

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 34 Monday, September 27, 1965 Price 10c

Freedom Labor Union Presses Miss. Drive

SHAW, Miss., Sept. 14 — Workshops are being held here to discuss a fall strike centered around the cotton picking season sponsored by the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU). All Negro cotton pickers, choppers, gin operators and tractor drivers in Sunflower, Panola, Coahoma, Pike, Leflore, Washington and Bolivar counties will be asked to participate in the strike. An MFLU spokesman, Mr. Germain Hawkins, said "this strike will include maids who are now working six days a week for an average of \$14. Our main demand will be \$1.25 an hour for all labor."

A state committee set up at the workshop on Sept. 13, and working out of the MFLU office here, will be responsible for distribution of all foodstuffs entering the state for the strikers.

Another committee was assigned to draw up a constitution for the union so it can register with the National Labor Relations Board. Representatives from the Tennessee Freedom Labor Union (TFLU) are attending the workshops and William Springfield, regional director of the TFLU says: "We plan to strike near the end of this month. We're also going to work in close affiliation with the MFLU in Mississippi." Four counties in Tennessee will be involved: Haywood, Tipton, Fayette and Hardeman.

The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union began among Negro farm workers in Shaw, Miss. last April and spread to several counties during the spring when the work of chopping (weeding) cotton was

underway. In the summer, the union struck domestic workers and cooks at some restaurants and motels. There are still several hundred on strike in six counties, but an important test will occur this fall when the cotton picking season begins. The union is now preparing for the cotton picking strike, and is in great need of financial and other material aid.

The strikers need food and clothing, tents — for the families who are put out of their houses when they strike plantations — and other items such as automobiles for roving pickets and stationary and stamps for mailings. They need money for bail and lawyers.

The spring strike helped spread the idea of the union and begin its organization, but did not win union contracts or the union's wage demands. The pressure of the strike, however, did result in a raising of wages in the Delta area from 30 cents an hour to 35 or 40 cents an hour.

A number of unions in the North have contributed modest amounts of money to the MFLU — the United Auto Workers sent \$8,000 — and a great deal more is needed. This is an issue which can be taken up on the floor of local unions with proposals to send financial and other material aid.

Information can be obtained from and aid sent to the union's state headquarters at the following address: MFLU, Box 547, Shaw, Mississippi. The address of the Tennessee Freedom Labor Union is P.O. Box 277, Somerville, Tenn.

Uncle Sam and the MONSTER

There's this monster, you see, named INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. It's out there somewhere, lurking in the dark shadows of Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, etc., and every time dear, sweet bumbling old Uncle Sam tries to do something for the poor and downtrodden of the world, the monster rages and slobbers and breathes fire. It has already gobbled up the people of Russia, Cuba, China, Indonesia, and the central and Eastern European countries. Now it's after the democracies and it knows that it can't get at them until it does away with Uncle Sam.

Meanwhile, Uncle Sam, pure of heart, thinking only of the good of mankind, dreaming of when all men can live in peace, prosperity and brotherhood, staggers on under his inherited "white man's burden," trying to bring the slaver monster to the conference table where the two can "sit down and reason together."

But, of course, Uncle Sam, like all the boy scouts, must be prepared. He must recognize that maybe the monster will not be reasonable. If that's to be the case, then Uncle Sam will sigh, mop his brow, assume an expression which tells everyone that it hurts him more than it does them, give the ol' boy scout salute and then bomb, burn, torture, rape, pillage, and annihilate the poor and downtrodden. He has to, you see. If he didn't the monster would get them.

[Reprinted from "Life with Lyndon in the Great Society," Vol. 1, No. 32, a newsletter circulated in Southern civil rights circles, written by Jack Minnis.]



Parade in New York To Protest Viet War

NEW YORK, Sept. 21 — A mass march by New Yorkers opposed to the war in Vietnam has been scheduled for Saturday, Oct. 16, in connection with the Oct. 15-16 "International Days of Protest" against U.S. military intervention in the Southeast Asian country. Demonstrations for the same weekend are scheduled in over 100 cities across the U.S., as well as in other places in the world.

The New York march is being sponsored by a committee composed of leading individuals from virtually every group here which has protested the war as well as numerous community, cultural and occupational groups. Included

are individuals from liberal groups such as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the traditional pacifist groups, the New York Committee Against the War in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, DuBois Clubs, Progressive Labor and Youth Against War and Fascism. Also involved are officials of the Teachers Committee to End the War in Vietnam and District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO.

Plans call for a march on Fifth Avenue, a traditional route for large parades, and a rally at the finish point. In addition there will

be other activities the same weekend, including a demonstration at the Manhattan induction center on Oct. 15 and a discussion workshop on Oct. 17. Details for all these events will be announced later by the various sponsoring committees and will be reported in *The Militant*.

The Oct. 15-16 International Days of Protest originated with a call by the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley, Calif., which grew out of the huge Vietnam teach-in held on the University of California Berkeley campus last May. The Berkeley group will direct its protest at the Oakland Army Base which is the main West Coast supplier to the U.S. forces in Vietnam. A teach-in originating out of the Berkeley campus is expected to be followed by a massive civil disobedience action centering on the base.

Call for Protest

In the call for the days of protest the VDC said: "Indiscriminate bombings of peasant villages by the world's most massive military machine has outraged the conscience of the world. The time has come to go beyond debates about the politics of the war; it is time for the peoples of the world to say to the U.S.A.: 'Stop!'"

"The Vietnam war has also illuminated the political crises in the United States. The people have lost control of the government. The Congress has abdicated its function of leading and transmitting popular discussion. The American people are treated as objects to be ignored or manipulated; they voted for peace, but they received a policy of war."

Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, and one of the many sponsors of the New York march, said he expected "many thousands, particularly students from the various campuses in the city" to participate. Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for President of the City Council, appeared on WNBT-TV tonight in a debate with the other candidates for the office and urged the viewers to join the Oct. 16 march.

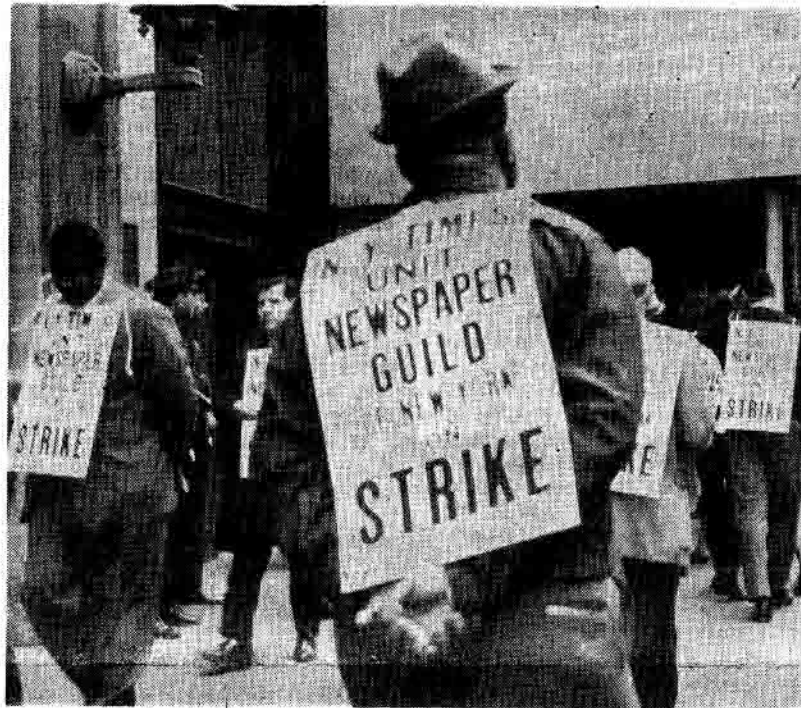


Photo by David Stevens

SHUTDOWN. Members of New York Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, picket New York Times after striking Sept. 16 for new contract including guarantee that no employee will be fired because of automation. All but one of city's remaining seven major dailies then locked out their workers to back up Times' owners. The Guild is an industrial union which organizes all workers at newspapers but printing trades, which have separate craft unions. The crafts respected Guild picket lines. Reporters and editors in Guild face no immediate threat from automation, but office, building, and labeling workers under Guild jurisdiction do.

Fulbright Exposes Johnson's Lies On U. S. Role in Dominican Crisis

By Harry Ring

The Johnson administration was dealt a stunning jolt with Senator Fulbright's slashing expose of its lying, reactionary role in the Dominican crisis. In a Sept. 15 Senate speech, the Arkansas Democrat charged that the American people had been lied to about what was happening in the Dominican Republic and that President Johnson was prominent among those who lied to them. Fulbright established that the U.S. intervened in the Dominican crisis not to save American lives but to save a corrupt gang of militarists.

Fulbright's charges were based on the information gathered in the course of extensive hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of which he is chairman. His indictment of the administration is particularly damning in that all of the witnesses heard by the committee except one were members of the government.

The speech is particularly significant in that it was delivered not by a maverick but by one of the most powerful figures in the Senate. It suggests that uneasiness over unbridled U.S. aggres-

sion has reached even into sectors of the country's ruling circles.

These are some of the charges against the Johnson administration regarding the Dominican intervention which Fulbright confirmed:

- "... the reaction of the United States at the time of acute crisis was to intervene forcibly and illegally against a revolution which ... might have produced a strong popular government without foreign intervention."

- "In midafternoon of April 28 Col. Pedro Bartolome Benoit, head of a junta which had been hastily assembled, asked again ... for U.S. troops on the ground that this was the only way to prevent a Communist takeover; no mention was made of the junta's inability to protect American lives. This request was denied in Washington, and Benoit was thereupon told that the United States would not intervene unless he said he could not protect American citizens present in the Dominican Republic. Benoit was thus told in effect that if he said American lives were in danger the United States would intervene. And this is precisely what happened."

- "... no American lives were lost in Santo Domingo until the Marines began exchanging fire with the rebels after April 28."

- "... the United States was intervening for the military and for the oligarchy — to the detriment of the Dominican people ..."

- "U.S. policy was marked by a lack of candor and by misinformation. The former is illustrated by official assertions that U.S. military intervention was primarily for the purpose of saving American lives; the latter is illustrated by exaggerated reports of massacres and atrocities by the rebels — reports which no one has been able to verify. It was officially asserted for example — by the President in a press conference on June 17 — that 'some 1,500 innocent people were murdered and shot, and their heads cut off.' There is no evidence to support this statement."

Fulbright, who recognizes the inevitability of social revolution in Latin America, argues that for the U.S. to align itself with the Latin American oligarchies will only strengthen the hand of Communists and he proposes that in-

(Continued on Page 3)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

One hundred eighty-eight members of the Sheet Metal Workers Union have been on strike against the Detrex Co., in Bowling Green, Ky., since June 7. The Detrex plant was formerly located in Detroit, Mich., until it moved South some 10 years ago to take advantage of low Southern wages.

After repeated union efforts, the plant was finally organized last October by the Sheet Metal Workers and negotiations were begun for higher wages. The final company offer of an increase of only two cents an hour each year for three years was rejected by rank-and-file workers and they voted to strike for higher pay.

The company responded by attempting to initiate a community-wide effort to break the strike and the union, which included the open use of cops as strike-breakers. According to a report in the Sept. 4 AFL-CIO News, "As many as 32 policemen at a time, out of a total force of 42, have been on duty at the Detrex plant, each carrying an axe handle."

The cops were later withdrawn following public protests, but efforts to intimidate the strikers continue, according to union representative Thomas Reed.

"Reed charged," said the AFL-CIO News, "that the Mayor, police and the Chamber of Commerce have cooperated to help Detrex management in its effort to break the strike. Businessmen warn the strikers that loans would be recalled, mortgages foreclosed and credit refused, he said. Wives working in other plants have been advised they could lose their jobs unless strikers return to work, Reed was told."

A New Jersey temporary disability benefits law provides for payments to employees disabled by pregnancy during the four weeks before and the four weeks after childbirth.

For years, however, payments were denied to employees who couldn't prove that pregnancy actually caused disability during the eight week period. As a result many were denied benefits. Local 827, International Brotherhood of Telephone Workers, has just won a victory in the New Jersey Appellate Court which could eliminate this unfair practice. The essence of the union's plea, upheld by the court, was that pregnancy in and of itself was proof of disability.

The Aug. 13 *Racine Labor* made some startling comparisons between



George Meany

tween government spending on war, and corporation profits, as opposed to expenditures for peaceful social benefits.

"The net profit of one American company for one year," it said, "is more than the government will be asked to appropriate to eliminate poverty across the entire country."

The corporation, American Telephone and Telegraph Company's Bell Telephone System, reported an all time record profit of \$1.7 billion last year. The poverty program for this year is estimated to cost only \$1.5 billion. "The amount to be proposed for the assistance of students in schools will amount to one-fourth of what the government spends on military research." According to *Racine Labor*, some \$6 billion a year is spent on military research alone and only \$1.5 billion for federal aid to students in schools.

AFL-CIO President George Meany is continuing to give lip service to President Lyndon B. Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam. At a recent convention of the Virginia State AFL-CIO, Meany said that to get out of Vietnam would mean only a temporary peace. "Our present strong stand there," he cynically observed, "will help to defend the American way of life in the long run."

—Tom Leonard

Free University Begins Autumn Term in N. Y.

NEW YORK — The Free University of New York will begin its fall semester on Oct. 4. Registration for some 44 courses will take place from Sept. 27 through Oct. 1.

Dick Roberts, *Militant* writer and managing editor of the *International Socialist Review*, will teach a course on the "Origins of the Cold War." It will cover the history of the struggle between the capitalist countries and the Soviet bloc from the Russian Revolution in 1917 to the Chinese Revolution of 1949. The Spanish Civil War will be treated in detail.

Courses at the Free University will be offered by many figures on the left as well as a variety of other individuals whose views are not presented in the academic world. Among the instructors are: Norman Fruchter, editor of *Studies on the Left*; Milt Rosen, chairman of Progressive Labor Party; Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*.

Nearly 250 students enrolled in the first session of the Free University this past summer. The Free University is located at 20 E. 14 Street. For information call: OR 5-7424.

An Invaluable Antiwar Handbook

The Documented Record on Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

An important pamphlet has recently been published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which should become a handbook for the anti-Vietnam war movement. This is "How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam," by Robert Scheer, contributor to the *Realist* and foreign editor of *Ramparts* magazine.

Scheer has done a top-notch job of documenting the U.S. intervention in Vietnam from the post World War II period to 1963, making use not only of extensive literature on the subject but also of many personal interviews with the architects of America's Vietnam policy. The result is the best short account to date — the pamphlet is 80 pages long — of how Washington came to support the police-state, one family dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem against the wishes of the vast majority of Vietnamese people.

Diem's career, from his selection by Cardinal Spellman and Joseph Kennedy as the man who could save Southeast Asia from Communism to his final falling-out with the State Department, is the central theme of Scheer's pamphlet. In pointing out the specific channels of power which erected Diem as the U.S.-backed savior of Vietnam, Scheer indicates how American foreign policy, with its concomitant cover in domestic propaganda, is forged.

Worth noting in this respect is the fact that the main role in building Diem's administration in



Ngo Dinh Diem

Saigon as well as propagandizing for Diem in the American press was played by Michigan State University and the right-wing Austrian Social Democrat, Joseph Buttinger. While a special M.S.U. faculty trained Diem's police force — a force that ultimately imprisoned thousands of political opponents — it was liberal magazines like *The Reporter*, the social democratic *New Leader* and the academic *Yale Review*, which painted the Diem image in America.

Scheer, however, is not only concerned to elucidate the main facts in the history of U.S.-Vietnam policy, but he also pauses in several instances to correct erroneous

presentations of this history which had been popularly acclaimed in this country. Tom Dooley's *Deliver Us From Evil*, and *The Ugly American* by Lederer and Burdick come under scathing attack.

To Scheer, Dooley's melodramatic tale of the "godless cruelties of communism" which became for Americans "their only significant emotional encounter with communism in Asia" is "extensive re-writing of history." The Lederer-Burdick volume is "pure American homespun . . . comic-book politics . . . gross over-simplification of foreign policy which was accepted as serious social criticism."

The pamphlet includes some peculiarly ironic facts: The "strategic hamlet" program to throw peasants into police-guarded concentration camps was pushed through in Vietnam by President Kennedy over the objections of the CIA's chief Vietnam agent, Edward Lansdale. Lansdale told Scheer, "I don't believe in police measures — genocide, transmigration of villages, curfews, use of force . . ."

CIA View

If you are wondering why Lansdale is in the CIA, this is cleared up in the following paragraphs. Lansdale presented his "humanitarian" position in the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 20, 1961, in an article entitled "The Village that Refused to Die."

The gist of the argument was that all the United States need do was supply more weapons to the Vietnamese peasants who were anxious to combat the "Viet Cong" terror on their own. What Lansdale neglected to point out, Scheer continues, was that most of the inhabitants of the "village that refused to die" were Diem-supporting Catholics who had fled from North Vietnam, and not only that, many of them "had been members of Chiang Kai-shek's army who had fled to Vietnam to escape Mao's army."

In his conclusion, Scheer makes a point about American propaganda which many a liberal would do well to ponder. "It has become fashionable," Scheer writes, "to discuss the end of ideology as an accomplished fact of American life. However, on the basis of U.S. experience in Vietnam it would be more accurate to conclude that there has been an end to ideological controversy . . ."

What passes in liberal circles for an unbiased attitude towards Vietnam is nothing short of blind and vicious anti-Communism. Scheer makes the point even more strongly in the concluding sentence:

"Writing about Hungary," Scheer recalls, "Albert Camus created the phrase 'socialism of the gallows' to describe the low point of an ideology that claimed to lead a civilization. But must we not also speak of the United States involvement in Vietnam in terms of a 'democracy of the gallows'?"

Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained from The Fund for the Republic, Inc., Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103; sample copy free; 2-24 copies, 75¢ each; 25-99 copies, 20 percent discount; 100-199 copies, 25 percent discount; 200-399 copies 30 percent discount; over 400 copies, 35 percent discount.

Yetta Fine — Devoted Revolutionary

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — It is very difficult to believe that someone who laughed so easily, whose large dark eyes were bright with an absorption in the life around her, is dead.

Yetta Fine, whose heart was seriously weakened by rheumatic fever when she was a child, died Sept. 11. Her great courage had taken her to her 48th year.

Comrade Yetta had been a revolutionist since she was 14, and was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party. She remained a devoted member of the party to the day of her death.

Not strong enough to attend public school, Comrade Yetta was educated by tutors and a special high school. When she graduated from high school, she entered the University of California at Los Angeles. She married at 20 and left college. Shortly after her marriage she had the first in a series of heart attacks.

Comrade Yetta was a leader of the San Pedro branch of the SWP

for many years, in a close partnership with her husband, Howard, who was an organizer. She had an acute political awareness and developed judgment on organizational questions. Warmth toward people was combined with mature understanding.

Although fragile physically, with a tiny body topped with a head of dark curls, Comrade Yetta had a quick-witted toughness even when she was in her teens. She was distributing leaflets at Pasadena Junior College when part of the football team tried to force her to leave. But when she stood up to them, they left.

She lived the last years in Los Angeles, and in the past three years, severe heart attacks weakened her and she could not attend SWP meetings. Nonetheless, she was exceptionally aware of the political life around her because comrades went to her, welcoming her political judgment. She read widely and thoroughly.

Along with courage and the great and devoted love of her husband, an understanding of her capacities and limitations made it possible for Comrade Yetta to survive as long as she did. Someone might say that her life wasn't one that lent itself to heroics. It would be closer to the truth to say her whole life was heroic.

The absorption in living which counteracted the almost constant pain she knew in the last years came from two sources: although she recognized the world's evils, and she had some recognition of the tremendous value she had for her husband, her comrades and her friends.

Comrade Yetta had a fine talent and taste in the field of art, and in another society would have developed in this area.

Society as we know it distorts human beings and it is seldom that we find someone such as Comrade Yetta, who was loved by everyone who knew her. Being close to her has added a fullness to my life. She has died, but she will always be a part of me.



Yetta Fine

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

THE WAR IN VIETNAM — HOW CAN IT BE ENDED? Speakers from: Students for a Democratic Society, Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Prominent speakers from the left will discuss *Prospects for Independent Political Action*. Speakers panel: Prof. Timothy Harding, Calif. State College History Dept and an organizer of Socialist Scholars Conference; Robert Hall, co-chairman Non-Violent Action Committee; Dan Bessie, organizer of New Left School; James Gallagher, Socialist Party Conference on Jobs and Freedom; Frank Greenwood, Touring Artists Group; Oscar G. Coover, Socialist Workers Party. Steve Roberts, moderator. Fri., Oct. 1, 8:30 p.m. A usp. Militant Labor Forum, 1702 East 4th St.

NEW YORK

CUBA TODAY — ITS ROLE IN THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT. An analysis by Harry Ring, staff writer, *The Militant*. Fri., Oct. 1, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students 50¢). A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

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Students and Faculty Defend Marxist Teacher at Rutgers

The case of Professor Eugene Genovese — the Rutgers University professor who said he would welcome a victory of the revolutionaries in Vietnam — has attracted the new support of two important groups: the Rutgers College Student Council, and the Rutgers chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). The Genovese affair has become a central point in the New Jersey gubernatorial race between Democratic governor Richard Hughes and Republican candidate Wayne Dumont, who is demanding Genovese's ouster.

The controversy began April 23 when Genovese stated during a teach-in at Rutgers that he was a Marxist and a Socialist and supported the National Liberation Front against United States aggression. Although his statement provoked a fusillade of red-baiting attacks from the New Jersey conservatives, the Rutgers Board of Governors voted to retain Genovese as a teacher. Hughes later endorsed this decision.

At the initial meeting of the 1965-66 school year, the 20-member student council, representing a student body of 5,000, voted unanimously to "condemn any attempts, especially those of public officials and candidates for public office, to infringe upon the aca-

demic freedom of the state university."

The AAUP, also voting unanimously, approved a resolution stating: "the principles of academic freedom must apply to all institutions of higher learning whether or not supported by public funds. Recent actions in the case of Professor Genovese have raised serious concern that the function of the university may be jeopardized and its essential freedoms limited by outside pressures."

Previous Statement

In an interview with *The Militant*, July 26, Professor Genovese elaborated his position on Vietnam: "My general theme," he stated, "was that socialism on a world scale held out the best hope for economic and social progress, for political and intellectual freedom and for an enduring peace."

"While I thought the war in Vietnam," he continued, "could be brought to a conclusion, we would have to face many more Vietnams until capitalism, a system that throttles peoples everywhere, was replaced by socialism, which has no need for such oppression." Asked how the students received these remarks, Genovese replied, "The speech was, I think, generously applauded."

The American Way of Life

Shrimp with Lobster Sauce, Anyone?

Did you ever get a real hankering for Chinese food and travel half way across town to get some? That's nothing. Mr. and Mrs. Curt Schaefer of White Plains, N. Y. will be going half way around the world for some — and to no other place than Saigon, Vietnam. That's right. We did a double take when we saw the headline on the household page of the Sept. 16 *New York Times*: "Couple Returning to Saigon — for Chinese Food."

And it's not a case of people from outer space who don't know what's going in Saigon. Mrs. Schaefer says, "It's not the gay place it was a few years ago, but we like it."

Mrs. Schaefer effectively establishes that those who really enjoy good food, and can afford it, can have it very nice in Saigon. And, apparently, the Schaefers can afford it. In White Plains, where the residents are generally considered "well off," the Schaefers occupy "a large home in a wooded and handsomely landscaped section of town."

In Saigon, where they have lived on and off for the past 12 years, they live in "a screened-in, three-bedroom home of French colonial design."

The Schaefers didn't fall for Saigon because it's the only foreign place they've seen. They've also been around in Africa, where Mr. Schaefer deals in textbooks and medical equipment.

"Let us say," Mrs. Schaefer says, "that gourmet cooking is largely unknown in Africa, but perhaps Kenya or Dahomey has the most satisfactory food."

But in Saigon, where Mr. Schaefer represents several companies, including General Mills and Good-year, the eating is something to write home about.

"We usually have three meals a day," states Mrs. Schaefer, "beginning with a breakfast of native oranges, which are marvelous, bright green and expensive, and coffee or Vietnamese tea, which is the best in the world."

"All the sophisticated foods in

Vietnam," she explains, "are either French or Chinese or a mixture of both." And, she adds, with a marvelously American spirit, "we always try to live off the land, so to speak. That is, native food rather than something you can buy at a post exchange or on the black market."

For the Schaefers, living off the land isn't half bad. Mrs. Schaefer, the *Times* reports, "has a keen and earnest interest in many of the foods of the country, including the various fruits, such as oranges or mangoes (far larger than you can buy here) wild duck not much larger than a big quab; the native rice, which she also classes as the best in the world; large crabs; langoustas, or native lobsters; fish of all varieties; and native pork."

The following are excerpts from an Aug. 5 Saigon dispatch to the *New York Times*:

"More than half a million refugees from war and floods have crowded into Vietnamese government resettlement camps . . .

"Conditions vary from province to province. One observer . . . described a typical scene in a camp at Pleiku, in the Central Highlands:

"In a filthy hovel a child was sitting on the slats of a bed that did not have a mat. He was covered with filth, his own excrement, and there were flies all over him. There was no water to wash him."

"When a refugee enters a camp, the government is committed to provide him with the means of obtaining a six-month supply of rice and a resettlement allowance of 3,500 piastres, which is worth about \$35 in real goods . . .

"The refugee problem encompasses not only those in camps or resettlement areas but also thousands who have swarmed into the overcrowded towns and cities. The problem in Saigon is manifest in the form of ragged children sleeping on sidewalks or held in the arms of their beggar parents."

—Herman Chauka

The Socialist Scholars Conference

A Long Way from McCarthyism

By George Novack

The Socialist Scholars Conference held at Columbia University Sept. 11-12 was the first in the United States. It was noteworthy in other respects. As Maxwell Geismar observed in his dinner address, the very holding of such a conference was a landmark in post-McCarthy America.

Coming after the teach-ins on the Vietnamese war this spring, this socialist "teach-in" at the start of a new academic year betokened a further step to the left among the more radical intellectuals. This resurgence of self-assertion among the socialist-minded members of the academic community directly challenges the cold-war liberalism which has dominated the cultural scene for the past fifteen years.

The gathering was all the more significant because it took place at Columbia University which Eisenhower headed while he was being groomed for the White House. Since the fifties its History, Sociology and English departments have been strongholds of such well-known spokesmen for anti-Communist liberalism as Richard Hofstadter, Jacques Barzun and Lionel Trilling. Here C. Wright Mills felt ill-at-ease and isolated in his one-man battle against the cold warriors, for the Cuban revolution, and for academic recognition of the merits of Marxism.

Expanded List

Shortly before his death Stanford Professor Paul Baran told me that in 1960 he and Mills drew up a list of colleagues who might join a New Left "brain trust" and had to stop before reaching thirteen. There were many times that number of faculty members among the 900 registrants for this meeting in 1965. Times have changed!

Possibilities of persecution for proclaiming oneself a socialist have lessened but are not eliminated. One panelist, Said Shah, said he was threatened with loss of his post at the State University of New York at Plattsburgh for participating in the discussion on modern imperialism. The witch hunt against Prof. Genovese of Rutgers for his anti-imperialist stand persists. Such intimidation did not deter either one from taking prominent part in the conference.

As several critics complained, some panelists could not shed the abstractness, verbosity and other defects of their profession. The better contributions were made by Eleanor Leacock on *Distortions of Working Class Reality in American Social Science*, by Professors Shah and Timothy Harding on the economics of contemporary imperialism, and by Aileen Kraditor on American conservatism.

A Highlight

The talk by Maxwell Geismar on *American Fiction and the Cold War*, in place of the advertised address by Isaac Deutscher who could not attend for personal reasons, was a highlight of the affair. The overriding trend in post-war fiction, observed this literary critic, was its turn away from social realism and absorption in individualist introspection.

The favorite hero, portrayed in current best-sellers like Bellow's *Herzog* and Mailer's *An American Dream*, was middle-aged, balding, self-doubting and self-hating, friendless and narcissistic. The novel, along with American culture and politics, has been out of touch and out of step with the time-spirit. It is essentially conservative in an age of world revolution.

We have come through an era when the lie and the frameup were omnipresent and omnipotent. It is most terrifying that the government, like the central character in Mailer's book, is capable of



Joe McCarthy

senseless violence and gratuitous murder. All the trials of the McCarthy period, beginning with the Rosenberg and Hiss cases, have to be reviewed, Geismar stated, to break the spell of anti-Communism, the ideological bludgeon of reaction.

Admitting his mistake in voting for Johnson as a protector of peace against a more reckless Goldwater, he called on intellectuals to cut all ties with the administration for its interventions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Geismar's anti-imperialist position is especially symptomatic since he is not a socialist or Marxist but, as he characterized himself, a liberal turned radical because of the march of events in this country since World War II.

Another sign of the changing atmosphere was the unscheduled remarks in the discussion on imperialism by Prof. Pavel Eisler of

Charles University, Prague. He took issue with Conor Cruise O'Brien of New York University who implied that the capitalist and non-capitalist giants were equally guilty of imperialistic policies toward underdeveloped nations.

The Czech economist said that, while he would not absolve the Soviet regime of its economic malpractices in the postwar period (mixed companies, unequal terms of trade, reparations), the net long-term effect of its economic relations and aid differed from that of the capitalist powers. Whereas Western imperialism impeded the industrialization and progress of the more backward countries through neo-colonialism, Soviet imports helped strengthen their economic substructures. He warned against "throwing out the socialist baby with the Stalinist bathwater."

This socialist symposium included representatives of the anti-war students, the Negro revolt, and radical scholars but had no voice of organized labor on its program. This reflects both the stagnation of the conservatized unions and the remoteness of academic socialists from the social force which, as Marxists, they regard as the main agent of social transformation. During the organizing meeting the steering committee was asked to remedy this omission at the next conference.

Socialism and scholarship are usually considered an impossible combination. This successful conference, which exceeded the highest expectations of its initiators, indicates that socialist scholarship may be on the verge of a rebirth in these politically and theoretically backward United States.

... Revelations by Fulbright

(Continued from Page 1)

stead the U.S. back democratic reformers.

He declares: "It is not possible at present to assess the depth and extent of disillusion with the United States on the part of democrats and reformers in Latin America. I myself think it is deep and widespread. Nor am I assured by assertions on the part of administration officials that a number of Latin American governments have secretly expressed sympathy for our actions in the Dominican Republic while explaining that of course they could not be expected to support us openly."

"Why cannot they support us openly, unless it is because their sympathy does not represent the views of their own people and they do not dare to express it openly? In fact, real enthusiasm for our Dominican adventure has been confined largely to military dictators and ruling oligarchies."

"The tragedy of Santo Domingo is that a policy that purported to defeat communism in the short run is more likely to have the effect of promoting it in the long run . . .

"We have lent credence to the idea that the United States is the enemy of social revolution in Latin America and that the only choice Latin Americans have is between communism and reaction."

"If those are the available alternatives, if there is no democratic left as a third option, then there is no doubt of the choice that honest and patriotic Latin Americans will make; they will choose communism, not because they want it but because U.S. policy will have foreclosed all other avenues of social revolution and, indeed, all other possibilities except the perpetuation of rule by military junta and economic oligarchies."

Little wonder the Senator's speech was greeted with bipartisan howls of rage. Republican

Senate leader Everett Dirksen held a joint press conference with Democratic Senator Smathers of Florida to defend Johnson's Dominican action. Senator Dodd (D-Conn.), a doctory defender of the American Way, was quick to brand Fulbright as "suffering from an indiscriminating infatuation with revolutions of all kinds — national, democratic or communist."

Went Easy

Actually, Fulbright was rather kind to the administration. He asserted that Johnson acted on the basis of false information and on the basis of the information at hand could not have done other than he did. And he even argued that despite such "aberrations" as the Bay of Pigs and the Dominican adventure, U.S. policy still was that of promoting democratic reform in Latin America.

None of this squares with the established facts. The basis for the aggression in the Dominican Republic was outlined more than a year ago. One of Johnson's first acts on becoming president in 1963 was to appoint his reactionary-minded Texas crony, Thomas Mann, as director of inter-American affairs. In a March 18, 1964, speech Mann enunciated what became known as the "Mann doctrine." That doctrine boiled down to the thesis that the U.S. would not stand by if military machines were being smashed in Latin America, that when such machines were in jeopardy they could count on swift, decisive U.S. support.

And this is the fundamental policy of the U.S. on a world scale — a policy of attempting to roll back and crush any movement toward meaningful social change. That's why the GI's are in Vietnam. And that's why the American people are being lied to about Vietnam in the same way that Fulbright proves they were lied to about the Dominican aggression.

THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone CH 3-2140. 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. 29 - No. 34 345 Monday, September 27, 1965

That New York Shell Game

Once again, the game of the Democratic Party primary has been played in New York City and a large number of radicals and persons opposed to the U.S. involvement in Vietnam were sucked into it, mainly through having devoted considerable energy campaigning for the reform Democrat, Rep. William F. Ryan.

Ryan has a certain attraction to the anti-war forces because — while he has not actually opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam — he has been more critical than most capitalist politicians and was one of the handful of congressmen who voted against President Johnson's special Vietnam war appropriation earlier this year.

But there is one fact deliberately concealed by those who advocate radical participation in Democratic Party primaries. That is that it is absolutely impossible for a truly independent politician — let alone one who is opposed to the capitalist power structure, which Ryan is not — to win either the Democratic or Republican primary for any major office. These parties are controlled by highly efficient machines with all the weapons such as patronage, whose power is brought to bear most effectively in the primary elections.

The machine itself has different elements and is capable of considerable flexibility if the interests of the capitalist power structure demand it, but the party cannot be captured by anyone opposed to those interests. The only way a Ryan could possibly win in a Democratic primary is if a significant section of the machine backs him, and that can only happen if the real estate sharks, bankers, and other blood suckers who control all significant sections of the machine are convinced he will toe the line on all essential matters — regardless of the particular campaign demagoguery the situation might require.

In this election, as it turned out, Ryan garnered 113,000 votes to 327,000 for the winner, Abraham Beame, and 268,000 for the runner up, Paul Screvane. This is a sizable vote for Ryan and indicates widespread dissatisfaction with the heirs of Mayor Robert F. Wagner. But Ryan has helped trap this sentiment in the capitalist party system. He is now expected to use his influence to corral these votes behind either Beame or the Republican-Liberal candidate Lindsay in the general election.

As usual, the radicals who attempt to "capture" the Democratic Party end up being captured themselves for policies they say they oppose.

We suggest that those who want to make their vote count against slums, police brutality and against the Vietnam War, cast it for the Socialist Workers Party slate headed by Clifton DeBerry for Mayor.

Johnson and the Miss. Challenge

The defeat of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge of the illegally elected Mississippi congressmen was a triumph for the racist rulers of this country, or in a word, the Johnson administration. It proves beyond any doubt the incapacity of the Democratic Party to enforce the constitutional right of American citizens to vote for their representatives in government.

The Sept. 17 vote against the challenge in the House of Representatives was 228 to 143. In order to pass, the challenge required 218 votes — but there are 295 Democrats in the House, and the Johnson administration has been able to pass every single piece of major legislation it has pushed this year!

The fact of the matter is that the Johnson administration has openly lobbied against the MFDP challenge in order to assure that the Mississippi Dixiecrats remain in power. Hiding behind the "legal" argument that no one ran against the Mississippi Dixiecrats in 1964, Johnson's cohorts cynically ignore that before the 1965 Voting Rights Act only a handful of black Mississippians were allowed to vote in any elections.

After the overwhelming support that Negro voters gave Johnson in 1964, including the support of the MFDP, Johnson apparently felt he had the Negro vote in his back pocket. The Dixiecrat vote is less secure. In 1964 many of them voted for Goldwater. Others still threaten to bolt the Democratic Party.

In order to ensure that the Dixiecrats remain within the Democratic Party, Johnson placed defeat of the MFDP challenge high on his priority list. There is an important lesson here for the MFDP. Pressure can be brought on the ruling parties to the degree that political groups have strength outside of and in opposition to these parties.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

[This is the second half of a review of Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*. The first part appeared last week.]

National Bourgeoisie

One of the crucial problems for revolutionists in the colonial countries is the attitude they take toward the national bourgeoisie before and after the struggle for independence. Some of Fanon's statements on this question are hard to reconcile. Midway in the book, he writes:

"The theoretical question that for the last fifty years has been raised whenever the history of underdeveloped countries is under discussion — whether or not the bourgeois phase can be skipped — ought to be answered in the field of revolutionary action, and not by logic. The bourgeois phase in underdeveloped countries can only justify itself in so far as the national bourgeoisie has sufficient economic and technical strength to build up a bourgeois society, to create the conditions necessary for the development of a large-scale proletariat, to mechanize agriculture and finally to make possible the existence of an authentic national culture."

Leaving aside the obvious fact that the theoretical question can and ought to be answered both by "logic" and revolutionary practice (as in Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution), what's wrong with the above statement is that it seems to leave the question open.

Yet that is not true of Fanon's treatment of the question as a whole. For in the passage immediately preceding the one quoted above, he writes: "In underdeveloped countries, the [national] bourgeoisie should not be allowed to find the conditions necessary for its existence and its growth. In other words, the combined effort of the masses led by a party and of intellectuals who are highly conscious and armed with revolutionary principles ought to bar the way to this useless and harmful middle class."

That is essentially Fanon's position, despite ambiguous statements here and there. In fact, it is hard to find a more damning indictment of the colonial bourgeoisie than the one Fanon has drawn up in this book.

He charges them in the period before independence with greed, timidity, obstructing the struggle, refusing to mobilize or let the revolutionary masses be mobilized, collusion and compromise with the imperialists. He charges them after the achievement of formal independence with stooging for the imperialists, profiteering, opposing African unity, encouraging chauvinist, racial, tribal and provincial rivalries and schisms, prohibiting more than one party, causing the degeneration of the single party into a "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous, and cynical," and transforming the leading figure in the independence struggle into "the general president of that company of profiteers impatient for their returns which constitutes the national bourgeoisie."

And yet, toward the end of the book, Fanon reprints without comment his 1959 statement: "A struggle which mobilizes all classes of the people and which expresses their aims and their impatience, which is not afraid to count almost exclusively on the people's support, will of necessity triumph." Why struggle to mobilize a class that is "useless and harmful?"

Peasants and Workers

Fanon performs a valuable service by stressing that the strategies, tactics and slogans appropriate to



revolution in industrialized countries do not apply to the problems of revolution in the underdeveloped countries, where the class structures and conditions are so different. But this service is limited and partly vitiated by the exaggerated and one-sided way in which he presents the problem.

It is not enough for him to point out that the peasants in the colonial countries are a decisive revolutionary force — he also feels the necessity to assert that "the peasants alone are revolutionary." Later, typically, he says that the "lumpen proletariat" (unemployed youth and ex-peasants crowded into shantytowns around the urban centers) "constitutes one of... the most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people." Despite such forgetful inconsistencies, his main thought is that only the peasants are revolutionary.

In his zeal to demonstrate this, he sets out to show that the workers are not revolutionary (or maybe his aim is only to show that they are not as revolutionary as the peasants; I cannot be sure). He writes:

Relatively Privileged

"It cannot be too strongly stressed that in the colonial territories the proletariat is the nucleus of the colonized population which has been most pampered by the colonial regime. The embryonic proletariat of the towns is in a comparatively privileged position."

In capitalist countries, the working class has nothing to lose; it is they who in the long run have everything to gain. In the colonial countries the working class has everything to lose; in reality it represents that fraction of the colonized nation which is necessary and irreplaceable if the colonial machine is to run smoothly: it includes tram conductors, taxi drivers, miners, dockers, interpreters, nurses, and so on. It is these elements which constitute the most faithful followers of the nationalist parties, and who because of the privileged place which they hold in the colonial system constitute also the 'bourgeois' fraction of the colonized people."

After independence, he says, "the workers are in fact the most favored section of the population, and represent the most comfortably off fraction of the people."

Fanon is not content to say that some workers are relatively privileged, as compared to the mass of starving peasants, and that this has an effect on their militancy and politics (as it has, for example, on skilled workers in industrialized countries). No, he has to call them most pampered, most favored, most favorably off — which makes the reader wonder what ever happened to the colonial

bourgeoisie? Worse than that, it has the effect of underestimating the revolutionary capacity of the working class, which is as harmful for the kind of revolution Fanon wants as underestimating the revolutionary capacity of the peasants.

My criticism of Fanon's one-sidedness does not derive from adherence to any dogma that the workers in the colonies are ordained, at all stages and under all circumstances, to lead the colonial struggle. Thanks to the weakening of imperialism on a world scale and to the contradictions of the cold war, it is easier for political independence to be won from imperialism, and it is perfectly possible for a colonial country to gain such independence without the leadership of the working class and a working class party.

But independence, as Fanon recognizes, is only an early stage in the revolutionary construction of a socialist society. That transformation cannot be carried through to completion without the participation and, yes, the leadership, of the revolutionary workers. And a strategy that tends to ignore the workers in the early stages makes it more difficult for them to make their indispensable contribution in the later stages.

It is true that at the outset of the national struggle, where spontaneity plays a bigger role, the peasants may indeed be readier to act than the workers. For one thing, the repressive forces of the imperialists are thinner and not right on top of them, as in the towns. (Fanon knows that peasant spontaneity has definite limits too, which is why he nominates for the peasants an "outside" co-leadership — the militant members and radical intellectuals of the nationalist parties who are hounded out of the towns by the reformist party leaders and then go to the rural areas to live, learn and fight alongside the peasants.)

But if the workers do not respond as spontaneously as the peasants at the beginning, they do have some advantages over the peasants; properly led, they are in a better strategic position to paralyze the imperialist enemy and overcome the national bourgeoisie. The role of leadership, especially in the early stages of the colonial struggle, is more crucial with the workers than with the peasants. Fanon is aware that the workers in the towns are generally led by reformists and conciliators, and he correctly castigates these misleaders.

But I do not think he gives adequate attention to the factor of working class misleadership and methods of removing it. This leads him too readily to assume that a different, a revolutionary leadership (which would mean a more revolutionary working class) is out of the question, and therefore utopian to work for. Naturally revolutionary opportunities must be seized where they appear, and the peasants should not wait until the workers move. But that's no reason to act as if they will never move.

* * *

Reading what I have written, I am dissatisfied with this review. Fanon was dying when he wrote this book, and probably knew it; under better conditions he probably would have produced a more balanced and therefore more persuasive work. He was a dedicated revolutionist, he worked unstintingly for a humane world, and he deserves much admiration and respect. I hope my critical tone has not obscured the fact that while he did not have all the answers, he did raise, and discuss, many of the key questions.

—George Breitman

Statement of Fourth International

The Crisis in Greece

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued the following statement September 6:

The crisis that has shaken Greece since the first part of July is deepening and moving toward a climax.

For almost thirty years dictatorial regimes governed Greece. At the end of the Second World War, the Greek masses, who had already struggled heroically against the Metaxas dictatorship and the occupation by Italian and German fascist troops, took up arms to get rid of the monarchy and capitalism. They were defeated due to a betrayal by Stalin, who made a deal with Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran and Yalta, putting Greece in the Western "zone of influence." The Greek revolution was crushed, Greece became the only remaining capitalist state on the Balkan peninsula.

A dictatorial regime ruled for long years. However, due to a Common Market boom, Greece underwent a certain economic development and some of the bourgeois parties projected expansion of the internal market and structural modernization (these are the forces behind Papandreu); while the traditional capitalist circles, particularly the big shipowners, backed the court and the reactionary generals.

In face of a divided bourgeoisie, a mass upsurge began in 1964. The right wing was beaten in the elections. Papandreu, the leader of the Center Union, gained power.

A fresh breeze of liberalism swept the country. The masses regained some of their civil and political rights. It was not much. But as the masses began moving, regaining self-confidence, Greek capitalism and the monarchist camarilla, supported by the representatives of American imperialism, decided that the Papandreu government was not strong enough to hold back the mounting mass movement.

Coup-Like

An operation that closely resembled a coup d'etat removed Papandreu from power. Carried out precipitately, the operation led to results opposite from those expected by its authors. It served to whip up the masses. For some two months demonstrations have continued in Athens, in the towns and countryside. In the big cities workers and students have been struggling in the streets with the police. Up to now the bloody repression has increased the militancy of the masses. It is these multiple and powerful demonstrations that have frustrated the court's numerous attempts to buy off members of parliament who would ordinarily respond to such offers. No minister has been able to win a vote of confidence in parliament despite three attempts to split the Center Union either toward the right or to the left. The crisis is tending toward a pre-revolutionary situation.

The masses are displaying ad-

mirable militancy. But the outcome of the crisis has not yet been decided. Great dangers threaten the Greek workers and peasants. The forces of reaction have not yet undertaken to settle things by military force because they know that such an attempt, under present conditions, would unleash the working masses. But they have not at all renounced such a course. They are only waiting for the masses to become tired, for their spirit to die down.

Papandreu's policy in particular fosters this hope among the reactionaries. It is a policy which the Greek Communist Party is backing to the hilt.

Papandreu has openly declared that all he desires is to maintain the constitutional monarchy and to keep Greece in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; that is, in the world's main capitalist coalition. He accuses the right and the court of creating, through their provocations and blunders, a situation in which the masses can escape from control and start a course of action that would liquidate the monarchy and the capitalist regime. Knowing that after so much suffering the Greek masses place their hopes in socialism, Papandreu offers himself as the last card of Greek capitalism.

CP Role

It is the Greek Communist Party that is playing this role at present. Although it enjoys the support of the majority of the Greek workers, who associate it with socialism, it is refusing to inspire the masses by opening up the perspective of a socialist republic. Doing just the opposite, it does not even dare advance the slogan of a "referendum" which would pose the alternative of "monarchy or republic"; it backs Papandreu in demanding respect for the bourgeois constitution; it even demands "democratization" of the court! In a situation like the present one in Greece, such a policy of maintaining the status quo in face of the efforts of the right to overturn it to its own advantage, leads to nothing and can only end in draining away the energy of the masses.

The present situation in Greece is unstable. It can give way to a military crackdown and a new dictatorship if the upsurge of the

Protest Urged in Behalf of Ben Bella

PARIS, Sept. 15 (World Outlook) — The "Provisional Committee for the Liberation of Ben Bella" expressed worry today over the fate of deposed Algerian Premier Ahmed Ben Bella and asked world opinion to lodge protests with the Boumedienne regime which is presumably holding him incommunicado in an unknown place.

Up to now, Boumedienne has refused permission for even Ben Bella's mother to see her son. "The undersigned," the committee declared, "worried over the fate of Ahmed Ben Bella, of whom no news has been received up to nearly three months after his arrest, observes that in any case it is impossible for him to provide for his defense, and addresses a pressing appeal to international opinion to intervene with the Algerian leaders to get them to authorize his being visited by his own attorneys, to receive visits, and to be examined by his doctor, in one word, that he be granted the elementary rights of a human being."

Among those signing the appeal were the famous existentialist philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre and his wife Simone de Beauvoir, the historian and journalist Daniel Guerin, the novelist Francoise Sagan, and the actress Simone Signoret.

masses does not turn into a revolutionary struggle. The present situation thus calls for a bold policy in the workers movement, a policy that calls on the masses not only for a vigorous struggle for their immediate demands and defense of civil and political liberties but also to end the monarchy and to establish a workers and peasants government. The slogan for a referendum poses the alternative of "monarchy or republic." This alternative will not have a favorable outcome unless the masses engage in extraparlimentary action, in a general strike. The struggle now demands the formation of big mass organizations in the form of defense or vigilance committees aimed at blocking any attempt at a coup d'etat or a plot by the army or the reactionaries and at developing mass action in a great struggle for a workers and peasants government, for a socialist republic.

The struggle of the toiling Greek masses is an integral part of the international struggle for socialism. It is of prime interest to the European workers movement which must show its readiness to grant the necessary aid to the Greek workers. Like the Belgian general strike of 1960-61, it demonstrates once again that the European proletariat has retained its potential for struggles intact, and that relatively small changes in the political or economic situation are sufficient to unleash big mass struggles that can turn into pre-revolutionary situations. Revolutionary Marxist organizations must constantly be ready for such

situations and struggles, without letting themselves be hypnotized by the apparent stability of the regime.

To the militants of the Greek section of the Fourth International, who have a rich history of heroic combat and who are engaged in the current struggles, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International sends fraternal greetings and assures them of the whole-hearted solidarity of the International. It salutes the memory of Sotirios Petroulas, member of a group of young students recently expelled from the EDA (United Democratic Left) for "Trotskyism," who was murdered by the police during a street demonstration.

ECLC Stages N. Y. Teach-In On Liberties

NEW YORK — "Is Radical Dissent Possible in America Today?" was the theme of a meeting attended by over 600 people here on Sept. 17. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee sponsored the all-night meeting patterned after the teach-ins. Seventeen speakers discussed restrictions on dissent, taking up federal, state and city restrictions, congressional committees, and restrictions on the peace and student movements.

Speakers included James Aronson, editor of the *National Guardian*; Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*; Allen Krebs, former professor at Adelphi University fired for his views; Leroy McRae, member of the Socialist Workers Party; Dan Watts, editor of *Liberator*, pacifist leader A. J. Muste; Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*; and Jim Bingham, one of the three young socialists from Bloomington, Ind., who face a witchhunt prosecution for their views.

Over 100 people participated in panel discussions on the following day, after the all-night session. Leroy McRae chaired a panel on "Democracy on the Campus." "Federal Restrictions and What to do About Them" and "State and City Restrictions and What to do About Them" were the subjects discussed in the other two panels.

First Tokyo Teach-In Comes to Abrupt End

(World Outlook) — A 24-hour "teach-in" patterned on the American experiment in education was scheduled in Tokyo August 14. It began at 10:30 p.m. with the country's leading commentators, representatives of political circles and former Imperial Army officers facing an audience of some 600 persons. The subject, as in the U.S. teach-ins, was the war in Vietnam.

Prof. Yoshikazu Sakamoto of Tokyo University opened the marathon session with a 40-minute introductory presentation of the characteristics of the South Vietnam freedom fighters, American policy in Vietnam, the attitude of China, the Soviet Union and other workers states, the international import of the Vietnamese war and what Japan should do to help achieve peace.

The representative of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party defended American policy. The representatives of all the other parties attacked it.

The debate got hotter and hotter but still seemed well under control. Finally moderator Shunsuke Tsurumi, in charge of the first part of the program, called on a "bearded American" from the audience. His name was Carl Ogelsby, a leader of the Students for a Democratic Society.

"Upon hearing that this meeting would be held today," the press reported Ogelsby as saying, "I flew to Japan from the opposite side of the earth. The atmosphere is so good that I feel I am one of

your friends. I think the way the U.S. has chosen is very difficult, no matter what Ambassador Reischauer thinks. I can never forgive what the U.S. is doing in Vietnam now."

He was further quoted by the Tokyo papers as saying, "I went to Vietnam and witnessed an American burning a child to death with his cigarette lighter. I saw napalm, too. I was ashamed of myself..."

As he went on, the Liberal-Democrats became angrier and angrier. They claimed that the moderator had "schemed" it, that the speech was unfair and that it should be stopped immediately.

The 24 participating speakers began to shout at each other. The audience then joined in. A division of the house rapidly occurred pro and con.

"Trembling in excitement," the chief producer, according to the *Sunday Mainichi*, ordered his man to convey a message to moderator Tsurumi: "If this confusion continues, we will cut the broadcast."

The moderator intervened, stopped the bearded American and apologized. The program moved into its second part. However, moderator Nariyasu Muchaku, who was in charge of this part, opened as follows:

"When we lost the war, the situation was settled on the Emperor's order. But if we must start war again according to the Emperor's order, will we do it? Or do those who experienced atom bombs agree with the U.S. view that the use of bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki can be justified? Or why have many of those who were labeled as war criminals by the occupation become prime ministers after being released from prison? We would like to hear about that now."

On hearing that introduction, the management of TV Channel 12 panicked. At exactly 4:08 a.m., the show "War and Peace" went off the air and something less educational than a teach-in abruptly appeared on the nation's TV screens.

"Coalition" Politics Debated At N. Y. Militant Labor Forum

NEW YORK — David McReynolds, a spokesman for the Socialist Party, debated Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the City Council, here at the Militant Labor Forum on Sept. 17. "Politics and the Anti-War Movement" was the topic of the unusual exchange that took place.

Camejo pointed out that the current movement against the war in Vietnam was unique in American history — an organized opposition to a war after the shooting had begun. It is political in essence, he said, with a strong tendency to turn toward the poor and away from the Establishment and the Democratic Party.

Exclusion Issue

Critics of the movement, like Bayard Rustin and David McReynolds, are worried because of its non-exclusive character embracing all who are opposed to the war — and because of its tendency to turn away from coalition with the Democratic Party, he explained. Many of these critics, as well as the young people in the movement, have come to realize that it was a mistake to support Johnson in the last election. The critics, however, will continue to make the same error, Camejo pre-

dicted. Their reformist outlook leads them to seek a coalition with the liberals inside the Democratic Party.

The coalition that those like Rustin and McReynolds advocate is in reality not a coalition at all, but a method of subordinating the movement to the administration, said Camejo. "Coalition is not a tactical question for the antiwar movement," he declared. "Independence from the Democratic and Republican Parties must be a principle on which the movement is based."

McReynolds made no effort to defend his support of Johnson in 1964. He spoke of it ironically as a "betrayal" but a "less decisive betrayal — the most a social democrat can hope for." He said he now was for the impeachment of Johnson, who he suggested was insane.

He conceded that the Socialist Workers Party's stand for independence from and opposition to the administration was "correct" and "moral" but he asserted, "you haven't convinced many people." Some form of coalition was the only practical political alternative, he concluded. There is no place to go but the Democratic Party, he added in his summary.

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FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Toussaint L'Ouverture

By Robin David

The Great French Revolution of 1789 promised "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" but France maintained its colonies and the slavery within them. In the richest colony of all, San Dominique (later called Haiti), the African slaves rebelled, found a black leader inspired by this very same French Revolution and its triple promise, and completed the only successful slave revolt in history.

Under Toussaint L'Ouverture's leadership, the black slaves became a fighting unit capable of defeating Europe's strongest military machine — that of Napoleon. In a sense, the same qualities that propelled Toussaint to leadership, also defined his limitations. Born the son of a favored slave, he never suffered the crushing labor, the terror and dehumanization which were the field slaves' common lot.

Black slaves in the colony were almost never taught to read and write. For the most part they didn't even speak French. Toussaint, however, received a simple education and was given work which developed discipline, responsibility and leadership ability, rising to livestock steward on a large plantation.

Though Toussaint hated slavery, the white man had been kind to him and he had established a comfortable position for himself and his family by the time the slave revolt broke out in 1791. Toussaint kept order on his master's plantation for a month, guaranteeing the master's safety, until the rebellion became so deep that the line was drawn — for or against! Toussaint chose "for," and became a leader of the blacks.

Negotiated

But very soon he negotiated with the slaveholders, asking only freedom for 400 leaders of the rebels and no reprisals against the rest. The whites refused. Always it was the unyielding whites who forced Toussaint further on the course of revolution.

To gain military advantage, the rebel slaves made common cause with the Spanish king, then at war with France. The Spanish, who controlled the eastern part of the Island (now the Dominican Republic), saw the growing black army as a means to capture the other half. They hoped to use the black masses as a tool, then return them to slavery.

The principal leaders up to that point, Jean François and Biassou, were bought off by Spanish flattery and riches and participated in schemes to maintain slavery. But Toussaint played a compli-

cated role. He remained pledged to the Spanish monarchy — and therefore also to the restoration of the old monarchy in France against which the French Revolution had been made — but he continued to build an independent military power by organizing black slaves.

He proposed black liberation and equality as the program that would capture the island for Spain. When Spain rejected this, he made the same offer to the French. They, too, refused.

Verge of Victory

The Spanish and their British allies were on the verge of victory in the colony when Toussaint switched and led his troops back to the French Revolution. He did it because the revolutionary government in Paris, having come under control of the left wing, the Jacobins, voted unanimously against slavery. Toussaint then threw himself into leading the fight against the Spanish and British forces and the counter-revolutionaries among the French. Based on the black ex-slaves, and maneuvering between the representatives of France, the ex-slaveholders, the mulattoes, the small class of urban whites, the British, Americans and Spanish, Toussaint soon found himself in full charge of San Dominique. When his amazing political finesse could not solve a problem, his black army could.

He sent the French Commissioners home, and started to rebuild the colony's economy. He was as successful in this as he was in war, but he more and more faced the contradiction that was to do him in. Throughout his life, he tried to come to terms with French civilization. He saw the best in the French Revolution. He never realized that this great bourgeois revolution, built on the ideals of human equality and dignity, would raise the profit motive above these human values even to

the point of re-instituting chattel slavery.

With the downfall of the Jacobins, the French capitalists saw common profit with the ex-slaveholders in a return of slavery to San Dominique. To counter this trend, Toussaint began to increase the colony's independence, making separate trade agreements with Britain and the U.S. In early 1801, he signed a constitution making the colony virtually autonomous and sent it off to Napoleon for approval. Napoleon dispatched 12,000 troops to San Dominique as his answer.

Even with Napoleon's army approaching, Toussaint dreamed of invoking the French Revolution against white reaction. He tried to strike a balance between safeguarding black liberation on the one hand, and maintaining ties with France, and the plantation economy, on the other. He had even gone so far as to shoot Moise, his nephew, to suppress black laborers who rose against Toussaint's policies of conciliating the white plantation owners.

Toussaint fought the French army to a standstill, and tried to convince Napoleon that he was willing to keep San Dominique as a colony of France. But Napoleon had already issued secret orders to re-instate slavery as soon as the blacks were disarmed, and was accusing Toussaint of "independence" only as a pretext. Toussaint, believing France would not re-institute slavery, resigned his command and went into retirement in the hopes of avoiding unnecessary bloodshed. He was invited into a trap, arrested and sent to France to die in prison of maltreatment.

But the black army which he had built went on to defeat the French, declare independence, and wipe out chattel slavery in Haiti forever. This in turn, gave impetus to the anti-slavery struggle in the U.S. and elsewhere.

MEN OF POWER

The Gnomes of Europe

By Joseph Johnson

Who makes the important decisions in the European capitalist "free world"? The people through their elected representatives and their governments? Not so, said the *Wall Street Journal* of a while back, in an article on the "gnomes of Zurich."

"In a book-lined conference room," the WSJ says, "a small group of men gathers to pass judgment on the British government's rating as a credit risk, and the U.S. government's chances of holding on to the gold in Fort Knox."

"This scene occurs," says the WSJ, "not in a James Bond movie, but often at the Basle headquarters of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS). There meet Europe's central bankers—a group of men who wield vast power by managing Europe's money, but do it so quietly that the general public, when aware of their existence at all, regards them as mystery men. In Britain they're sometimes called, 'The gnomes of Zurich.'"

Great Power

The article points out the great power this small group of men meeting in secret have, how they "have the prime say in raising or lowering interest rates, increasing or reducing the amount of money commercial banks have to lend to business and consumers, easing or restricting the flow of capital into and out of the country, and printing or refusing to print additional paper money." This small group of capitalist representatives have, says the WSJ, "the power to directly defy their governments on financial policy," and a gnome

makes these decisions "... usually, largely on his own."

"But the central banker's influence doesn't stop at his nation's borders," says the WSJ. "The decisions he makes will affect decisions in other countries — a fact of which central bankers are acutely aware. So they meet often — usually at the BIS, a sort of central bankers' central bank — to exchange ideas and coordinate policy. This group action naturally magnifies their already great powers tremendously."

"Standout example: last November speculators were selling pounds faster than the British treasury could buy them to keep up their value, and devaluation seemed close. In 12 hours of hectic telephoning among themselves, and across the Atlantic to Washington, 10 European central bankers agreed to lend Britain up to \$2 billion; to help prop the pound the U.S. agreed to put up another \$1 billion," said the WSJ.

The WSJ goes on to point out that the gnomes feel that these economic tasks are too important for the people to decide and quotes a Mr. Holtrop, a central banker, as saying: "The value of money is considered by Dutch law as too important to be left exclusively to the vicissitudes of politics."

The central bankers have the economic power to dictate to governments: "They rescued the pound last November only after satisfying themselves that Britain would make a determined long-range effort to defend sterling by instituting a tight money and credit policy." What a "tight money and credit policy" means in

Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and capitalism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

In his debate with David McReynolds, spokesman of the Socialist Party (see page five), Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the New York City Council, answered the question: Why is the Socialist Workers Party opposed to forming coalitions with or within the Democratic Party? Following is a summary of Camejo's remarks.

In his remarks tonight, David McReynolds has repeatedly emphasized the point that the working class is a minority, that the Negro People are a minority, that the antiwar movement is a minority — that every group opposed to the system in some way is a minority. This isn't only Dave McReynolds' view but is the view common to those who give left-wing arguments for working inside or supporting the Democratic Party.

You know what the smallest minority of all is? It's the tiny minority that rules this country — the capitalist class. If anyone needs a coalition, they do. That's the only way they can maintain their rule.

What we want is a coalition without them. And that's why we oppose any form of support to the Democratic or Republican Parties — because the ruling class controls both those parties. It maintains its rule through the subterfuge of a "coalition" in support of the Democratic Party.

The "coalition" that McReynolds advocates means in reality the subordination of every movement for social change to the Establishment. When he speaks of a coalition with the unions, what he's talking about is a coalition with



Peter Camejo

the union bureaucrats — not the workers.

Every social struggle that has ever been won has required a break with the minority that rules and its organizations. Where would the Vietnamese people be today if they followed the policy of "coalition?" They'd be with General Ky's party — whatever party he might organize for the purpose. They had to make a break at some point and organize independently of their rulers.

MFDP

The question of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has been raised. The Socialist Workers Party is completely in favor of the Negro people organizing politically to fight. We just think they're making a terrible error if they try to do this by supporting the people who are oppressing them. They don't even have the right to vote for Johnson — and they said they'd campaign for him. He's the President of the United States who swore to uphold the Constitution. The Constitution gives every citizen the right to vote. When he didn't enforce this right in 1964 he was violating the highest law of the land. To give support to someone who is violating the very law you want to enforce is insanity.

McReynolds said: "we've got differences but we generally agree on what we want — we have tactical differences." No that's not true! Our differences are not tactical. You want the whole movement to look at the question whether it's aligned with the ruling minority or not as a tactical problem. We believe it's a question of principle.

It's a question of principle because no movement will win any significant social reforms — the problems of the ghetto will not be solved and the war will not be stopped — as long as the movement is channeled into the Democratic Party.

We'd like to see all the people that are in motion unite and fight the capitalists who rule this country — all of us including David McReynolds. Any day we'll sit down and work with you and work for independent electoral activity or any other activity against the ruling class — but not for it.

"The American Beauty rose can be produced in the splendor and fragrance which brings cheer to its beholder only by sacrificing the early buds which grow up around it. This is not an evil tendency in business. It is merely the working out of a law of nature and a law of God." — John D. Rockefeller.

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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.]

Catch-22 Non-Fiction?

New York, N.Y.
I have come to the conclusion that *Catch-22*, Joseph Heller's in-

10 Years Ago In The Militant

PERON RESIGNS RATHER THAN SUMMON ARMED WORKERS TO STRUGGLE — The Peron dictatorship in Argentina ended on Sept. 19. His overthrow has been widely advertised as a "revolution" by the U.S. press. In reality, power was transferred behind a screen of mere military maneuvering. One group of generals went, another took its place. But the basic crisis of Argentina remains unresolved.

Peron fell when the army officer caste, one of the pillars of his regime, went over to his opponents — a newly formed coalition of the possessing classes. These include the representatives of U.S. owned concerns, the Argentine industrial, banking and merchant capitalists and the cattle barons and other large landowners (the oligarchs as they have been designated in Argentina).

The U.S. State Department threw its weight behind the coalition, announcing in advance that the rebel regime would get recognition as soon as it showed that it was in control of the country. — Sept. 26, 1955.

20 Years Ago

HOW RUTHLESS ALLIED IMPERIALISTS DELIBERATELY PLANNED THE FIRE-BOMBING OF WORKING CLASS HOMES IN JAPAN — The horror of the masses of the world over the bombing of civilians by the German imperialists at the beginning of the Second World War was exploited to the utmost by the Allied propagandists. In contrast to the Nazi's indiscriminate bombing of industrial cities such as Coventry, said these propagandists, the Anglo-American imperialists insisted on "pin-point" and "precision" bombing of military objectives only.

The Allied propagandists, however, did not tell the truth. Not only did the Allies ape the Nazi practice of bombing civilians, they went to even more atrocious lengths. This was revealed by the indiscriminate bombing of Hamburg, the deliberate bombing of civilian districts of Tokyo, and finally the two most atrocious crimes in human history, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A still more horrible aspect of Allied bombings of civilians has now come to light. The *N.Y. Times* of September 2 reveals that the Army deliberately studied the homes of civilians, and particularly workers in Japan, to find the most effective way of bombing them.

Out of these experiments the gasoline jelly bomb was "perfected with the aid of Standard Oil and du Pont chemists." Fire fighters utilizing "what was believed to be the equivalent of the best equipment available in a Japanese city to combat the incendiary bombings, found this type of bomb virtually impossible to put out." — Sept. 29, 1945.

sane funny novel about World War II, isn't a work of fiction after all. The activities of the U.S. military in Vietnam are running some of the more bizarre incidents in the book a close parallel.

The Vietnamese gift-giving holiday of Mid-Autumn Night (similar, for children, to Christmas) fell on Sept. 10 this year. According to a report from Saigon in the *New York Times*, "U.S. Air Force pilots, at the direction of American and South Vietnamese psychological warfare experts, dropped 10,000 plastic bags filled with soap, school supplies and toys over five North Vietnamese cities . . . American bombing missions continued unabated."

The comments of a teen-ager from Wichita, Kan., made in another connection, are most pertinent. Taking exception to film critic Bosley Crowther's review of the Beatles' latest movie, "Help!" — which he characterized as "good, clean insanity" — the young lady wrote: "Insanity! You want to look at insanity, you look at Vietnam . . . or Santo Domingo or even our own South and Los Angeles. Now that's insanity . . . I'm sure the Beatles in all their 'insanity' would not treat others like that."

R.S.

From a Good Friend

New York, N.Y.
Since I am unable to contribute any physical activity to the campaign of Clifton DeBerry and his running mates I am enclosing a modest contribution of \$5 with my best wishes for every possible achievement.

With revolutionary greetings,

Dr. O. E. Moscoso

How Brecht Saw It

Toronto, Canada
After reading the headline of the last issue of *The Militant*, "U.S. Talks 'Peace' While It Accelerates Bombings in Vietnam," I had to reread a poem by one of the greatest poets of this century, Bertolt Brecht. It reads:

"WHEN THE LEADERS SPEAK OF PEACE
The common folk know
That war is coming.
When the leaders curse war
The mobilization order is already written out."

How can any aware person maintain that capitalism has changed its colours in the few decades following this poem? The obvious threat of nuclear bombardment by the United States, or at least the possibility of it in the future, soars miles above the realization of "our" top brains of today. These "brains" are comparable to a character from Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales." He has learned everything about everything which leaves him utterly confused and incapable of making an intelligent statement.

E.J.

News of the Left

Oberlin, Ohio
Enclosed is money for my renewal. Keep reporting the news of the entire left — that's what you're great at.

Would be very interested in an in-depth study of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

M.R.

Thought for the Week

"Although the 1966 elections are 14 months away, Democratic strategists tend to get the shivers when they contemplate how the war in Vietnam might influence next year's Congressional race. As key Democrats presently view the 1966 outlook, the Vietnam conflict shapes up as the big question mark and the big worry . . . There is a growing fear in the Democratic camp that as U.S. casualties in Vietnam inevitably climb higher, American voters in large numbers will turn against Democratic candidates for the Senate and House." — Washington columnist John H. Averill.

Rev. King Attacks Deacons

Los Angeles, Calif.
The *Los Angeles Times* reported statements by Dr. Martin Luther King at a rally in Los Angeles last month.

Dr. King referred to the Deacons as "A growing vigilante group in the South playing into the hands of the racists through its policy of meeting violence with violence."

Dr. King is equating violence by the Negroes in defense of freedom and justice with racists' violence to oppress and exploit the Negro masses.

Dr. King's policy of nonviolence means to disarm the civil rights movement in face of all the atrocities inflicted upon the Negroes.

The fraudulent "civil rights bills" did nothing to improve the political and economic conditions of the Negroes. They are intended only to pacify the Negroes.

Perhaps Dr. King would change his line of thinking if he would take a lesson from the history of our Civil War, namely — if not for the armed struggle by the North to abolish slavery against the armed resistance by the slave holders of the South, the Negroes would be living under chattel slavery today.

A.S.

Need for Left Unity

New York, N.Y.

At a time when unity and solidarity are the utmost needs of the moment, for the survival and strengthening of our revived Left, some minor sad developments have appeared on the road toward that goal.

These sad developments of today, like those of yesterday, stem from the same nature — personalism, factionalism, weakness, fear and blindness on the part of the leaders. (Immaturity doesn't apply, since many dissensions and divisions among the Left have been accomplished by elderly ones.) And apathy and misinformation on the part of the masses.

Our labor movement has not been divided; even worse, it has been sold to the masters of government (business) by our traitor leaders.

Our civil rights movement is showing signs of division, too. Personalism, factionalism, weakness and fear have appeared on the road lately. Personalism among those already in the Establishment, and so in power. Or those who are seeking a place in the Establishment, the same system under which they have been,

and still today are discriminated, underprivileged and witch-hunted. Factionalism among those who think they are working better or harder, or better in the courts than on the streets. And weakness and fear among those who are avoiding and rejecting mergers or alliances with the peace or radical movements for fear of being called names, losing the "support" and "friendship" of the Establishment, or the masses. And a few who preach and practice racism as their white counterparts.

Our peace movement is divided, too. There is personalism among some leaders who believe they are more mature, and because some of them belong in the Establishment the way to speak out should be moderate and not so militant, youthful and rebellious.

Only united can we fight the common powerful enemy. Only united can we become a powerful movement, a powerful mass, and form a powerful opposition political party — the People's Progressive Party. And bring to our masses not tokenism or compromise (the continual pattern of "givings" to the people under this rotten and tyrannical system) but the rights and the means that are ours.

Joseph A. Casanova

It Was Reported in the Press

Fatigue Jackets? — A Sept. 15 Saigon dispatch to the *Chicago American* reports: "United States military authorities cracked down today on GIs sporting flashy jackets advertising Vietnam as 'hell.' An order . . . noted that some soldiers in off hours were wearing black silk jackets inscribed 'I know I am going to heaven because I've already been in hell — Vietnam 1965-66.' The order said such displays could adversely affect relations between American troops and the Vietnamese and labeled them in 'bad taste.'"

Leaves Them Cold — As if the contents weren't enough, scientists have now disclosed that U.S. newspapers contain a chemical compound which inhibits the sexual development of insects. The *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* were found to be the worst offenders in this regard.

All the News That Fits — The Sept. 17 *Wall Street Journal* reported: "The Pentagon thumbs down for now the idea of censoring U.S. correspondents' dispatches from Vietnam, relying instead on their voluntary cooperation to guard military secrets."

Florida's Finest — A dispatch in the Sept. 8 *St. Petersburg Times* from the town of Mulberry reported, "The police chief and two patrolmen were arrested yesterday and charged with conspiracy to commit robbery in connection with two robberies, one of which resulted in an innocent man being sent to prison."

Due Process in Florida — The three Florida cops accused of conspiracy to commit burglary are lucky that at least charges have been filed against them. A *St. Petersburg Times* dispatch from Clearwater reports: "Laurence L. Hansen's 92 days in the county jail without direct information being filed by the state attorney's

office gave him the current title for such jail-time among inmates here. But a check shows that there are three others approaching that mark and more than a dozen who have been in jail a month or longer without direct information being filed against them." The D.A. says the delay in bringing people to trial is usually due to a lack of witnesses against them. He explains "We can't perform miracles . . ."

Howl-In — The American Civil Liberties Union reports that a dozen professors at the University of Oregon took turns reading Allen Ginsberg's poem "Howl" in a test of their own academic freedom and freedom of expression as a result of a controversy at Central Oregon College where the college president has banned the reading of "Howl" and other poems.

A Solid Beat, Man — Music will be piped through the intercom system in the newly renovated Elizabeth, N.J., police station. The chief says: "When the public comes into the headquarters for the first time it won't be struck with awe. It will be a nice friendly atmosphere." It will be nice for the neighbors too. The cops can turn up the volume while "questioning" prisoners.

Our Mixed Economy — Rumor has it that McKesson & Robbins, a major producer of drugs and whiskey, may be taken over by

Foremost Dairies, a milk producer. Now if a good chemist can develop a three-way combination they would have the perfect American product.

Right Off the Rack — What with our notices of special buys at Tiffany's and Cartier's, it has been called to our attention that Marguerite Burke Bolhagen, a designer of ready-to-wear dresses has joined the staff of Bergdorf-Goodman. She specializes in simply designed items. Daytime dresses start at \$295. Evening ensembles don't run any higher than \$1,290.

For the Baby That Has Everything — What a wonderful world we live in! Forget about hungry babies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Forget about napalm and fragmentation bombs in Vietnam. An ad by a New York firm offers sterling silver diaper pins. Only \$4.95 for a set of two. Monogramming extra.

Pets and Profits — The American Pet Products Manufacturers Association estimates that Americans spent \$1.5 billion on their pets last year, with the expenditures covering a range of products from pet food to nail polish to mink-lined raincoats. The association noted with satisfaction that this is more money than Americans spend on food for their babies.

Harry Ring

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GHETTO OUTBREAKS, NORTH AND SOUTH

Birmingham, Harlem and Watts

By Robert Vernon

The black working class of both Northern and Southern big cities, concentrated in compact, residential ghettos in dozens of urban areas, has exploded at least once a year in the past three years, each time with increasing power.

The Birmingham "riot" of 1963 is the daddy of the uprisings in Harlem and Watts. Thousands of black people who were never admitted to the workshops on non-violent tactics and who had little interest in either the civil rights tactics or the civil rights demands, went into action in May 1963. The retaliation of Birmingham's black ghetto for generations of humiliation sent a shiver of fright and anxiety through all of capitalist society, from the White House down to the local Alabama racists. It also shook up the civil rights leaders.

The Birmingham explosion of 1963 frightened some slight concessions out of U.S. capitalist society. But those concessions to "The Negro" were directed to the middle-class-oriented civil rights movement, not to the black working class slums whose furious explosion wrenched loose those concessions. The attitude of Negro "leaders" was summed up by Martin Luther King's perverse advice that, if any blood were to flow, it should be "our blood," and by the sneering class hatred of King's aide, Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, "Those rioters the other night were hoodlums, winos . . . None of them were our people."

The ink on the Civil Rights bill of 1964 was hardly dry before the country was rocked by a social explosion in Harlem, setting off a shock wave which touched Brooklyn, Rochester, Jersey City, Paterson, Chicago, and a mighty eruption in Philadelphia. Outbursts of comparable intensity occurred in the South, in Jacksonville and St. Augustine.

The Watts explosion of August 1965 dwarfed those of Harlem, Rochester and Philadelphia the year before. Whereas the 1964 events each lasted three nights, no matter what the police and other authorities of ruling-class law and order did or did not do in response, Watts raged on fiercely for seven days and nights before the fury spent itself. As in Philadelphia the year before, ghetto dwellers undertook a "redistribution of wealth" at the expense of the leech-like white mer-



L.A. Police Chief Parker

chants who prey on the pocket-books of the ghetto poor.

For the first time, black people fought back against the oppressors not only with bare fists, sheer courage, bottles and bricks, but also with firearms. Although 31 of the 34 fatalities were inflicted on black people, the blood spilled was integrated. Enemy helicopters were fired on. Even heavy tanks rolling through the streets of Los Angeles failed to intimidate or defeat the aroused people.

Watts, Harlem, Philadelphia, Rochester show that throwing a few scraps and bones of "civil rites" to the Negro middle class does not solve the problems of discrimination. As the South gets to be more like the North, the struggle of black people in the South will become fiercer and deeper, not milder or more restrained.

Not only is the U.S. capitalist class incapable of coping with these events but the white and Negro middle class elements championing the cause of civil rights, the cause of making the South more like the North, are equally out of it. When L. B. Johnson voices anxious thoughts about the possibility of similar developments in Washington, D.C., where black people account for 60 percent of the population, we can see that even dim-witted ruling class figures are capable of "getting the message" to an extent, and are in that respect ahead

of the liberals, and even ahead of many "radicals."

The ruling class itself is not sure how to convince, or whom to convince, or of what argument. Their first response is to tell the world, through the Voice of America, the Associated Press, their control of world-wide communications media, and their Negro "leaders," that the Watts events "had nothing to do with civil rights," and were deplored by responsible, dedicated civil rights leaders.

This line of reasoning only undermines the projected U.S. image that its cancer of racism is being cured through The Democratic Process. Peoples in Latin America, Asia, Europe and Africa are well acquainted with riots, uprisings, rebellions, civic strife and revolutions. The Russian Revolution was not fought for "civil rites." The Chinese Revolution was not fought to win "equal rights" for Chinese coolies in the European sections of Shanghai. The Cuban Revolution was not fought just to desegregate the beaches. The Vietnamese today are not fighting the American aggressors for an integrated cup of tea. The rest of the world begins to wonder: "Just what relevance does 'civil rights' have to all Negroes in America?"

U.S. embassies and information centers overseas are supplying American tourists with folders to help them "explain" Watts to foreigners (who understand where it's at better than the American tourists). But the official explanation that the "riots" are the work of "hoodlums . . . small nationalist and racist groups" only serves to refute the propaganda that class struggle is a myth in affluent America.

Unfortunately for the ruling class and its Way of Life, nothing its leaders are willing to part with in the way of concessions (scraps from the table), or could give even if they wanted to, will ever win them social peace, loyalty, respect for law and order, love of God and Country, and other wished-for things from the impoverished black masses of Birmingham, Watts, Harlem, Philadelphia, Chicago, Rochester, or Washington, D.C. The gulf between white capitalist America and black America is not much narrower than the gulf between white capitalist America and the people of Vietnam.

"Civil Rites" is not much of a concession to offer black people crowded in the slums of the nation's big cities, North or South. We already "enjoy" civil rights and desegregation, legally and on paper (in the North particularly). The "war" on poverty is not much of a concession, and not much of a "war" either. The real war on this side of the ocean is the one fought by the police, and the National Guard when required, against black people.

In fact, there is nothing that can be legislated by the U.S. Congress dominated by Democrats and Republicans or that can be arranged within the context of the American capitalist Way of Life, that will ever satisfy or win the hearts of black ghetto people.

Decades of segregation, discrimination, humiliation, pauperization, degradation, deprivation, superexploitation, and every other kind of -ation, are not going to be alleviated or corrected by a stroke of the pen, a few assuring words of liberal rhetoric, or by War-on-Poverty social work and charity.

Anyone who disagrees with this estimate should not try arguing with revolutionary socialists. Let them try to convince the black people of Watts, Harlem, Philadelphia, Rochester, Birmingham and other ghettos.

DeBerry Hits Lindsay, Beame as 'Machine Men'

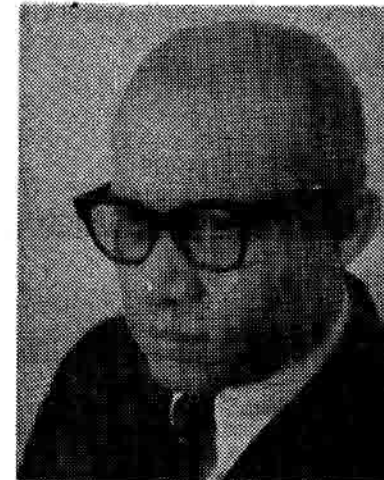
By Clifton DeBerry
Socialist Workers Candidate for Mayor

NEW YORK — The victory of Abraham Beame in the Democratic primary election should dispel any illusion in the mind of progressive-minded voters as to the possibility of obtaining a meaningful choice within the framework of the two major parties.

The Republicans offer John Lindsay, a silk-stocking liberal running as the favored son of soak-the-poor Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Lindsay's nomination is generally recognized as a move by the Republican machine to cash in on the split among the Democrats and recoup something from the Goldwater disaster.

Beame is a long-time machine faithful who made good as the choice of the two most notorious bosses in the New York Democratic Party: Charles Buckley of the Bronx and Stanley Steingut of Brooklyn. They have both long run their graft-ridden machines as faithful servants of the businessmen, bankers and slumlords who have made this city a hard place for poor people to live in.

Are Lindsay's backers any better? He's going all out to corral



Clifton DeBerry

SWP in N.Y. Files 14,000 Petitions

NEW YORK — On Sept. 20 the Socialist Workers Party filed petitions containing nearly 14,000 signatures with the New York City Board of Elections, to put its candidates for the city elections on the ballot. The required number of signatures is 7,500. The SWP candidates are: Clifton DeBerry for Mayor, Peter Camejo for President of the City Council, Paul Boutelle for Manhattan Borough President, Hedda Garza for Comptroller, and Lynn Henderson for Manhattan Councilman-at-Large.

the votes of liberal Democrats who won't be able to stomach Beame. He has two principal selling points in this regard. He ducked taking what would have been a suicidal step in New York of campaigning for Goldwater and he has indicated that he doesn't favor further escalation of the Vietnam war.

What Lindsay doesn't mention is that while he didn't campaign for Goldwater in '64, he did hustle votes for Nixon in '60. He has never repudiated Nixon or disassociated himself from Nixon's bellicose demands for a further escalation of the Vietnam war. And this isn't sheer coincidence. In Congress, Lindsay voted to approve Johnson's latest request for more money to continue the bombing and burning of Vietnam.

Clearly neither Lindsay nor Beame offer the opportunity to vote against the war in Vietnam, to vote against discrimination and police brutality in New York, to vote for a program of decent homes and schools, to vote for an end to sweatshop jobs and scab wages. Those who want to cast that kind of a vote should support the Socialist Workers Party in this campaign.

Anti-War Fighter Sentenced To 5 Years for Draft Refusal

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 — A federal judge has sentenced David Mitchell, a 22-year-old New York bookstore clerk, to a prison term and a \$5,000 fine for refusing to report for draft induction on grounds of opposition to the Vietnam war. He was freed on \$5,000 bail pending appeal. The sentence, which will run five years unless the youth agrees to enter the armed services after serving 18 months in federal prison, is close to the maximum allowed under the law. It is viewed as part of a government campaign to attempt to nip in the bud the growing opposition among young men to being sent to the unjust war in Vietnam.

New Penalty

Another measure in this campaign is the law providing similar penalties for destroying draft cards in protest, which was hastily passed by Congress last month and signed by President Johnson after a draft-card burning demonstration occurred in New York.

Mitchell, who is basing his challenge of the draft on the precedent of the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals after World War II, said "the individual has both the right and the obligation to disassociate himself from any complicity" in war crimes.

He was tried in federal court in New Haven, Conn., where his parents live and where he origin-

ally registered for the draft. In 1961, after participating in demonstrations against Polaris atomic missile submarines, he wrote his local board saying he would refuse induction. He was called on June 10, 1964 and refused to appear. No action was taken, however, until mid-1965, when, after the second refusal to appear, Mitchell was indicted.

Mitchell's defense brief declares in essence that the draft call is constitutionally invalid because it is being used to implement unconstitutional actions such as the invasion of Santo Domingo and the war in Vietnam.

In handing down the sentence Sept. 16, District Judge William Timbers said he intended it as "a sharp warning to anyone who thinks he can avoid military service." Draft boards across the country, however, report increasing problems in filling their quotas, according to the Sept. 21 *Christian Science Monitor*.

The number of youths willing to spend years in jail to protest the draft is very small, but the number seeking to gain exemption by numerous other means is increasing drastically. "The general public," reports Michigan Selective Service director Gen. Arthur Holmes, "doesn't seem to understand the necessity of the draft for a war way over there in Asia."

Socialist Candidate Backs Mothers In Boston Fight for School Busing

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Gershon Horowitz, socialist candidate for Cambridge City Council, has declared his support for the beleaguered Negro parents of the Roxbury section of Boston who are trying to secure a better education for their children. The parents have organized "Operation Exodus," transporting their children out of overcrowded ghetto schools to uncrowded, predominantly white schools.

"Three schools located in the heart of the ghetto," Horowitz pointed out, "were designed to accommodate a maximum of 1,445 pupils. Last year, however, 2,342 students were jammed into these schools, while there were an estimated 8,000-10,000 empty places in the 'white' schools. These facts give some indication of the extent of the problem."

Horowitz blasted the Boston school committee for voting to prohibit any expansion of school busing to help meet the problem. "Operation Exodus" is financed by the Negro parents themselves.

They have asked the school committee to accept financial responsibility for the cost of busing their children, but were unceremoniously denied any funds whatsoever.

"The problem of overcrowding in the schools," said Horowitz, "can be solved by spending large sums of money to improve school facilities. This could be done immediately if the vast sums of money now being spent on war were used for schools, hospitals, low-rent housing, etc. In the meantime, demands for immediate stop-gap measures such as busing should be supported."

"The city of Cambridge should offer financial aid and space in the Cambridge schools for these children who are victims of a racist city administration."

Horowitz, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, is the only candidate in the Cambridge elections to voice support to "Operation Exodus."