the destruction of the lives of countless thousands of American and Vietnamese, is the stabilization of the old colonial bourgeoisie — the landlord class which has been the object of social revolution in that country for seven decades.

Why did the *New York Times* choose to publish this article at this time? The editors of the news-

Tribute To a Guerrilla

"An American general recently paid a strange tribute to a Vietcong guerrilla who held up an entire U.S. army infantry company for an hour in the jungle north of Saigon. The guerrilla was the lone survivor of several Communists defending a bunker. He fired off all his own ammunition and that of his dead comrades, and hurled back at the Americans the grenades they tossed into the bunker. He was finally killed while throwing rocks in a last gesture of defiance. 'If one of our men had fought like that,' the general said, 'he would have been awarded the Medal of Honor.'" — Neil Sheehan.

"I have sometimes thought, when a street urchin with sores covering his leg, stopped me and begged for a few cents' worth of Vietnamese piastres, that he might be better off growing up as a political commissar. He would then, at least have some self-respect."

—Neil Sheehan

paper were careful to explain this in their main editorial column Oct. 11. "Mr. Sheehan," they note, "ends with a disillusionment and a restrained sense of despair that have been typical of most American war correspondents who have served in Vietnam during the past decade.

"This is especially true of the period since February of last year, when major escalation of the war began. The positive factors in the picture are few and are far outweighed by the horrors that a massive war effort has brought to south Vietnam. United States intervention has substituted Americans for Frenchmen in the eyes of the Vietnamese rural population and brought more terror and destruction than France ever did."

"It would be ironic," the *Times* editors emphasize, "but only too possible, that if the United States 'wins' this war, it will be for the old ruling classes, not the peasant masses of Vietnam . . . Before the ultimate price is paid — by the Vietnamese — there is still a chance that de-escalation, especially a long halt in the bombing, may save what is left."

For Slowdown

In other words, the *New York Times* published Sheehan's report to justify the position it has consistently held on Vietnam — namely that Johnson should slow the war down. The timing is significant. U.S. military maneuvers in the past month have indicated a strong likelihood of an invasion of the so-called demilitarized zone, separating north and south Vietnam, by U.S. armies in the near future — perhaps soon after the coming elections.

In possible preparation for such a move, U.S. forces have been engaged in heavy fighting, and for the last three weeks, more Americans have been killed in battle than Saigon government soldiers. For the week ending Oct. 1, American casualties numbered 741 to the south Vietnamese 355; and in the following week, they numbered 685 against 585. This brought the total number of Americans killed in battle to 5,492, and the total wounded to 20,618.

The Sheehan revelations are a timely warning to Johnson of the limits of what he can expect to accomplish if he escalates the war. However, the fact that they are used in the *New York Times* to justify a position that is also belligerent in the eyes of most war opponents, does not mean that the antiwar movement should shun using Sheehan's facts for its own purposes.

On the contrary, every piece of evidence Sheehan presents is a strong argument for the one real solution to the Vietnam conflict: immediate and total withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Sheehan begins by describing the mandarin regime which the U.S. supports and would be left with, in the event of victory Johnson-Ky style.

"Their fondness for French cui-

sine, snappy uniforms and cocktail parties and receptions creates a pale but faithful reflection of the social round of colonial days . . . While there are some patriotic and decent individuals among them, most of the men who rule Saigon have, like the Bourbons, learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They seek to retain what privileges they have and to regain those they have lost."

Sheehan then makes the following remarkable contrast: "In Vietnam," he states, "only the Communists represent revolution and social change, for better or worse, according to a man's politics. The Communist Party is the one truly national organization that permeates both north and south Vietnam. The men who lead the party today, Ho Chi Minh and the other members of the Politburo in Hanoi, directed the struggle for independence from France, and in the process, captured much of the deeply-felt nationalism of the Vietnamese people.

Civil Conflict

"Perhaps because of this, the Communists, despite their brutality and deceit, remain the only Vietnamese capable of rallying millions of their countrymen to sacrifice and hardship in the name of the nation and the only group not dependent on foreign bayonets for survival." (Emphasis added.)

Sheehan dismisses unqualifiedly the contention that the Vietnamese war is a case of "northern aggression" against "southern freedom." "For its own strategic and political ends," he states, "the United States is thus protecting a non-Communist social structure that cannot defend itself and that perhaps does not deserve to be defended.

"Our responsibility for prolonging what is essentially a civil conflict may be one of the major reasons for the considerable amount of confusion, guilt and soul-searching among Americans over the Vietnam war."

Sheehan then contrasts the Saigon army with the forces of the revolution. The north Vietnamese soldiers who fight in the south "fight well, and desertions are few despite the hardships and the severe losses through disease and battle. The Vietcong guerrillas have also managed steadily to expand their forces through recruitment and conscription.

High Desertion

"The Saigon regime, on the other hand, has experienced great difficulty in increasing the strength of its armed forces because of a very high desertion rate . . . About 85 per cent of Saigon's armed forces are . . . volunteers who take up arms for pay. This gives the government forces a distinctly mercenary cast . . .

"From the contrast in behavior of the two sides," Sheehan continues, "I can only conclude that Vietnamese will die more willingly for a regime which, though Communist, is at least genuinely Vietnamese and offers them some hope of improving their lives, than for one which is committed to the galling status quo and is the creation of Washington." (Emphasis added.)

How about the question of U.S. aid and the promises of the pacification program, with its alleged land reforms? "Province and district chiefs' positions are frequently sold to the highest bidders by those responsible for making the appointment. The incumbent is then expected both to recoup the cost of his job from corruption and to make payoffs to the higher officials who sold it to him.

"Some American officials with long experience in Vietnam estimate that about 20 per cent of United States aid supplied for counter-insurgency projects in the countryside finds its way to the



TERROR IN VIETNAM. Marine holds gun on terrified villagers, mostly old people and children, in south Vietnam.

Vietcong, and another 30 to 40 percent is diverted by government officials . . .

"Promises of and reform are solemnly reported in the American press and are apparently taken with some seriousness in official circles in Washington. I have often wondered why, since the promises are never carried out and the speeches made today are practically identical in content and phrasing to those made four years ago by some other government leader."

Sheehan then considers the Johnson line that the "Vietcong terrorists" are killing more civilians than are "accidentally" bombed in occasional U.S. "errors." "Although civilians are being killed and wounded by both sides," he contends, "my own investigations have indicated that the majority of civilian casualties result from American and south Vietnamese air-strikes and artillery and naval gunfire."

Fight Same Battles

There are several reasons for this. For one thing, "Once a battle has ended, the Americans and south Vietnamese withdraw. The theoretical follow-up by south Vietnamese territorial forces, police and administrators to pacify the region does not materialize except in a very limited number of instances, and the Vietcong guerrillas and their north Vietnamese allies move in again. The Americans eventually return and the same region is thus fought over repeatedly." (Emphasis added.)

"Hamlets are also habitually bombed and shelled at the request of a south Vietnamese province or district chief who has been told by some paid informer that Communist troops are present there. . . American officials excuse the practice by claiming that the Vietnamese, as the legal authorities, have the right to destroy their own hamlets, even if Americans perform the destructive acts — a fine bit of legalism that ignores the basic moral issue."

The immense flow of refugees from the bombed countryside, however, is the main reason Sheehan concluded that U.S. firepower was largely responsible for civilian casualties: "Most refugees I have questioned," he notes, "told me that the Vietcong taxed them and made them work harder than usual, but that they could live with the Communists. They left their homes, they said, because they could no longer bear American and south Vietnamese bombs and shells."

Finally, Sheehan describes the terrible inflation and degradation of the people that have been

caused by the huge inflow of American troops and dollars:

"Bars and bordellos, thousands of young Vietnamese women degrading themselves as bar girls and prostitutes, gangs of hoodlums and beggars and children selling their older sisters and picking pockets have become ubiquitous features of urban life."

If, after printing all this, the *New York Times* can remain an unequivocal supporter of the military occupation of south Vietnam — and it does — this is only to prove the utter hypocrisy that pervades the capitalist press. Sheehan's documentation of Johnson's aggression in Vietnam can force the serious observer to one and only one conclusion: The only way to stop the devastation of the countryside, the civilian slaughter, the deaths of thousands of American boys, the degradation of Vietnamese cities, is to get the U.S. troops out of that country.

This is all the more imperative, if it is true that Johnson intends to escalate the war in the immediate future. The American people who oppose this slaughter must act, and act decisively. A big turnout for the November 5-8 Mobilization is the order of the day.

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CHINESE FEAR REACTIONARY DEAL

Gromyko's White House Visit

By Harry Ring

OCT. 18 — There is certainly a basis in reality for the suspicion and distrust expressed by the People's Republic of China in its Oct. 15 attack on the U.S. moves for an "easing of tension" with the Soviet Union.

An article in the Chinese Communist Party publication, *Jenmin Jih Pao*, signed "Observer," charged that Johnson's recent friendly gestures to the USSR and the countries of East Europe constituted a direct threat to China.

The article charged that Johnson had demanded the Soviet leaders help him "stabilize the situation in Europe" so that the U.S. could "transfer the emphasis of its strategy to the East and concentrate its forces against China" and "continue its aggression in Vietnam."

Singled out for particularly harsh attack was Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, who held a secret White House parley with Johnson Oct. 10.

The recent Soviet-U.S. moves, highlighted by the Johnson-Gromyko meeting, underline that the Chinese charges cannot be shrugged aside as one more factional polemic against the Soviet regime. Nor is it sufficient to point to the Oct. 15 statement by Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev in which he declared that Johnson's expressed hope of closer U.S.-USSR cooperation despite the Vietnam war was a "strange and persistent delusion."

The very photo of Gromyko seated with Johnson in the White House was sufficient to take the bite out of Brezhnev's statement. The fact that Gromyko accepts a White House invitation at the moment when Johnson is clearly plotting a dangerous new escalation of the Vietnam war makes the Soviet declaration suspect.

And neither Washington nor Moscow were unaware of this fact. Max Frankel, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, explained it this way in his report on the Johnson-Gromyko visit:

"Mr. Gromyko was in a delicate position in the home of the man whom the Communist world regards as the principal villain of the war. In deference to the delicacy of the situation, the White House arranged for him to enter and leave by a rear door without exposure to newsmen."

The only point that need be added is that it is not only the "communist world" which regards Johnson as the "principal villain" of the Vietnam war, but millions of people around the globe, including a significant number right here in the U.S. Gromyko's secret visit with the war-criminal Johnson was a direct affront to all those who oppose that war.

The very fact of such a meeting seriously poses the question: Are Washington and Moscow considering a deal at the expense of the Chinese and at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution? Has the U.S. offered — and is the

USSR considering — limitation of the nuclear arms build-up in Europe in exchange for a free hand for the U.S. in Vietnam?

No one, of course, can offer a direct answer to these questions since results of the Johnson-Gromyko meeting are a closely-guarded secret, with both sides agreeing not to divulge to the people of the world what transpired.

Following the Johnson meeting, Gromyko held another one with Secretary of State Rusk. After that meeting, Gromyko told newsmen: "We discussed questions relating to disarmament problems, among them the question of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It looks like both countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, are striving to reach agreement to facilitate the conclusion of an international agreement on this question."

Again, the *Times* noted the significance of the move. It explained Oct. 12: "The Johnson administration seemed desirous, shortly before the elections, of offsetting the political impact of the Vietnam war by emphasizing the White House efforts to reach peaceful accommodations with the Soviet Union."

The Russians gave the Johnson administration a further assist in this direction when private talks between Nikolai Fedorenko, Soviet delegate to the UN, and Arthur Goldberg, U.S. delegate, resulted in an agreement between the two powers to put at the top



Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and war criminal have chat in White House on Oct. 10. What secret deals were made there?

of the UN agenda the question of an appeal to limit the spread of nuclear arms.

This will now be debated in the UN General Assembly. It is highly dubious if this "appeal" will lead non-members of the nuclear club to give up their desire to become members. The only immediate, practical effect of the move is to postpone until after the November elections the scheduled General Assembly debate on Vietnam.

Again, the *Times*, on Oct. 15, made the point: "By agreeing to discuss the Assembly appeal and other disarmament topics, ahead of their own item, according to some diplomats, the Russians have made a significant concession to the United States. These diplomats noted that under the present schedule, the United States would be spared the embarrassment of a Vietnam wrangle until after the November elections."

The suspicions evoked by the current U.S.-Soviet moves are deepened by the record of the Moscow chieftains in relation to Vietnam. Prominent world figures, including Fidel Castro, Jean-Paul Sartre and Lord Bertrand Russell have pointed to the Soviet failure to provide effective military defense for north Vietnam and to counter U.S. escalations in such a way as to make it clear that the U.S. does not have a free hand in Vietnam.

The Soviet position in relation to Vietnam is consistent with the foreign policy pursued since the days of Stalin. Currently labelled "peaceful coexistence," the es-

sence of that policy is to subordinate and even sacrifice the needs of the world revolutionary process for the sake of a political deal with one or another sector of world imperialism. In doing so, the Soviet bureaucracy has frequently trampled on world revolutionary thought. That picture of Gromyko seated with the villainous Johnson will recall for many, the 1939 photo of then Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov toasting German Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop.

Stalin made the 1939 pact with Hitler under the insane delusion that this would eliminate the danger of a Nazi attack on the USSR. If the present Soviet bureaucracy should make an agreement with Johnson for a detente in Europe at the expense of Vietnam and China, it would not only be a horrendous betrayal of the revolutionary cause. It would be an equally insane delusion as to the amount of real security it would afford the USSR. If Johnson were to succeed in his monstrous aims in Asia, the USSR would face the greatest peril in its history.

The Soviet Union has a simple, effective answer to the Chinese charges, if they are indeed not true. Let the Soviet government end its secret diplomacy with Johnson. Let it make known to the people of the entire world just what the purpose of its present talks with Washington are. That was the way diplomacy was carried on by the Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky. In today's perilous world, open diplomacy is more urgently needed than ever.

The YPSL Announces It's Back in Business

By Lew Jones

National Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance

The Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL), inactive for over two years, re-organized itself at a national convention over the Labor Day weekend. The YPSL is the youth section of the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas.

In the early 1960s, the YPSL was the largest socialist youth organization in the country. It dominated the Student Peace Union, which at that time had a membership close to 3,000. The political outlook of YPSL was characterized by its "third camp" position — it claimed to be against both the workers' states and against capitalism. For example, it did not defend the Cuban revolution, nor did it defend the Sino-Soviet bloc from the cold and hot wars of the imperialists. In actual practice, their "third campism" was a cover for supporting capitalism against the workers' states. For example, YPSL's third campism in relation to Cuba meant support for the "democratic" Cuban exiles residing in Florida.

YPSL's failure to defend Cuba, particularly during the 1962 blockade when it was paralyzed in the face of Kennedy's brinkmanship, its bureaucratic domination of SPU, and its failure to present an alternative to Kennedy's "peace" moves like the test-ban treaty, led to the decline of YPSL in 1963.

In the fall of 1964, a left wing of the organization became a majority at the YPSL convention. The convention refused to endorse Johnson for President and supported the formation of a labor party. The Young Socialist Alliance hailed this decision and called upon them to support Clinton DeBerry, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, for President.

The Socialist Party, the parent group of YPSL, saw things differently. Within a week of the

YPSL convention, the SP national committee expelled YPSL for their opposition to supporting the capitalist Democratic Party. The withdrawal of funds by the SP, which had supported YPSL, led to the disintegration of the organization.

(There is an important contrast here between the YPSL and the Young Socialist Alliance. The YPSL is the official youth group of the SP; the YSA is in political solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party, but is organizationally independent. The YSA runs its own affairs, including raising all of its funds.)

The new YPSL's program was discussed in an article by Josh Muravchik in the Sept. 30 *New America*, the SP's organ. The YPSL "intends to bring a point of view sorely missed on the campus," Muravchik informs us, "a point of view which stresses the progressive nature of the labor movement and the need for building a democratic left through coalition politics." Their resolution on domestic politics calls for a transformation of the Democratic Party into a "real peoples party."

If this is a point of view "sorely missed on the campus," the YPSL had better get to know the campus. There are already far too many radicals there preaching the doctrine of class collaboration through support to the Democratic Party.

The YPSL says it will be the "defender and champion of the labor movement on campuses." They spell out what they mean. Muravchik says they hope "to do this by offering assistance to various unions during strikes [well and good] and to COPE, the political arm of the AFL-CIO." The major function of COPE is to hustle votes for the Democratic Party, and presumably, this will

be one of the major functions of YPSL, too.

The viewpoint of the working class and its historic mission to transform society does have a champion among the youth, the YSA. The YSA stands resolutely opposed to the labor bureaucrats who subvert the real interests of the workers — while YPSL appears to want to defend those bureaucrats, passing them off as the "labor movement."

The YPSL also intends to teach the antiwar movement something "new." Two resolutions on the war in Vietnam were counterposed at the convention. One called for a negotiated settlement and the other was a watered-down semi-withdrawal position. The negotiations resolution passed. The YPSL has thus launched its new organization under the slogan of defending the "right" of the U.S. imperialists to negotiate the future of Vietnam on the basis of their war against the Vietnamese people. It would seem the antiwar movement has something to teach YPSL.

Muravchik says, "The YPSL also declared its firm opposition to totalitarian and elitist forces on the left." Their definition of "totalitarian" is contained right in the SP constitution — it includes Communists and Trotskyists. So what this means is that the new YPSL will continue the practice of red-baiting that characterized the old YPSL.

The new YPSL is obviously a creature of the Socialist Party. Its position on most questions is to the right of most campus radicals. The addition of this organization of State Department socialists to the campus is a step backward; but, we trust, that as a result of the vigorous activity of the YSA, few will join YPSL through mistaking it for a genuine socialist organization.

...New York SWP Ticket

(Continued from Page 1)
ment in the *National Guardian*. The endorsers will state that while they do not necessarily agree with other planks in the SWP platform, they are urging voters to support its candidates as a means of registering opposition to the Vietnam war.

Among the sponsors are A. J. Muste, veteran pacifist leader; Edward Keating, publisher of *Ramparts*; Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*; and Michael Meyerson, former W.E.B. DuBois Clubs leader.

SOUTHAMPTON, L. I., Oct. 17 — Judy White, SWP candidate for governor, spent an exciting day here at Southampton College. She had been invited to appear by several students who said that, hopefully, they could expect a meeting of 30 to 35 students. Nearly 80 student and faculty members turned out for the meeting. There was a high degree of interest in the socialist nominee's views and a great deal of enthusiasm. Many students and faculty members spent the entire afternoon in discussion.

In addition to two students and two faculty members who endorsed the SWP slate, a number

of others indicated they intended to vote for and support the ticket. A number took SWP election literature to distribute on the campus and in the community.

There was wide excitement on the campus when a crew from ABC-TV arrived to film a day of campaigning with the SWP nominee. A slated meeting of the college trustees had to be re-scheduled to provide facilities for the candidate and camera crew.

Later in the day, the trustees voted to commend the students and faculty for inviting minority candidates to appear on the campus.

The Origins Of Materialism

By George Novack

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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.]

N. J. Peace Candidates

Red Bank, N. J.

I would like to inform *Militant* readers of an independent antiwar political campaign that we are presently conducting in New Jersey. We call ourselves the Peace and Equal Rights Party, and we are running congressional candidates in three districts in the current elections.

Our candidates are as follows: Nathan Robinson of Toms River in the 6th district; Martin Watkins of Long Branch in the 3rd district; Frederick Compton of Somerdale in the 1st district.

Each of our candidates has had little or no experience in politics but is running because of a strong hatred of the war in Vietnam. Our Peace and Equal Rights position is "bring our boys home now!"

Allow me to describe these good men in more detail. Nate Robinson is an insurance salesman with six children. He has been active in radical causes for years. Nate is particularly concerned with the hideous profiteering of war and has made this a major point in his campaign.

Marty Watkins is a professor of English at Monmouth College. He has previously worked as a merchant seaman and a garment worker and formerly was an organizer in Tennessee for the United Mine Workers. Last week, Marty was forcibly ejected from a "major party" political debate. He spent five days in the hospital but is out now and campaigning as fearlessly as ever.

Fred Compton is making Camden area voters aware of the real reasons for the Vietnam war ("rubber, tin, oil, bauxite, etc."). He has a detailed program concerning domestic uses for the billions wasted in Vietnam.

All of our "Peace Equal Rights" candidates take a radical or socialist approach to world problems. All have decisively rejected the two old capitalist war parties. We are not timid liberals or "moderates." Our voice is loud and clear and militant. We see our function as educating and organizing, not merely piling up votes, and we will certainly be in existence far beyond election day.

We work in the Negro ghettos a great deal and are constantly pointing out the connections between imperialist war and racial exploitation. This kind of argument has alienated many of our middle class would-be supporters, but we prefer the support of working people.

Financial contributions of any size may be sent to us c/o Peace and Equal Rights, P.O. Box 307, Red Bank, New Jersey. If you wish, you may earmark your contribution for any of our three candidates.

In closing, I wish to express our feelings of solidarity with your organization in protest against the atrocious bombing of your headquarters.

Allen Strasburger
co-chairman,
Peace and Equal Rights
Committee

Supports SWP

Queens, N. Y.

I wish to express my congratulations to your party for its courageous campaign in the New York State gubernatorial race. You have been the only party running a candidate for governor who is directing any sincere and meaningful opposition to the tragic war in Vietnam. You deserve the support in your campaign of any resident of New York State who truly believes in American withdrawal from Vietnam as the only step toward true peace, democracy and ending of loss of lives wastefully.

I also wish to express clearly my sympathy for your organization concerning the indefensible attack upon your headquarters yesterday. In a way, however, it is a tribute to your party — for it shows that your steadfast opposition to the war in Vietnam has been significant enough to draw the blind hatred of the reactionary supporters of that bloody war.

I am enclosing my statement of support for your campaign against American involvement in Vietnam. I sincerely wish you the best of success in your campaign to open the eyes of the American people to one of the most barbaric wars in history.

L. G.

Friends vs. Interests

Providence, Ky.

Why are we in Vietnam? Some people say it's to help our friends. But John Foster Dulles, secretary of state when we first sank into Asian quicksand, said, "The United States has no friends, it has interests."

President Johnson hit the nail on the head back in '54 when he called the war "...a blood-letting spree to perpetuate colonialism and white man's exploitation in Asia."

Richard Chinn

One Gone

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I recently cancelled my subscription to *The Militant* because I didn't like your policies, but supporting Herbert Aptheker for Congress is the last straw. He represents the Soviet bureaucracy, not the working class. And Trotskyists represent nobody at all. I hereby declare war on Trotskyism. Remember my name.

Robert E. Jackson

Rostow's Explanation

Belleville, Wisc.

If Eugene Rostow really said this in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (NYT, Oct. 5, 1966), it really should be included in "It Was Reported in the Press."

"Mr. Rostow said he did not view the American involvement

in Vietnam as "a holy war against Communism" but rather as a "war against aggression" in line with the concept of the Truman Doctrine that Communist states should not be allowed to change boundaries by force. He said he thought North Vietnam had committed aggression by coming to the aid of one side in a civil war in South Vietnam."

If that's what the North Vietnamese are doing (in what is supposed to be their own country), what in the hell is the United States doing?? No doubt this admission was made by him in an effort to appear "neither hawk nor dove." I'm sure he must have realized afterwards his error and will not allow such "mistakes" to occur in the future when being grilled on the Vietnam issue. After all, he has only just started what must be the extremely difficult job of trying to explain present Vietnam policy to the American people.

P. M.

LBJ and Intellectuals

London, England

The Oct. 1-2 International Edition of the *New York Times* carried an article, "Johnson Appeals to Intellectuals." The writer, Max Frankel, said Mr. Johnson was apparently thinking of those who call for withdrawal from Vietnam or for more spending on poverty programs.

Mr. Johnson replied to such views with these words: "He [the intellectual] does not accept in his laboratory or seminar, the notion that the best way to solve a problem is to walk away from it, or to flood it with a sea of dol-

Thought for the Week

"It doesn't take a great deal of statesmanship to get this nation into a world war. Any fool can do that." — Hubert Humphrey in Boston, Oct. 13.

lars or to smother it with an emotional slogan."

Mr. Johnson might well have continued: "Of course not. The best thing to do is to equip every seminar room with gas and every laboratory with a good stock of lazy dogs."

But Mr. Johnson continued in his own right: "Should he [the intellectual] adopt a different set of critical standards when the problem is city slums or foreign policy, than when it is a question of biology or historical research? Obviously not."

Again, in order to make himself clearer, Mr. Johnson should have added, "If an experiment does not scream out its secret after the first threat, give it a megaton or two. However, if it's only a small experiment, a few thousand national guards might be sufficient."

A. F.

Tender Concern in Capital...

Berkeley, Calif.

Recently the Berkeley *Barb* reported that the U.S. has refused to allow child victims of napalm raids in Vietnam to be transported to Europe for hospital care.

I protested to my Congressman, Jerome Waldie, to the President and the State Department. My Congressman replied and said in essence, Dear Lady, This story is incredible. Where is your source

of information?

In the meantime, the State Department answered. The first paragraph flatly denied any such request had been made. Then, in the second paragraph, they admitted they had been petitioned for air transport. This request was refused, for this reason:

"...it is preferable to treat injured children in familiar surroundings where they can enjoy the reassurance and emotional support which can only be supplied by their families and friends."

This sounds plausible enough in this country, but it is hardly applicable to Vietnam. I have pictures showing U.S. Marines grinning as they light their torches to thatched homes — in fact, to whole villages. I also have pictures of hospitals in Vietnam bombed and destroyed by our government.

Now, if the homes and hospitals are burned and bombed and the parents and friends of these pathetic children are in equal agony from napalm burnings, if not already dead, pray tell me how these children can receive any comfort?

Is not the reason for the denial glaring? The U.S. cannot afford to let the world graphically see on little children the crime it is perpetrating against mankind.

Shirley T. Lee

It Was Reported in the Press

What's All the Fuss About? — The Oct. 14 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Gen. Eisenhower is "amazed" at all the ruckus about his statement that he wouldn't commit the U.S. not to use nuclear weapons on the Vietnamese. The *Monitor* disclosed that LBJ phones Ike at least once a week to keep him posted on Vietnam. The paper adds: "Further, it is now known that General Eisenhower felt he was doing nothing more than reflect the attitude of the administration."

Heaven Forbid! — The ACLU has asked the Supreme Court to review an Iowa Supreme Court decision awarding custody of Mark Painter, 7, to his grandparents because his father is a "Bohemian." The Iowa court held that the boy's life with his father "would be unstable, unconventional, Bohemian and probably intellectually stimulating."

European View — Senator Thurston Morton (R-Ky.) says the administration is sitting on poll results showing a sharp rise in criticism of U.S. foreign policy by Europeans. The number of Britons who take a dim view of U.S. policy has increased from 12 percent to 16. In Germany, the number of critics have tripled, from 7 percent to 21. In France, the figure shot up from 36 to 53 percent.

High Crime — George E. Marquadt, 20, of Waukesha, Wisc., was sentenced to a year and a day for impersonating a federal officer. A high school dropout, Marquadt reportedly posed as a physics expert and lectured at Alverno College. Maybe he got caught because people thought he was too smart to be a federal officer.

Social Planning, Anyone? — Interspersed in the news about war, racism, etc., was the finding of a group of scientists that the increasing noise level of big cities is

a definite factor in bringing on deafness. Meanwhile, another group of scientists reported that there is a marked correlation between the amount of cadmium in the air and hypertension and heart disease. Cadmium, which is distributed in the atmosphere through processes of metal roasting or ore smelting, is particularly high in Chicago, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Newark and New York.

The Leveling Process — A survey by the *New York Times* finds that costume jewelry has become so popular that even the rich are going in for it — in their own way, of course. David Webb, a New York jeweler, offers a lion bracelet of diamonds and emeralds for \$49,300. Van Cleef & Arpels

is featuring a necklace and pendant of diamonds and rubies for \$190,000. Harry Winston has a handsome necklace made of two 14th-century ankle bracelets which he says would go nicely with a black sweater. An even \$200,000.

Suggestible Shopper — To illustrate its view that there's a good deal of cash around, an executive of Cartier's in New York told the *Times* that a man strolled in one morning to buy a blue and green emerald bracelet advertised at \$1,400 because his wife liked the color combination. On learning it had been sold, he picked out a blue and green bracelet of emeralds and sapphires. A mere \$37,000.

—Harry Ring

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Boutelle Urges 'No' Vote on Cops

The position of the New York Socialist Workers Party on the Nov. 8 referendum, sponsored by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association to bar civilian control of the police, was presented by Paul Boutelle at a symposium on the subject sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum on Oct. 7. Boutelle is the SWP candidate for attorney general. The following is a condensation of his opening presentation.

We strongly favor a resounding No vote on the Conservative-PBA proposition to bar civilian control of the police. We regard their drive as permeated with racism and reaction. They are waging a viciously demagogic campaign on behalf of their proposition — a campaign designed to whip up fear and hatred of Negroes. Every black person, every white supporter of equal rights, must do everything possible to defeat this reactionary proposition.

While favoring defeat of the Conservative-PBA proposition, however, the Socialist Workers Party does not in any way favor the present board established by Mayor Lindsay. We consider this board a mockery of the concept of a civilian review board. It is a police board with a few "respectable" upper-middle class civilian figures added for window dressing. The simple, incredible fact that members of the Police Department are assigned to investigate the complaints filed with this board underlines what a caricature of a real review board it is.

Need Genuine Board

We of the Socialist Workers Party favor a genuine civilian review board — a board composed strictly of civilians who have no ties with either the Police Department, or with the city administration that is responsible for the conduct of the Police Department.

We have definite ideas as to how such a board should be constituted. It should be a broadly representative one — with special emphasis on representation from the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. This is needed for the simple reason that it is Negroes and Puerto Ricans who are the principal victims of police brutality. No one is immune from arrogant, bullying cops; no one is safe from club- and trigger-happy cops. But poor people in general, and Negroes and Puerto Ricans in particular, catch the brunt of police violence and abuse, and that's why they need guarantees of adequate representation on a meaningful civilian police review board.

The Socialist Workers Party favors such a community-based review board setting up offices throughout the city — again, most particularly in the ghettos — that will be easily accessible to the victims of police brutality. Such a board should have adequate powers of investigation, and there must be guarantees that their findings will be enforced.

And let me add, further, that partisans of a genuine civilian review board should not make the mistake of looking to so-called liberal Republicans and Democrats to lead an effective fight for such a board. Mayor Lindsay's original "compromise" — sellout would be a better word — in accepting a board of policemen with a few civilians on it, makes clear



Paul Boutelle

that he is not going to risk losing political support from bigoted or brainwashed whites to carry on a fight for principle.

And if we want an example of where professional liberal politicians can wind up on this question, we need only look at the disgraceful statement the other day of that foremost spokesman for the "great society," Hubert Humphrey. On Oct. 5, Mr. Humphrey evoked a resounding wave of applause from the convention of international chiefs of police with his declaration that he is opposed to police review boards.

The problem of violence in our society can be coped with only by striking at the roots. We of the Socialist Workers Party are convinced that the great task of our times is to cleanse society of violence. And that means, we are equally convinced, elimination of the capitalist system which breeds violence on a scale never before known in human history. It is a system that breeds such monstrous wholesale campaigns of violence as the intervention in Vietnam. And it breeds the violence, the hatred and bigotry of the type being inflamed in this city today by those leading the Conservative-PBA drive to bar civilian control of the police.

Black Power

I believe the current movement for black power is a highly beneficial development for my people and for all those concerned with genuine social progress. I also believe that the development of black power — and by that I mean independent black political power — will go a long way toward resolving the problem of police violence and abuse. If the people of the ghetto develop meaningful political power, the cops and the city administration will view them with a new respect. Cops won't be quite as impulsive with people who have some political power.

Let me summarize. We of the Socialist Workers Party emphatically favor a No vote on the Conservative-PBA proposition to bar civilian control of the police. But we have absolutely no confidence in the city administration to solve the problem of police brutality, and we have absolutely no confidence in the present board which is not even a sorry substitute for a civilian police review board. We join with the people of the ghettos in demanding civilian control of the police.

Antiwar Movement Prepares For Nov. 5-8 Mobilization

Plans are under way in a number of cities for demonstrations and intensified antiwar activities during the November 5-8 Mobilization for Peace in Vietnam, for Economic Justice and Human Rights.

From Cleveland, the following activities are reported slated: On Friday night, Nov. 4, a major debate on U.S. policy sponsored by the University Circle Teach-In Committee, and sermons by rabbis on peace; on Saturday afternoon, an antiwar march and rally; on Saturday evening, a peace hoote-nanny; on Sunday, sermons on peace in a number of churches and leafleting in behalf of peace candidates by SANE and other groups.

Monday will be Sick of the War Day, featuring a variety of activities by different groups, including distribution of Felix Greene's Vietnam, Vietnam door-to-door and at shopping centers by 200

members of the University Circle Teach-In Committee. On Tuesday, there will be antiwar leafleting at the polls.

In Chicago, on Nov. 5, the Chicago Peace Council, a coalition of peace groups, will engage in a massive leafleting in the Loop, and members of Women for Peace will collect funds for Vietnamese victims of napalm. On Sunday, the Chicago Fort Hood Three Committee and Veterans for Peace will leaflet bus and air terminals where GIs can be reached. Also on Sunday, there will be a Town Hall meeting where candidates will be invited to state their views on the war.

In New York, the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, a coalition of more than 80 organizations, is continuing with its plans for extensive activity during the mobilization. The four days of activity will be kicked off at a mass rally scheduled for the Times

Square area on Saturday, Nov. 5. On Sunday, there will be leafleting of churches and in various communities throughout the city.

On Monday, there will be massive leafleting at subway stations and other places, with the goal of distributing a million antiwar leaflets. On Monday, Sick of the War Day, there will be a number of campus teach-ins, climaxed by a city-wide teach-in from 4 to 11 p.m. at Hunter College Auditorium.

The November 8 Mobilization was initiated by a broadly representative gathering of antiwar activists in Cleveland last month. The mobilization is sponsored by a wide range of public figures opposed to the Vietnam war. A. J. Muste, chairman of the Mobilization Committee, has offices at 5 Beekman St. in New York. Pat Griffith, administrative secretary, has offices at 107 Dryden Road, Ithaca, New York 14859.

Fort Hood 3 Taken Out Of Solitary Confinement

OCT. 18 — Mounting pressure has finally won some improvement in the cruel treatment being received in an army prison by the Fort Hood Three, the three heroic young GIs who took a prison term rather than fight in "an illegal, immoral and unjust war in Vietnam."

Grace Mora Newman, sister of Pvt. Dennis Mora, one of the three GIs, says that on her visit this Sunday to Fort Meade, Md., where her brother and Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas are being held, she found there had been some changes for the better in their conditions.

While they are still being forced to stand from 5 a.m. to 6 p.m. and are still denied reading privileges other than the Bible, the three servicemen are no longer being held in isolation. Samas and Johnson are now in a cell with five or six other GIs and Mora is in another cell with a half dozen prisoners.

Samas and Johnson are now being permitted to eat their meals in the mess hall along with other prisoners. Mora is still forced to eat in his cell.

The modification of the barbaric treatment of the antiwar GIs coincided with a report on their condition in the Oct. 16 *New York Times*. The *Times* reported it had queried officials at Fort Meade after statements by the three prisoners on their treatment had been forwarded to the paper by the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee.

The three men and their supporters and friends are being subjected to continuing vengeful treatment. Mrs. Newman said that last Sunday, three ministers, including the distinguished Catholic priest, Father Philip Berrigan, had visited the young men after writing Army authorities in advance they intended to do so. During their visit, they were called in by the officer in charge and informed they could only visit the men on weekdays and only by advance appointments.

Mrs. Newman said her brother told her that ministers visit other prisoners without restrictions and without advance appointment. She added that when she spoke to Father Berrigan, he assured her they

intended to continue seeing the three GIs and doing what they could to help them.

As a further example of the type of petty persecution the men are being subjected to, Mrs. Mora told how her brother had been found touching the wall while on his cot in the evening and forced to do 25 push-ups as punishment.

The three remain unshaken in the face of their ordeal and are as convinced as ever of the rightness of their action in seeking a court injunction against being compelled to go to Vietnam.

After they initiated the court action, which is still pending on appeal, they were arrested by Army authorities, ordered aboard a plane to Vietnam and court-martialed when they refused. Mora was sentenced to three years at

hard labor, complete forfeiture of pay and a dishonorable discharge. Johnson and Samas were given five years and the other penalties. A ruling in the automatic Army review of their court-martial is still pending, although the normal 30-day period for such a ruling has already lapsed.

NEW YORK — Some 300 people, mainly teenagers, demonstrated in front of the State Selective Service headquarters here Oct. 14 in support of the Fort Hood Three. It was a spirited picket line with chants calling for "Stop the War in Vietnam; Free the Fort Hood Three!" and "Back Our Boys in Vietnam; Bring the Troops Home!" The line was sponsored by the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, SDS, the Student Peace Union and others.

Indiana 'Sedition' Case Goes to Federal Court

Nov. 4 has been set as the date for review of the constitutional issues involved in the "Bloomington Case" — the case of the three Indiana University students who were indicted under a state anti-communist act in 1963 for their membership in the Young Socialist Alliance.

The review involves a request by the three defendants for a federal injunction to stop proceedings, and it will be conducted by a federal three-judge panel appointed by the U.S. District Court in Indianapolis. The defendants are Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan.

They point out that the indictments against them are a direct violation of the rights of free speech and free assembly and that the proceedings have interfered with their abilities to conduct normal lives. Unusual harassment, financial difficulties, including great problems in finding jobs, all flow from the witchhunt effort.

Importantly, this is not denied by the local Indiana prosecution

itself, which admits to the unusually severe repercussions of the indictments. For its own purposes, the Indiana prosecution is also interested in a ruling on the constitutional validity of the law.

Thus, if the federal panel rules on the constitutional issues of the case, the decision will have far-reaching implications. A favorable ruling for the three students would be a blow to McCarthyite and racist state legislation all over the country.

Civil rights fighters throughout the South have suffered similar intimidation, and SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael is presently pressing a similar suit on the federal court level to enjoin state proceedings against him and other SNCC workers, stemming from the Atlanta "riot" last month.

Levitt is presently running in the New York state elections as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Controller. Jim Bingham is also working in New York, and Tom Morgan is pursuing graduate studies at the Indiana University extension in Indianapolis.

NEW YORKERS: To register your stand in favor of civilian control of the police, you must vote "no" in the Nov. 8 referendum.