

THE MILITANT

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DEMAND VOICE IN SCHOOLS. Harlem pickets at I.S. 201 demand community voice in schools. See story page 8.

Fort Hood 3 Win Better Treatment

NEW YORK — As the result of protests, the Army has made a partial retreat in its barbarous treatment of the Fort Hood Three, the antiwar GIs recently imprisoned for refusing to participate in the Vietnam war.

On Sept. 19, Grace Mora Newman, sister of Pvt. Dennis Mora, one of the three GIs, disclosed that on visiting her brother in the stockade at Fort Meade, Md., she discovered that he and Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas were being subjected to shocking treatment.

As we reported last week, each was confined in a separate, isolated cell and compelled to stand from morning till night. They were forced to do push-ups as punishment if they so much as leaned against the wall. She learned there was no furniture in their cells other than a bed,

and they had to eat their meals either on the floor or toilet.

These shocking facts were reported across the country by the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee which appealed for protests to the commanding general of the First Army. The *New York Post* reported Sept. 24 on the treatment the three GIs were being subjected to.

As a result, the committee reports, the conditions of the three have been modified.

The three young men are no longer being subjected to the cruel treatment of being forced to stand all day.

Each will be permitted to subscribe to a daily newspaper of his choice.

While the three are being kept in isolation from other prisoners (for their "own safety," the Army piously explains), two of them, Johnson and Mora, are now sharing a cell.

Pvt. Samas is still being kept in total isolation. In a letter to his family he said this is a deliberate pressure move and that he was advised that if he relented on his stand his conditions would be altered.

Despite all they have been subjected to, the GIs have displayed an inspiring determination to stick by their guns.

The Fort Hood Three case began last June when the three soldiers filed suit for an injunction against being sent to Vietnam to participate in "an illegal, immoral and unjust war." Although the court action was still pending, the Army ordered them to Vietnam. For refusing, Mora was sentenced to three years at hard labor and Johnson and Samas to five years. Appeals are underway.

Slate N.Y. Meeting For Fort Hood 3

NEW YORK — A rally in support of the Fort Hood Three will be held here on Sunday evening, Oct. 9 at 8 p.m. It will be held at Town Hall, 123 W. 43rd St. in Manhattan.

The rally, to be addressed by prominent figures, will be a "Tribute to Three American Heroes."

The meeting is sponsored by the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee. Leaflets and further information may be obtained from the committee at 5 Beekman St.

An Indonesian Communist Analyzes His Party's Defeat

— See page 4 —

Johnson Talks 'Peace' As He Again Readies Escalation in Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

SEPT. 27 — A new "peace offensive" is underway in Washington, and if this one is anything like the previous ones, opponents of Johnson's aggression in Vietnam should take warning. The administration's pattern is well established: after each "peace offensive" the war has been escalated.

First there was the Democratic Party's 1964 presidential "peace campaign." Johnson told the American people, "Some others are eager to enlarge the conflict. They call upon us to supply American boys to do a job that Asian boys should do."

"They ask us to take reckless action which might risk the lives of millions and engulf much of Asia and certainly threaten the peace of the entire world. Moreover, such action would offer no solution at all to the real problems of Vietnam." (Aug. 12, 1964)

Four months after the elections, which turned out a record-breaking vote for Johnson, he ordered U.S. combat troops to Vietnam for the first time, and began daily bombings of north Vietnam. By the end of the year, almost 200,000 troops had been sent over.

Johnson was faced with a new problem.

The war of napalm bombing and chemical warfare had become more unpopular than any other war in the nation's history. Washington was saturation-bombing the countryside day after day, but had made no dent whatsoever in the area governed by the National Liberation Front. U.S. enclaves were barely defensible; the Saigon government was on the verge of internal collapse.

Johnson planned to double the troop strength.

"President Johnson's greatest personal disappointment in the year just ended," the White House announced Jan. 1, "was the failure so far of the United States to convince Hanoi and Peking of the sincerity of its desire for peace in Vietnam." That signaled the "peace offensive."

Washington sent diplomatic forays to numerous foreign countries; made UN speeches; crushed the Buddhist-led popular uprisings in Danang, Hue and Saigon, imprisoning the leaders; and more than doubled its rate of air raids on north Vietnam including two new major targets — Hanoi and Haiphong.

This week, the Johnson administration is at it again. "Unless the aggressor is willing to give up his aggression," LBJ stated in a Washington news conference, "and sit down and talk, we have no choice except to try to defend and protect these liberty-loving, free people."

For a second time, the task fell to U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Arthur Goldberg, to prove that the "aggressor" is unwilling to give up "his aggression." Sept. 22, Goldberg offered Hanoi and Peking a promise that the U.S. would withdraw its forces from south Vietnam if they promised to do likewise.

Of course Goldberg didn't mention that the prime target of U.S. intervention in south Vietnam is the revolutionary National Liberation Front. He didn't explain why the U.S. offer was being made over the head of the NLF to Hanoi and Peking. Even at official U.S. figures there are four times as many NLF guerrilla soldiers in south Vietnam as Hanoi soldiers, and there are no Peking troops whatsoever. And, whatever north Vietnamese troops are engaged in the fighting, they are defending

(Continued on Page 3)

Ramparts, Monthly Review Editors, Urge Antiwar Vote

Keating, Sweezy Back SWP Slate

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party campaign committee announced that Edward Keating, publisher of *Ramparts* magazine, and Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*, have endorsed the SWP gubernatorial slate on the basis of its campaign of opposition to the Vietnam war. Judy White, 28, is the SWP candidate for governor.

Keating and Sweezy are among a group of independent voters who have agreed to sign an advertisement stating that while they may not necessarily agree with other planks in the SWP platform, they are urging New Yorkers to cast their vote for the ticket as a means of registering their stand in favor of withdrawing U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Among those previously reported endorsing the SWP slate on this basis are Latin American expert John Gerassi, literary critic Maxwell Geismar, former Maryknoll priest Felix McGowan, Dr. Ephraim Cross of Columbia University and author-critic Emile Capouya.

With endorsements still being solicited, the following are among those who have already made their endorsement of the SWP ticket, with organizations listed

for identification purposes only:

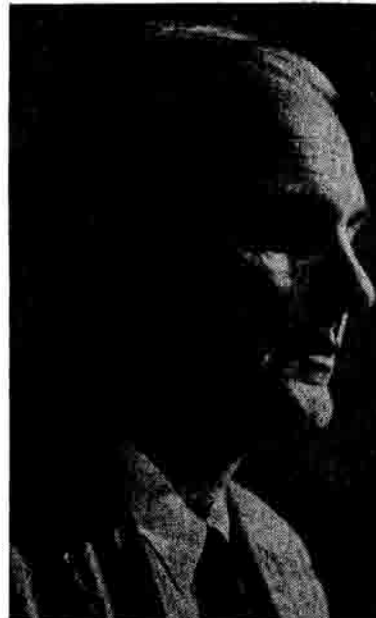
Moses Autry, Local 1199 Hospital Workers Union; Ethel Blasberg, Washington Heights Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Allen Churchill, author; Linda Dannenberg, Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Commit-

tee; Donna Gould, Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Antoni Gronowicz, author of forthcoming Broadway play, "Greta"; James Haughton, director of the Harlem Unemployment Center;

Carl Haessler, member of executive board of Detroit Newspaper Guild; Donald Linquist, American Academy of Political Science; Hal Levin, independent candidate for Congress in Brooklyn's 12th C.D.; Dr. O. E. Moscoso, veteran Dominican independence fighter; Felix Munso, actor-author; Esther Newill, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women Strike for Peace; Grace Mora Newman;

James E. Sallard, Jr., W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; Martin Sheppard, M.D., Committee of Professionals to End the War in Vietnam; Britton Wilkie, SDS; Prof. Robert P. Wolf, Columbia University; Walter Teague III, Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front.

Those who wish to add their name to the list of those signing the ad urging an antiwar vote for Judy White and her running mates can write or visit the SWP campaign headquarters at 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Contributions to help defray the cost of the ad are also welcomed.



Paul Sweezy

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Electrical Industry Negotiations

Negotiations are underway for renewal of union contracts with the General Electric and Westinghouse corporations. The present collective bargaining agreements with these monopolists of the electrical industry expire during October.

Over 200,000 workers are involved, and they find themselves handicapped by divided union representation.

During the CIO upsurge of the 1930's the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) emerged as the main representative of unionized workers in the previously open-shop electrical manufacturing industry. Then, a few years after World War II, the UE was expelled from the CIO. The expulsion took place on charges of "Communist domination," as the CIO hierarchy capitulated to witchhunt pressures generated by the capitalist government.

A right wing split-off from UE was given a CIO charter to form a rival union, the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). Since then the UE and IUE have competed for members, the UE as an independent union and the IUE as part of the merged AFL-CIO.

Between them, these two rival unions represent the main body of unionized workers in electrical manufacturing. In addition there are ten other AFL-CIO unions, including the United Auto Workers, which have lesser membership components in the industry.

Taking advantage of the labor split, GE has in recent years conducted a vicious union-busting offensive. The corporation has sought the initiative in contract negotiations, volunteering minimal wage concessions designed to undermine labor solidarity, and then hanging tough on its offer. When one union buckled and signed a contract on GE's terms this was used to force similar capitulations upon the others. As a result numerous strikes have been broken and union conditions on the job gravely undermined. While usually letting GE take the lead, Westinghouse has been a fellow conspirator in the anti-union drive. Only the unions have been divided — not the corporations — and the results have been costly to the workers.

In 1960 a cost-of-living escalator clause, which the unions had won earlier, was removed from the contracts. The UE News estimates that the workers are losing 24 cents an hour from their present pay envelopes because the escalator clause was eliminated six years ago. Another big setback has been the imposition of "management rights" clauses in union contracts. The speedup has been intensified and worker resistance hamstrung by increasingly tighter

restriction of grievance procedures. In general the workers situation has been going from bad to worse.

It appears that GE will have a harder time this year in trying to impose its own unilateral decision about any wage increase. The electrical workers, like the rest of labor, have been hard hit by runaway prices. They have compelling reasons to show new militancy similar to that of the airlines machinists and the New York transit workers who have set a fighting example for labor as a whole. A combative rank and file mood is reflected in the statement by IUE officials that they won't be limited by Johnson's "guideposts."

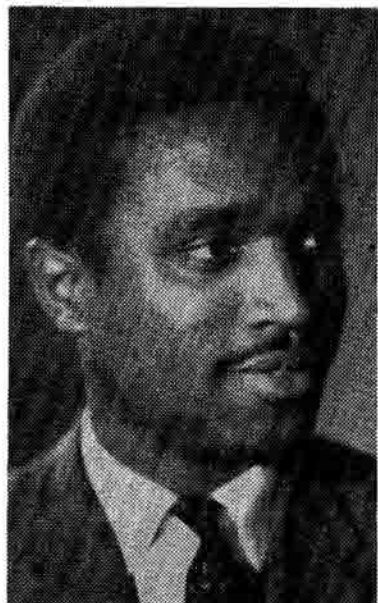
Although the UE and IUE have acted separately in making contract demands upon GE and Westinghouse, their key demands have been almost identical. Both are demanding restoration of the cost-of-living escalator clause. Each is calling for an immediate substantial increase in wages and fringe benefits (IUE specifies 32 cents an hour). Further annual wage increases are demanded and an end to geographic wage differentials. Both ask a shorter work week (UE specifies 35 hours). Another common demand is for improved pension and insurance plans.

Once again Westinghouse appears to be laying back and letting GE take the lead in opposing the union demands. GE started with an announced desire to hold to Johnson's "guideposts." The demand for a cost-of-living escalator clause was turned down and a flat wage offer made which GE claims would mean a 12 percent rise over three years. According to an IUE statement, GE's counterproposal on pensions would mean a loss rather than a gain and the disagreement over geographic wage differentials remains very wide.

Boutelle to Participate In Three-Way Debate on Police Review Board

NEW YORK — The referendum on a police review board for New York City will be debated at the Oct. 7 Militant Labor Forum. At issue is the proposed amendment which would rule out civilian membership in a review board, backed by the Conservative Party and other right-wing groups.

The panelists will include a spokesman for the Federated Association for Impartial Review, the Kennedy-Javits organization which opposes the amendment; Kieran O'Doherty, Conservative Party candidate for Lt. Governor; and Paul Boutelle, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Attorney General.



Paul Boutelle

In preparing for contract negotiations a coalition was formed by the IUE and the other ten AFL-CIO unions with members working in GE and Westinghouse plants. It is intended as a step toward a stronger labor position through coordinated bargaining where various unions deal with a single large employer.

When the IUE insisted that the coalition's full negotiating committee be present at a "pre-negotiation" meeting last May, GE broke off the talks. The corporation called the presence of non-IUE representatives a "coalition subterfuge" and accused the IUE of "frustrating the ability of other unions to independently work out contract arrangements with the company." It was charged that the coalition is specifically aimed at striking GE and Westinghouse as soon as the existing contracts expire.

GE was taken to court over the matter and a federal district judge ordered the corporation to bargain with the multi-union negotiating committee headed by IUE. The district court ruling was first reversed by a federal appeals court and then provisionally reinstated by Supreme Court Justice Harlan. As the situation now stands the order requiring GE to bargain with the union coalition remains effective pending formal submission of the case to the full Supreme Court by Oct. 24.

On the financial side other AFL-CIO unions have offered the IUE \$8 million to bolster its resources in the expected dispute with GE and Westinghouse over new contracts. IUE president Paul Jennings stated that the funds were offered to the union without any discussion of repayment and the offer has been accepted.

In addition the recent IUE convention approved a 50-cent-a-week levy on each member in the event of a strike against either GE or Westinghouse.

Despite the coalition of AFL-CIO unions involved in the electrical industry, the united front of the workers against the corporations remains only partial. The UE has been excluded, even though it has made repeated proposals for UE-IUE unity in the contract negotiations. Factional exclusion of the UE membership from the urgently needed united front of the workers in GE and Westinghouse can only give an edge to the corporations. It weakens the union position at a time when a maximum effort is needed to defend the interests of all workers in the electrical industry.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

Help Promote The Socialist Workers Campaign

Wear a Button, Paste up a Sticker, Pass on a Piece of Election Literature.

Now Available:

Buttons — "Vote to Bring GIs Home From Vietnam, Vote Socialist Workers"; "Judy White for Governor (with picture) Vote Socialist Workers"; "Paul Boutelle for Attorney General (with picture) Vote Socialist Workers." Buttons 25 cents each.

Stickers: 2" x 4" brightly colored, "Vote to Bring GIs home from Vietnam — Vote Socialist Workers." 50 cents a hundred (reduced prices in quantity)

Election Leaflets: "Vote Against the Vietnam War — Judy White for Governor," a statement on Vietnam. "Vote for Black Power — Paul Boutelle for Attorney General," statement on black power. \$1 a hundred.

Write or visit

Socialist Workers Campaign Headquarters
873 Broadway (at 18th St.)

Noted Figures Support Nov. 5-8 Peace Action

A number of prominent individuals have added their names to the list of sponsors of the Nov. 5-8 national mobilization for peace in Vietnam, economic justice and human rights. The mobilization was called by a broadly inclusive conference of antiwar activists held in Cleveland Sept. 10-11.

New sponsors of the antiwar mobilization include: Mrs. Martin Luther King; Father Philip Berrigan; W.H. Ferry of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; Stanley Sheinbaum, also of the Center and a leading expert on Vietnam; Bronson Clark of the executive board of the American Friends Service Committee; ex-Green Beret Donald Duncan; author Kay Boyle; Ivanhoe Donaldson of SNCC; Staughton Lynd of Yale University and Howard Zinn of Boston University.

Previously reported sponsors include Jo Graham of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Barbara Bick of Women Strike for Peace; Edward Keating, publisher of *Ramparts*; Floyd McKissick of CORE and Carl Oglesby of SDS. Other sponsors include spokesmen for various antiwar groups, the Communist and Socialist Workers parties; the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and Young Socialist Alliance, the National Coordinating Committee to End

the War in Vietnam, and the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter.

The Cleveland conference was initiated by three professors: Douglas Dowd and Robert Greenblatt of Cornell University and Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University. They are organizers of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, the organizer of the national teach-in.

A. J. Muste is chairman of the Nov. 8 Mobilization, with offices at 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038. Pat Griffith of the I.U.C. is administrative secretary, with offices at 107 Dryden Rd. Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Frank Emspak of the NCC is field secretary.

The Cleveland conference called on antiwar and social action groups in each area to organize united mobilizations against the war during the Nov. 5-8 period to focus the attention of the electorate on the issue.

Following the November action, another conference will be held. Pending an assessment of the success of this action, a further winter mobilization will be proposed, with a massive East and West Coast mobilization projected for the spring.

The sponsors and supporting groups for the Nov. 5-8 mobilization are the most broadly representative of any coalition of antiwar forces yet achieved in this country.

Prominent Frenchmen Urge Freedom for Hugo Blanco

A list of distinguished intellectuals in France have rallied to the support of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader who was condemned Sept. 8 to a 25-year sentence in the dungeons of El Frontón. During the kangaroo court-martial staged at Tacna, the French intellectuals joined in sending a telegram of protest to President Belaúnde Terry in which they appealed for his immediate release.

Blanco's "crime" was the organization of the peasants into a union to fight for land reform. He is a leader of the Trotskyist movement in Peru.

Among the first signers of the appeal were the following:

Arthur Adamov, Simone de Beauvoir, Roger Blin, Marguerite Bonnet, Edouard Depreux, Me. de Félice, Daniel Guérin, Maurice Jadot, Yves Jouffa, Me. Manville, Maurice Nadeau, Jacques Prévert, Alain Resnais, Frédéric Rossif,

Claude Roy, Jean-Paul Sartre, Catherine Sauvage, Simone Signoret, J.-M. Vincent.

André Breton and Jean Schuster for the Surrealist group.

Jacques Lanzman for the editorial board of *Temps Modernes*.

Eric Losfeld for the editorial board of *Positif*.

François Maspéro for the editorial board of *Partisans*.

NYU CORE Slates Vietnam Meeting

Floyd B. McKissick, the National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, will speak on "Black Power and the Road Ahead" at the New York University Loeb Student Center, Saturday, Oct. 1, at 8 p.m. McKissick played a leading role in the development of CORE's militant opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Jerry Bornstein, Projects Director of NYU CORE, announced another featured speaker will be James Poitras, a CORE activist who refused to report for induction into the U.S. Army on Sept. 9 because he is morally opposed to the war. National CORE is providing legal services for Poitras, a white, and has appealed for funds urgently needed in the case.

These should be sent to NYU CORE, Loeb Student Center, 566 W. Broadway, New York, N.Y.

We cannot go through another ten years like the ten years at the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties, without having the most far-reaching consequences upon our economic and social systems . . . We have got to see that what the country produces is used and sold under financial arrangements which make its production possible . . . My contention is that we cannot have full employment and prosperity in the United States without the foreign markets. — Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Nov. 1944

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES
SOCIALIST POLITICS IN THE 1966 ELECTIONS. Speaker, Allen Taplin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Fri., Oct. 7, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK
SHOULD YOU VOTE FOR A POLICE REVIEW BOARD? A Debate. Panelists: Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Attorney General; Kieran O'Doherty, Conservative Party candidate for Lt. Governor; and a spokesman for the Federated Association for Impartial Review. Fri., Oct. 7, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES
INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION: Which Way in the 1966 Elections? A panel discussion. Fri., Oct. 7, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

...LBJ's Escalation Plans

(Continued from Page 1)

their country against U.S. aggression.

Goldberg also didn't mention that if Hanoi and Peking refused to accept this "generous offer," the U.S. would feel free to escalate its genocidal bombings in their direction.

But the blackmail did not work; and not only did Hanoi and Peking refuse to bend to the threat of bombs, most other nations outside of the close U.S. allies, didn't fall for it either. "East European, Asian and African diplomats," the *New York Times* stated Sept. 25, "know that whatever happens in the elections, Mr. Johnson will still be in charge, and they do not expect any basic change in policy."

"Many of them believe the election will be followed by a further expansion of the United States war effort." Washington has played the game too often to fool any serious person about its real intentions. The war has gotten more unpopular every day, the Democrats are faced with year-end elections, but Johnson intends to escalate the war.

These are the main components of the "peace offensive" — and it is so well understood that the *New York Times* didn't hesitate to run the two front-page headlines shown in the accompanying illustration: "U.S. Offers to Stop Raids in North if Hanoi Pledges It Also Will De-Escalate," and "30 Percent Increase in Warplanes Is Ordered by McNamara."

McNamara's proposed increase in airforce expenditures, for fiscal year 1968, shows the extent of long-range planning to escalate the Vietnamese war. But it is only a part of those plans. On Aug. 3, the *New York Times* Washington correspondent Edwin Dale Jr. reported that the "esti-

mate of defense spending now being used in the top economic quarters of the government is that outlays will continue to rise until mid-1967 by about \$2 billion every three months."

By comparison, defense expenditures were at an annual rate of \$49 billion in the second quarter of 1965 and \$57 billion by the second quarter of the present year. The proposed increases would bring the defense spending to about \$65 billion a year, meaning a \$16 billion annual increase over 1965.

The Sept. 24 issue of *Business Week* discloses that certain of the present defense contracts carry through the next several years and that "total dollar outlays [for defense] have practically no chance of leveling off before fiscal 1969 at the earliest."

This heavy commitment of defense spending, three years in advance, hardly speaks for a "de-escalation" of the war against north Vietnam, and there is weighty evidence that precisely the opposite is the case. Just recently, U.S. attacks have been stepped up on the neutralized zone between north and south Vietnam, where a gigantic "defoliation" campaign is underway.

Invade North Vietnam?

"Everywhere in Washington last week," *New York Post* columnist Pete Hamill wrote Sept. 26, "people were saying that before the year is out we shall invade north Vietnam. The idea would have been preposterous five years ago, extremist two years ago, and very, very dangerous six months ago. But now, people close to power have accepted it. According to these people in Washington, the invasion of north Vietnam is now inevitable." (Emphasis added.)

If this is what Johnson has in store for the next escalation, it probably will not occur until the November elections are over. According to recent polls, Johnson's war policy is now at an all-time low in the opinion of the American people.

Recent Polls

The American Broadcasting Company released a poll Sept. 23, conducted by the John F. Kraft organization in July, which showed that a bare nine percent of those queried thought Johnson was doing an excellent job and 46 percent thought his efforts were pretty good. The latest Gallup Poll brought the number down to 43 percent approval of the President's Vietnam policy with 40 percent disapproving and 17 percent no opinion.

And the most recent Louis Harris Survey, conducted in September, found that only 42 percent approved of Johnson's handling of the war while 58 percent did not.

The trend is clearly towards increasing opposition to the war, and this has been a steady feature over the last two years. What the figures cited earlier on the planned costs of the war show is that not only is the war going to escalate, but the inflation it causes will continue.

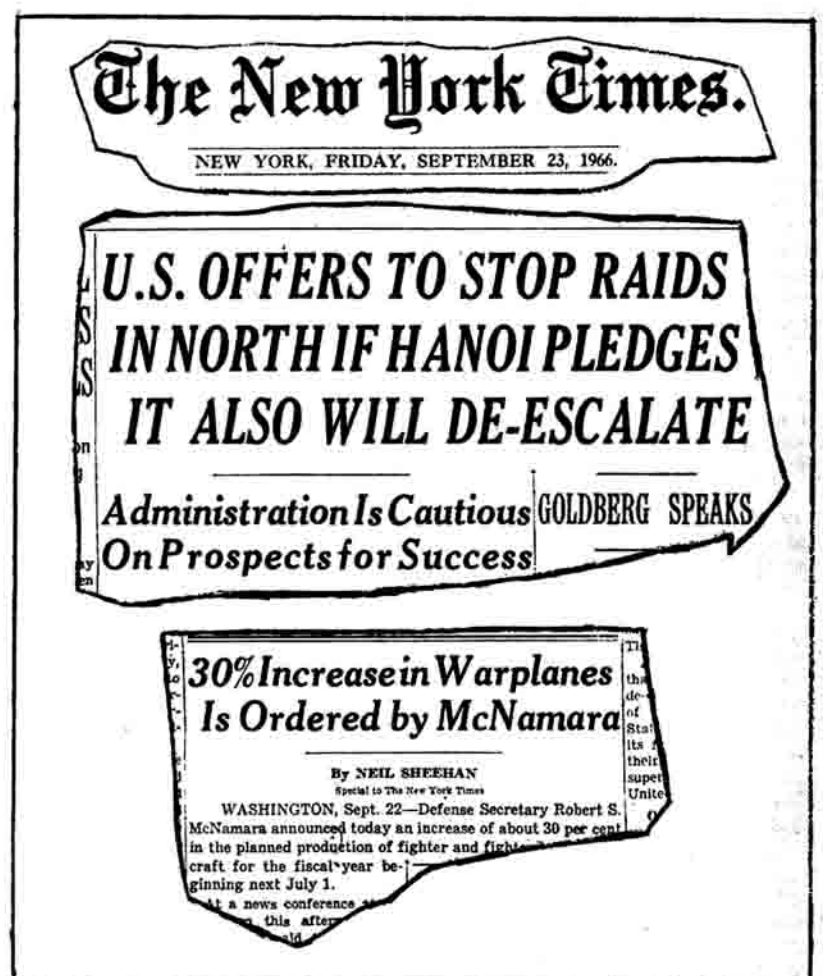
Johnson is certain to press for a gigantic increase in the income tax for next year, possibly on the order of \$10 billion, to finance this increase. This means the war will cut directly into the pockets of workers even more greatly than it already has. But at the same time, increased war expenditures will continue to exert inflationary pressures on the economy and it is likely prices will continue to go up.

In August, the consumer price

index jumped at the very high rate of .5 percent. That means that consumer prices have gone up 3.8 percent since last August, almost at the same rate as wages. But if the August rate of this year continues, it threatens a whopping six percent jump in the coming year — and Johnson's present war plans will do nothing to alleviate this possibility.

Johnson's desperate attempt to save a U.S. military foothold in southeast Asia exposes more and

more clearly at every stage the brutal and cynical nature of the American rulers. At one and the same time they are throwing the cream of American 17, 18 and 19-year old youth into the trenches of Vietnam, bombing on an ever widening scale hundreds and hundreds of thousands of innocent Vietnamese peasants, and draining the pockets of American workers for the enormous costs — and capitalist profits — that this war entails.



These headlines appeared in the Sept. 23 New York Times.

The North Korean Attack on 'Trotskyism'

By Dick Roberts

The North Korean Communist Party has taken another step towards the Kremlin's side in the Sino-Soviet debate; and, in tried and true Stalinist fashion, the North Korean party's position was indicated by a polemic in its theoretical newspaper *Rodong Shinmoon* attacking — Trotskyism.

Pravda summarized the editorial in the North Korean newspaper. The account in *Pravda* was given worldwide distribution by the Soviet press agency Tass. *New York Times* correspondent Peter Grose, in turn, reported it from Moscow, Sept. 18.

"There is no mention of China in the version of the North Korean editorial printed in *Pravda*," Grose states. "But in denouncing Trotskyism it defined that vague ideological word as the principles now being put forth by Peking."

For the sake of its readers who do not have the proper conditioned reflex to the word "Trotskyism," *Rodong Shinmoon* added the following characterizations according to the *Pravda* summary:

"Trotskyism is an anti-revolutionary theory denying the possibility of the victory of Socialist revolution and construction of Socialism in one country... The Trotskyites claimed that the improvement of material and cultural conditions of the people under Socialism would lead to corruption and degradation of the society and create the danger of the restoration of capitalism..."

Further, *Rodong Shinmoon* asserts, "Trotskyites emphatically objected to combining violent and nonviolent methods in the revolutionary struggle. They insisted on only an 'offensive' and reckless rebellion. Trotskyites tried their utmost to unite their supporters in various countries by inciting

them to engineer a split in the ranks of the international Communist movement.

"In addition they committed all kinds of subversive acts in an effort to prevent the revolutionary development and the activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties in different countries."

The Pyongyang version of "Trotskyism" is so distorted that even the *New York Times* feels compelled to note it. "Students of Soviet politics," Grose writes, "might find this a rather strained characterization of the policies of Leon Trotsky, Stalin's great rival for leadership in the early years of Bolshevik power..."

"In Communist parlance," Grose explains, "Trotskyism" is a general term of the highest abuse for an ideological adversary — it has been variously defined to suit the circumstances."

The best that can be said for the authors of the *Rodong Shinmoon* editorial is that they are not the first to use the epithet of "Trotskyism" in the context of the Kremlin's long-lasting dispute with Peking. The epithet was handed down by Stalin and has been used with equal license by his bureaucratic heirs in both Moscow and Peking. In fact, the stubborn reappearance of the epithet testifies to the fact that more is involved than simply exchanging denunciations.

1963 Polemic

The first extensive explanation on the part of the Soviet leaders about why they insisted upon connecting Peking and Trotskyism was contained in an article in the Sept. 13, 1963, issue of *Izvestia* under the signature of "S. Ivanovitch."

After denouncing Trotskyism as "a gathering of unmitigated opportunists," "conspiratorial," "rot-

ten," "bearers of arch-reactionary concepts," etc. etc., Ivanovitch came to what was really bothering him:

"The Fourth International," Ivanovitch complained, "invariably characterizes our epoch as the epoch of imperialism, of wars and of proletarian revolutions, leaving out of account the fundamental changes in the relation of forces in the world arena that came about through the liquidation in a series of countries of Europe and Asia of the rule of the bourgeoisie and of the creation of a world socialist system."

Precarious Forces

"Recognizing the weakening of the forces of capitalism, it at the same time holds that the positions of the forces of socialism are precarious and denies the inevitability of the victory of the latter in peaceful competition."

No Marxist, of course, would deny the inevitability of the victory of socialism in peaceful competition with capitalism. Socialism is a superior economic system to capitalism and under peaceful conditions it would certainly triumph. In this sense, Ivanovitch only heaped another of many distortions on the views of Trotskyism.

But how "peaceful" is the "competition between socialism and capitalism"? It is precisely because capitalism is far from a "peaceful" system — as every single person is daily and horribly reminded by the slaughter waged by Johnson in Vietnam — that Trotskyists do not spread illusions about a "peaceful" transition from the present period of "imperialism, wars and proletarian revolutions" to the future "creation of a world socialist system."

Trotskyism stands for uncompromising struggle against imperialism; and the key question is

not as Rodon Shinmoon sees it, whether this struggle is "violent" or "nonviolent" — the ruling class decides that — but whether it is effective or ineffective. Does it hinder the expansion of imperialism? Does it stop the world-wide forces of counterrevolution and advance the forces of the international workers and peasants? Or does it aid imperialism, weaken the resistance of the workers and peasants, and ensure the victory of counterrevolution?

Such questions are not something artificial injected by "Trotskyists" from somewhere outside the class struggle. They arise in the process of the struggle itself and are of crucial importance. A good example is the case of the Indonesian Communist Party which went down to defeat last year in one of the greatest political catastrophes of modern times.

Through a grossly opportunist policy, D.N. Aidit, the head of the Indonesian CP, paved the way for the crushing of the Communist Party and the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of its followers. His error was to place full confidence in Sukarno, the representative of the "national" bourgeoisie; i.e., the class enemy. And one of the ways he succeeded in maintaining this fatal policy against criticism from the left was to accuse his critics of "Trotskyism." For instance, at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party in May 1965, Aidit declared:

"The revolutionary offensive must also be directed at Trotskyism which has since long ago ceased to be a deviation from Marxism and which is nothing more than a gang of political bandits whose work is to organize intrigues and political crimes. The Trotskyites don the cloak of Marx-

ism to attack Marxism, they raise revolutionary and 'left' slogans to oppose the revolutionary movement, so that they can within limits win over the politically uneducated masses."

"The Trotskyites are not forces of the left, nor are they middle-of-the-roads; they are ultra-rightists, consciously anti-Communist and anti-NASAKOM. Therefore it is out of the question to build unity with NASAKOM as the axis unless action is taken against the Trotskyites as President Sukarno and the Indonesia government have done."

But what happened to the "unity" of NASAKOM — the coalition of nationalists, religious believers and Communists — which Aidit (and Peking) so fervently desired? That "unity" ended in a slaughter of historic proportions.

Which Program?

The question must be put to *Rodong Shinmoon*: Which position was "reckless" in Indonesia? The Stalinist position of "peaceful co-existence" with the bourgeoisie and a "peaceful transition" from that "stage" to "socialism," or the Trotskyist position of uncompromising struggle?

But it is not to be expected that the editors of *Rodong Shinmoon* will seriously consider this question. They chose to take up the cudgels against "Trotskyism" as a convenient way of signalling to Moscow that insofar as the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party may actually follow a policy of international class struggle, the Korean CP leaders disapprove.

They prefer the line of "peaceful co-existence" in the style of the Khrushchevs, Aidits and Kosygin. It is the line least likely to disturb a comfortably ensconced bureaucracy, whatever the consequences otherwise.

THE MILITANT

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345

Monday, October 3, 1966

Antiwar Pickets Greet Lady Bird in California

By Hal Verb

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 20 — Some 300 to 400 antiwar pickets led by the United Committee against the War turned out tonight to "greet" Lady Bird Johnson at the War Memorial Opera House on the occasion of the opening night of the opera season.

A face-to-face confrontation between Mrs. LBJ and the chanting picket line was frantically avoided by Mrs. Johnson. Her party of elegantly dressed opera patrons was guarded by helmeted S.F. motorcycle policemen and Secret Service men.

The pickets had assembled at various points surrounding the Opera House, but at the last moment she was whisked in through a side door entrance. This left the dozens of white tie and tails and glitteringly gowned spectators in the front of the Opera House disappointed at not seeing their distinguished guest.

As Mrs. Johnson moved through the entrance door the pickets shouted antiwar slogans. She faced such signs being held aloft as "End the War in Vietnam — Bring the Troops Home Now" and "Beauty for America — Burning for Vietnam." In the meantime they kept up the by-now-familiar chant of "Hey, Hey LBJ — How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?"

Once she was inside the building, the pickets maintained a line outside the building until her departure. During this time the Haight-Ashbury Agit-Prop Theater put on a satirical opera en-

titled "Stop the War Machine" under the talented direction of Nina Landau. The ensemble is fast becoming a popular favorite of Bay Area citizens wherever antiwar demonstrations are being held.

To the music of "Oklahoma," the Agit-Prop performers sang such lyrics as "Stop the War Machine, the price is too much too high to pay; Where the people die and the children cry and the bombs keep falling every day; The bombs keep falling every day — Must we destroy Vietnam."

Inside the Opera House the Secret Service was acting like a bunch of "nervous nellies" as they relocated Mrs. Johnson and her party during the Opera "I, Puritani" at least once.

Inside Sale

One demonstrator successfully entered the gilded halls of the Opera House to sell antiwar literature before her bundle was confiscated by an usher.

When the Opera ended, Mrs. Johnson was again hustled out of the same side door entrance she had entered.

Some of the picketers were not unfriendly, however. A delegation of local Teamsters showed up and they carried placards reading: "Welcome Mrs. LBJ." Karen Lieberman of the United Committee engaged one of the teamsters in a debate. "Will you welcome her when her husband breaks your strike?" she asked them.

There is no report of what they had to reply to her question.

National Committee Session Is Held By Young Socialists

NEW YORK — The national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance met here over the Sept. 17-18 weekend to discuss plans for the coming period. National committee members came from all over the country, from Boston to Seattle, for the gathering. The YSA national committee meets between national conventions of the YSA to plan YSA activities.

Top priority was placed on continued YSA activity in building the antiwar movement, including organizing for the Nov. 5-8 mobilization and defense of the Fort Hood Three.

A message of solidarity was sent to the Fort Hood Three: "Your courageous stand in refusing to go to Vietnam and fight in a war you consider unjust, illegal and immoral has inspired all of us who are in the fight against this war. We believe that the attempts of the government to victimize the Fort Hood Three represent an attack not only on the opponents of the war in Vietnam but also on the basic civil liberties of all GIs and all Americans. We pledge ourselves to do everything we can to win your freedom and to make the facts about your case known as widely as possible."

The discussion on the antiwar movement analyzed the changes in the movement over the last period, including the tendency toward greater militancy, broader

cooperation among different wings of the movement, and the orientation toward bringing the facts of the war to the troops.

A high point of the weekend deliberations was the discussion of the Negro struggle and the rise of black power as a slogan. Reports were given from many areas on work being done by the YSA in helping to disseminate the ideas of Malcolm X, and supporting such things as the Black Panther Party in Alabama.

A special report was given on the case of the Bloomington students, three YSAers who have been under indictment in Indiana for over three years. The three, Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan and Jim Bingham, were indicted in 1963 under Indiana's "anti-communism" act for their socialist beliefs. A hearing on the constitutionality of the law is scheduled for this fall before a three-judge federal panel.

The plenum of the national committee decided to raise a record \$7,900 in a fund drive this fall.

The plenum sent telegrams of solidarity to Garlene Bernard, widow of Leo Bernard, a young member of the Socialist Workers Party who was murdered by an anti-communist fanatic last May, and to Jan Garrett and Walter Graham, YSAers who were critically wounded at the same time.

An Indonesian Comn

By T. Soedarso

[On Sept. 30 it will be one year since the events began in Indonesia that rapidly led to one of the greatest tragedies of our times, the decimation of the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world and a nationwide slaughter in which the estimates of the number of victims range from 300,000 to more than 500,000. According to the latest reports in the press, the killings are still going on.]

[Such a political debacle and mass blood-letting demand the most intensive analysis. The costly experience makes it imperative that the lessons be singled out and learned by the workers movement. In resolutions and articles the Fourth International and parties adhering to its views began this task even before the defeat by calling attention to the class-collaborationist policies followed by the Aduit leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI, Partai Komunis Indonesia) with the approval of Moscow and the special backing of Peking. Up to now, primarily because of the ferocious repression, little has come out of Indonesia itself.]

[That the Indonesian Communists are now beginning to review the bitter experience they have lived through, is well indicated by the following article. The author is a young member of the Indonesian Communist Party concerned about assessing the causes and meaning of the tragic defeat suffered by his party. He is now in exile. As a reflection of the thinking going on in the most advanced sectors of the ranks of the PKI, the article is of considerable interest and we are pleased to be able to offer it in The Militant. It originally appeared in World Outlook.]

[The Militant will run Mr. Soedarso's article in three parts, beginning with this issue and continuing in the next two issues.]

* * *

"Indonesia's military student action front, KAMI, has appealed for military help in face of what it calls mounting Communist attacks in Central Java. A student delegation from Jogjakarta said here today that 35 KAMI students were wounded in clashes with Communists. A spokesman said a campaign of terror was underway and the KAMI leaders had asked for military help." This item appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune* [European edition] July 20, 1966.

Similar reports have appeared with increasing frequency recently, indicating that armed resistance is being mounted by the Indonesian revolutionary forces against the brutal suppressive measures of the Indonesian military-fascist regime. The armed struggle is occurring not only in Central Java, an area considered to be the stronghold of the revolutionary movement, but also in other islands of the republic.

This armed struggle, however, is still uncoordinated. It is still sporadic and anarchistic in nature. It still lacks leadership, either political or military, capable of organizing an armed uprising. It seems that the Communist Party of Indonesia has not recovered from its defeat. Is the leadership still intact? Has there been a new regrouping? Where does the leadership stand in relation to this new situation? Do they still support Sukarno, as in the final statement of October 1965? Do they still maintain the old political line or have they drastically changed it?

No answers are to be found in either journals or pamphlets. The masses are acting in accordance with their own judgment and initiative, seeking to protect themselves from being massacred by the forces of the Indonesian reaction. Out of loyalty, many in the

ranks have drawn the conclusion that the leadership has remained silent due to "security reasons" or as "safety measures."

Most likely we are faced with a vacuum, the leaders having been martyred during the witchhunt, or the survivors being unable to assess the new situation. The events in Indonesia constitute a catastrophe for the PKI in particular and for the revolutionary movement in Indonesia as a whole.

It is true, of course, that the future of the Indonesian revolutionary movement has not been destroyed — it cannot be. The movement will rise again in a mightier force that will finally end the system of exploitation of man by man in Indonesia. But it is a fact that it has suffered a serious defeat and setback.

Nevertheless there are some to be found who still do not regard it as a defeat but as a "blessing in disguise"; since now the line between friend and foe is very clear and the people really know that "it is not we who resort to violence but the reactionaries." Such people still maintain that the past policies of the party were quite correct, the recent catastrophe being merely a "routine" incident in the revolutionary struggle. "Sacrifices always occur," they say. Thus these people do not consider it necessary to analyze the previous policies, strategy and tactics of the party; they even argue that it is "premature" to attempt this or "it is very dangerous because it can lead to a split in our movement." Their advice is to "just continue the struggle in line with the past policy, only with more caution and vigilance."

This stand is not correct. We should pay tribute to the fallen heroes of the people; we should salute the martyrs of the revolution; we should prepare retribution for the brutality of the reactionary forces; we should express solidarity with all who have suffered. But can we just continue "spontaneously," merely pursuing the struggle without seeking a better road, more effective methods?

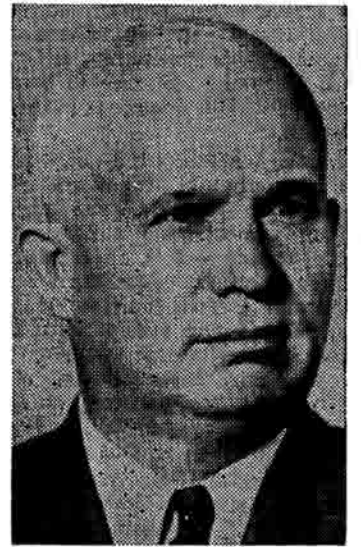
No! We must recognize that it was a setback, a big setback. We must dare to uncover the mistakes of the past that led to this failure. And we must have the courage to make the necessary corrections so that we won't fall into the same fatal errors again. Criticism and self-criticism are necessities for a healthy revolutionary movement.

In my opinion, the following mistakes led to the present defeat.

The Policy of Seeking to Achieve Socialism by Peaceful Means

This was the most fundamental error. The PKI believed that socialism in Indonesia could be achieved by peaceful means. As stated in the constitution of the PKI: "To achieve its goal, the PKI follows peaceful and democratic ways. This is what is sought by the PKI and what will be consistently pursued."¹ And the second secretary of the Central Committee of the PKI, M. H. Lukman, explained this as follows:

"The constitution now mentions the possibility of a transition to socialism by peaceful means. Theoretically as well as practically, this has an important meaning... in face of the propaganda of the reactionaries, we feel it necessary to affirm the possibility of a transition to socialism by peaceful means. By emphasizing that we



Khrushchev

are going to make this possibility become a reality, we can thereby show the people that if violence does occur, it was not started by the Communists or was due to them and it is not at all wanted by the Communists.

"From the theoretical point of view, to affirm the possibility of a transition to socialism by peaceful means, signifies affirming the truth that Marxism-Leninism does not point to absolutely the same road for socialism in all countries in different periods and in different international conditions. This also means that we Marxist-Leninists do not bind ourselves to certain forms, methods and roads of completing the revolution, because everything depends on the concrete balance of power among the existing classes, on the quality of the working-class organization and its enemy, on the ability of the working class to attract its allies to its side, especially the peasants, and on taking into account the existence of democratic institutions in each country."²

In the same speech, Lukman said further: "In accordance with the teachings of Marx and Lenin; namely, by taking into account the objective conditions of the world balance of power between the socialist and democratic forces on the one hand, and the imperialist forces on the other, and considering the experiences in the East European countries where the transition to socialism did not occur through a civil war, Comrade Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU stated the conclusion that in the present situation certain countries have a real possibility of reaching socialism in a peaceful way."

It is therefore understandable why the PKI was unprepared for armed struggle when the crisis came last Oct. 1. The PKI concentrated activity only on the "legal" or "parliamentary democratic" platform. It completely ignored preparations for armed struggle by the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working-class party. This was well-known to the reactionary forces; consequently they launched a quick brutal action to liquidate the revolutionary forces. The only hope for the revolutionary forces was to seek safe retreats, but it was already too late. The toll was very high.

Because of this belief in a peaceful way of achieving socialism, and perhaps especially because of the advice of "Comrade" Stalin and later "Comrade" Khrushchev, the leadership of the PKI willingly, if not even faithfully, followed Sukarno's personal leadership and teachings.

Sukarno was considered by the party to be a "pro-people's element" and even the "great leader of the revolution." The reactionary

1. Constitution of the PKI. Central Committee of the Partai Komunis Indonesia, Jakarta, 1964. P. 18.

2. M. H. Lukman, *About the Constitution*. Jajasan Pamburuan, Jakarta, 1959, pp. 26-27.

unist Analyzes His Party's Defeat

forces brutally massacred members of the PKI and other revolutionary forces in the name of Sukarno; yet Second Secretary Njoto still said, "The PKI recognizes only one head of the state, one supreme commander, one great leader of the revolution — President Sukarno." Furthermore, "It is President Sukarno united with the forces of the people who will decide the destiny and future of Indonesia."

In accordance with the Oct. 10, 1965, instructions of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PKI, Njoto continued, all party members should "fully support the directives of President Sukarno and pledge themselves to implement these without reserve." (The Oct. 10 instructions have not been withdrawn to this day.) The party was still seeking to maintain the peaceful road. Njoto said, "Our party is making every effort in its power to prevent a civil war."³

As for the Indonesian Armed Forces, the PKI held that they constituted forces of the people, since the ranks were made up of the sons of workers and peasants. This viewpoint was maintained even after the "Oct. 1 affair," Njoto saying: "We do not consider the Indonesian National Forces to be like the armies of imperialist countries or the army of India. When you appraise an army, you should study and take into account the history of its formation, its role in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, its composition which is mainly made up of former poor peasants or workers. It is true that there are still antipeople's elements within the National Forces of Indonesia. This is also true concerning the republic as a whole." And he stated that "our party has never had its own army."⁴



Sukarno

history constitute the best source to show the people the cruelty and brutality of the reactionaries. For example, the massacre committed by the reactionary Hatta government in 1948; the brutal "August Razia" committed by the reactionary Sukiman government in 1951; the brutal armed suppression carried out by the reactionary generals against the peasantry in Sumatra, Java, Sulawesi and other islands; the bombings carried out with planes furnished by the imperialist U.S. and the massacre committed by the reactionary rebels in 1958, etc., etc. Past experience provides the best lessons for teaching the people about the brutality of the reactionaries and the necessity to resist such brutality through armed struggle.

And the propaganda of action is still more important. The people will trust the Communists and have real confidence in the party if the Communists genuinely defend their interests and show themselves prepared through sacrifice and armed struggle to safeguard the people from oppression and suppression by the exploiting classes. The Communists must demonstrate that they are really cadres of the working class and really on the side of the exploited masses; and are not merely pleaders with the "haves" nor collaborators with the "good people." Socialism cannot be achieved by pleading but only through armed struggle by exploited masses under correct leadership provided by the working class!

Aidit once said, "The development of the party, besides depending greatly on the united front, also greatly depends on armed struggle. The advance or decline of armed struggle greatly influences the advance or decline of the united front and the party."⁵ But why did this remain only words which were not carried out in practice?

Let us consider the "experiences in the East European countries." Wasn't the revolution there led by the Soviet Red Army?

The Cuban *Granma* was quite correct when it said editorially: "We are not denying that in a given country, under certain very special conditions, an exception could occur in the future; nevertheless, not one case can be cited of a victorious revolution which has been able to avoid the use of violence, insurrection or armed struggle as fundamental methods. This is a universal experience and the political position of the Communist Parties must be developed by taking into account what has been learned in the practical experience of revolution and by probing deeply into it."⁶

In the development of the Indonesian revolution, many oppor-

tunities arose for the PKI to mobilize the workers and peasants into revolutionary armed forces and to counteract and liquidate the reactionary elements in the "National Armed Forces of Indonesia." These opportunities were ignored.

For example, during the campaign for the liberation of West Irian from Dutch colonialism, the people were mobilized into voluntary units in anticipation of a clash with the Dutch imperialist forces. This should have been utilized by the party to mobilize the workers and peasants and to set up bases for armed struggle. The party did engage in this, but not with the objective of carrying out a socialist revolution. The movement was limited to liberating West Irian and it was disarmed after this aim was achieved.

Again during the campaign to crush the neocolonialist regime of "Malaysia," the party contributed greatly in mobilizing the masses, but without bringing in the idea of armed struggle for the socialist revolution. Thus the chance slipped by to set up bases for armed revolutionary struggle. Even worse, the party left the leadership of the voluntary units in the hands of reactionary generals.

Another excellent opportunity came during the campaign for unilateral action to take over the land belonging to the big landowners. This action was led by the PKI. Day by day hundreds of thousands of peasants took part in the action. They faced armed suppression by the feudal forces backed by the reactionary generals. But the party did not organize armed units of the peasants to counterattack. It left it up to the peasants to organize their own defense on the basis of their own courage and initiative.

When this developed into a near revolutionary crisis, with many clashes between the peasants and the reactionary forces, the campaign was stopped. The "great leader of the revolution" Sukarno had given the order or "revolutionary command" to stop "any unilateral action." He gave the "command" that "every conflict or difference should be solved by consultation and agreement."

In accordance with the appeal from Sukarno in this situation, Aidit proposed the so-called "NASAKOM Code of Ethics." Among other things this laid down the following: "Among all NASAKOM or MANIPOLIST groups there must be no confrontation. Only consultation to reach agreement."⁷ And he specified: "In the present situation, if conflicts arise between the government and the people, the only correct way to solve them is to reach agreement through consultation."⁸

Blood had been shed by the people, but the action was stopped. As the slogan put it, "We should have revolutionary patience."

The PKI's repudiation of the use of armed struggle can be traced back to the beginning of the "August 1945 Revolution."⁹

During the struggle against the Japanese military occupation, the PKI was instructed or "advised," under Stalin's guidance, to cooperate with the Dutch imperialist government, to carry out "joint actions" against Japanese imperialism. (This also applied to all the other Communist parties, who were told to cooperate with their respective bourgeois governments in fighting against the Axis.) Through such cooperation, the PKI hoped to "earn" independ-

ence for Indonesia at the end of the war. The program of the PKI as well as the CPN [Communist Party of the Netherlands] called for an "independent Indonesia within the Commonwealth of the Dutch Empire" as a step toward full independence. This remained a utopian dream. At the end of the war, the Dutch with the backing of the British and U.S. imperialists sent their armed divisions to reoccupy Indonesia. What attitude did the PKI take toward this?

A republic had been proclaimed under the leadership of the bourgeois Sukarno. The masses as a whole were completely ready to defend their newly proclaimed republic. But the PKI still clung to the old program of establishing Indonesia "within the Commonwealth of the Dutch Empire." Thus they followed the line of compromise in face of Dutch aggression. They supported the policy of the reactionary Sjahrir government in signing the Linggadjati Agreement, compromising with Dutch imperialism in 1947.

Then, still worse, the following government under Amir Sjarifuddin (a PKI leader at the time) signed the so-called "Renville Agreement." Under this catastrophic agreement, all pockets of the guerrilla forces were to with-

draw from Dutch-occupied territory. The reactionary forces used this opportunity to send in reactionary armed units (under the command of Nasution, the present co-dictator) to dominate the liberated areas.

Realizing his mistake, Amir Sjarifuddin voluntarily surrendered his government back to Sukarno. This was followed by the formation of the most reactionary government; i.e., the Hatta regime. Under instructions from the U.S. and Dutch imperialists, this government introduced a program of "rationalizing" the Indonesian armed forces, which meant liquidating the people's armed units. The Hatta government wanted only "one type of army"; that is, the so-called "Indonesian National Armed Forces."

In 1948, Musso, who was one of the PKI leaders of the twenties and thirties, returned from abroad and called for a "New Road" for the PKI. Among other things this demanded renunciation of the old policy of compromise. The correction was accepted by the majority of the PKI leaders. But it was too late. Before the PKI could consolidate itself under the new program, the reactionary Hatta government launched a "white terror" in the so-called "Madiun Affair." Thousands of party members and most of the leaders were killed.

This affair should have been a salutary lesson for the PKI not to abandon the method of armed struggle. Yet it was not.

When a federal republic was established under the so-called "Round Table Conference" agreement, the PKI held it best to continue the struggle by "peaceful democratic" means.

Aidit explained this as follows: "Against this RTC agreement which was signed on Nov. 2, 1949, by Hatta's government under instructions from U.S. imperialism, there were two opposing viewpoints in the party...the first group wanted to continue armed struggle against the federal republic of the RTC...while the second, who based their position on revolutionary theory...wanted to maintain the party's legality"; that is, continue the struggle by "parliamentary democratic" means.¹⁰ Thus was a beginning provided for the repetition of the old errors.

On the question of the "Indonesian National Armed Forces," it is not correct to say that they are not "like the armies of imperialist countries or the army of India." At the beginning of the August 1945 Revolution there were no regular armed forces. Throughout the islands, the people formed their own armed units for defense against the imperialist aggression. There were many kinds of units. "The PKI built a Red Army, and had big influence on the Lasjkar Buruh [Workers Army], Lasjkar Pesindo [Army of the Socialist Youth], Lasjkar Rakjat [People's Army] and Tentara Peladjar [Students Corps]." In the process of struggle, then, a regular army was built. Following the program of "rationalization" under Hatta, most of the irregular armies were liquidated. The most reactionary forces remained. After the RTC Agreement a new "National Armed Forces" was formed. This was an arithmetic combination of the previous Indonesian "National Armed Forces" plus the "Dutch East Indies Troops." These Dutch Troops (of Indonesian nationality) were much better trained. The remnants of the progressive units within the Indonesian National Armed Forces were subsequently liquidated. Of course, there were still some "pro-people's" elements within the Indonesian National Armed Forces. But as a whole they belong to the same classification as the "armies of imperialist countries or the army of India." It is a great error not to treat reactionary forces as reactionary forces.



Mao Tse-tung



Stalin

Let us now examine the arguments and viewpoints indicated above.

It was argued that it was necessary to follow a policy based on the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in order to counteract the propaganda of the reactionary forces; i.e., the propaganda that the Communists are "terrorists," "monsters," etc. But what was the result? The repudiation of the use of armed struggle in achieving revolutionary goals only demonstrated the weakness of the revolutionary forces in the eyes of the reactionaries and created a feeling of insecurity among the masses.

The propaganda of the reactionaries can be counteracted by explanations and by action. Through explanation it is possible to completely expose the real character of the reactionaries. The facts of

3. These statements were made to a Japanese correspondent. See Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo, Dec. 2, 1965.
4. Ibid.

5. D. N. Aidit, *Forty Years of the PKI*. Jajasan Pamburuan, Jakarta, 1960, p. 61.
6. *Granma*, Havana, Cuba, May 15, 1968. (English Edition.)

7. D. N. Aidit, *The Indonesian Revolution, Its Historical Background and Its Future*. Jajasan Pamburuan, Jakarta, 1964, p. 73.
8. Ibid. p. 81.
9. The armed struggle against Japanese occupation and later the British and Dutch aggressors is called the "August 1945 Revolution." It began with the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia on Aug. 17, 1945.

10. D. N. Aidit, *Forty Years of the PKI*, p. 59.
11. Ibid. p. 47.

(To be Continued)

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IN REPLY TO LEVIN

Why Critical Support for Aptheker

By Harry Ring

We have focused on the Aptheker campaign, rather than Hal Levin's, because we regard Aptheker's candidacy as politically more important in all basic respects.

The SWP did not arrive at its position of critical support for Aptheker by weighing his program against Levin's. Certainly Levin's stand in favor of withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam is a good one and, within the framework of the antiwar movement, provides the basis for collaboration. But, insofar as Levin's congressional bid is concerned, we do not regard it as meeting certain key socialist criteria. As is the case with Aptheker, Levin's stated program is basically defective in that it is not socialist. But the fundamental difference between the two candidates is that Aptheker is the nominee of a working-class political tendency, while Levin is not. As we will attempt to demonstrate, this is a crucial question.

At the outset it should be understood that the SWP is not supporting Aptheker because of his program, with the "critical" proviso added because of limitations or defects in that program. The plain fact is that the SWP is giving critical support to Aptheker despite his program.

Such a statement may appear contradictory. To understand it, certain basic considerations must be examined.

The SWP considers its central task the winning of the working class and the nation's oppressed minorities away from capitalist politics and the building of a mass revolutionary socialist party capable of leading the transformation of American society from capitalism to socialism.

It is this central objective which shapes all of the party's strategy and tactics — including such a tactic as critical support to Herbert Aptheker.

This revolutionary perspective is an internationalist one. The SWP proceeds from the premise that a significant revolutionary socialist movement in this country can be successfully built only as part of a world-wide process. The SWP adherence to an international outlook is neither sentimental nor idealistic. Such things as the Vietnam war make clear that the problems of humanity can only be resolved on an international basis.

In seeking to win the organized working class and the oppressed minorities to its revolutionary socialist program, the SWP is pitted in direct competition with other political tendencies within the national and international workers' movement — tendencies that challenge and oppose this perspective of a revolutionary transformation and offer the alternative of one or another kind of reformism and political class collaboration.

Viewed in the national and international context, the Communist Party represents one of the major reformist tendencies within the workers' movement.

Some ultra-left critics of the SWP argue that the Communist Party is not a working-class party because it practices class collaboration ("peaceful coexistence" internationally, support to "lesser evil" capitalist politicians national-

ly.) But the reality is that the Communist Party, like the British Labor Party, for example, is a working-class tendency. Its origins and roots are in the workers' movement (including its association with a workers state, the USSR). And it is working class in the decisive sense that its perspective is to win the hegemony of the working class for its program — its reformist program.

Viewed superficially on a national scale, the Communist Party may appear as an isolated, unimportant force. Viewed in the context of the international reformist tendency it is a part of, this is clearly not the case. Nor can it be dismissed as insignificant in this country when considered in relation to the other radical working-class political tendencies. This means that socialists who take their ideas seriously cannot afford to ignore the Communist Party. They must take a political stand in relation to it.

CP's Role

Insistence on this point is not the product, as some may believe, of "old-left factionalism." It flows from an understanding and knowledge of what the role of the Communist Party has been and continues to be as well as an understanding of what the role of the Kremlin bureaucracy (for which the CP is an abject apologist) has been and continues to be.

Since the time when Stalin came to power in the Soviet Union the policies of the Communist parties have led to one terrible defeat after another. We will recount only a few of them here:

In the 1920s in China, the insistence of the CP on maintaining an unprincipled alliance with Chiang Kai-shek opened the door for a mass blood bath by that counter-revolutionary butcher.

In Germany, in the early 30s, the ultra-left stand of the CP in branding the Social Democrats as "social fascists" who could not

A Letter from Hal Levin

I read with interest your endorsement of Herbert Aptheker for Congress in Brooklyn's 12th C.D. I agree with most of the points made in your article. I also condemn the Communist Party's support of Johnson in 1964. I myself voted for DeBerry and urged all my friends to do the same. I concur in your argument for the necessity of a withdrawal position and condemn Aptheker's failure to take this position. I adhere to your view that progressives must work outside the two major parties which accommodate themselves to the interests of the corporate class. I call for a third party based primarily on wage earners.

On all the above mentioned positions then I praise the SWP and declare my support of its stands.

I am disappointed however over the fact that in a rather lengthy article supporting Aptheker, *The Militant* did not consider it even relevant to mention that in addition to the two major parties, an Independent Party, representing the most progressive elements of the peace movement, was also waging a race in Brooklyn's 12th C.D. before the Aptheker race began. I respectfully request a published reply as to why *The Militant* finds a campaign which calls for withdrawal and a working man's party unworthy of discussion with its readers.

Hal Levin
Independent Party
Candidate for Congress,
12th C.D., Brooklyn

be united with made it possible for Hitler to march to power without a struggle.

In Spain in the mid-30s, the CP opposed a socialist revolution for the sake of a coalition with the "democratic" capitalists, paving the way for the victory of Franco.

During World War II, the CPs helped stifle the class struggle in the allied countries for the sake of the alliance with Stalin.

At the end of the war they deliberately sacrificed the possibility of power in France and Italy, again for the sake of a coalition with the "democratic" capitalists.

Here in the U.S. in the mid-30s, the CP joined with the Socialist Party in abandoning the basic Marxist principle that socialists don't support capitalist candidates under any circumstances. With their support of Roosevelt they helped liquidate a promising movement for independent working-class political action and have, ever since, engaged in class collaboration politics in one form or another. The most recent example of this was their shame-faced but real support for Lyndon Johnson.

In the antiwar movement, the CP stubbornly opposed the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam on the grounds that this would isolate the antiwar forces from the leaders of SANE, liberal capitalist politicians and other "progressive" forces.

Today, the CP gives lip service to the demand to bring the GIs home from Vietnam. But, as Hal Levin correctly notes, this point is not included in Aptheker's program.

Continuing Effort

From the outset, the SWP has opposed the false and costly reformist politics of the Communist Party. Its critical support of Aptheker is a continuing part of that effort.

All of the things that are wrong with Aptheker's program justify such a vigorously critical stance. These include such things as his refusal to include socialism in his election platform; his weak position on Vietnam; his dodging of the issue of black power; his silence so far on the gubernatorial race — that is, his refusal to state if he supports the antiwar nominee of the SWP as against any of the pro-war capitalist candidates.

Yet, in spite of all this, in one aspect Aptheker's campaign represents a step in the right direction. Regardless of motivation, the Communist Party — a working-class party — has entered one of its most prominent spokesmen in a contest against the capitalist Republican and Democratic Parties.

It is certainly true that the aims of the Communist Party in this particular contest are not to fur-

ther independent socialist and working-class political action. Aptheker's opponents are an ultra-reactionary Democrat and a Republican who doesn't stand a chance. Thus the campaign does not go counter to the general CP orientation toward a "coalition" with liberal Democrats. (If the Democratic nominee was regarded as liberal, it's a safe bet Aptheker would not be in the race.)

But it would be a serious mistake to confuse the aims of the CP leadership with those of many of its supporters and those who may be attracted by the Aptheker campaign.

Communist Candidate

Many CP members and supporters welcome the Aptheker bid not because they see it as a way of increasing the party's influence in the pursuit of coalitionism with the Democrats, but because they want to see the party take a more independent stand in the electoral arena. (At the Communist Party Convention last June, Gus Hall got his greatest ovation when he spoke, demagogically in our view, of the possibility of a CP presidential ticket in 1968.) Antiwar activists may be attracted to Aptheker's campaign precisely because he is a Communist running against the capitalist parties.

In the case of the voters in the 12th CD, those who cast their ballot for Aptheker will do so for good reasons. They want to protest the war, inflation, Jim Crow and the corruption of the two major parties. Many will vote for Aptheker because he is an avowed Communist and they want to register their vote for socialism.

We are for this. Those who are genuinely seeking independent, socialist political action will come to realize they won't get it through the Communist Party. We want to help them understand this.

A further, important reason for extending critical support to Aptheker is that the very fact of his campaign is a blow against the witchhunters who would deny the CP its legitimate political rights and would use their victimization of that party as the groundwork for stifling all political dissent.

But to repeat, our primary purpose in urging a vote for Aptheker is not to promote the ruinous politics of the Communist Party but to advance the vitally needed concept of independent socialist and working-class political action.

Aptheker, Levin File Petitions

NEW YORK — With 3,000 signatures required for a ballot place, Herbert Aptheker announced that he had filed nominating petitions bearing a total of 10,128 signatures with the Board of Elections. Hal Levin, also a candidate in the 12th C.D., filed 3,757 signatures.

Los Angeles Police Try To Frame Black Radical

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — A California law on "criminal syndicalism," which was last used 29 years ago to crush a drive to organize Sacramento County agricultural workers, was resurrected here Sept. 21 by the Los Angeles County grand jury to be used against John W. Harris. Harris is a 22-year-old black member of the Progressive Labor Party.

This time the police are attempting to intimidate the civil rights and antiwar movements. But the response of civil rights and antiwar organizations was immediate and representatives from 15 of them joined forces within three days to form the John Harris Defense Committee.

Harris was charged with distributing anti-police and pro-revolutionary leaflets outside the Leonard Deadwyler coroner's inquest. The charge, arrest, and jailing under \$15,000 bail came four months later.

The PLP leaflets distributed by Harris — and others — said, "Wanted for murder — Parker the cop — in Watts," and "The Need for Revolution" and "Wanted for the Murder of Leonard Deadwyler (a member of the concentration camp) — Bova the cop (a guard in the concentration camp)."

Harris was arrested at his home in Venice by six district attorney's undercover agents who in the process broke the PLP mimeograph machine, emptied drawers, and took private files.

Harris, a former Mississippi civil rights worker, came here last year and was a student at the University of California at Los Angeles. He has been working as a truck driver to save money to return to college. Harris was raised in Birmingham, Ala., and had first-hand experiences with police brutality. He is a former director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was arrested three times while a civil rights worker.

The criminal syndicalism statute is a broad catch-all making it a crime to merely advocate anything that might be interpreted as "unlawful acts of force and violence to effect political change or changes in industrial ownership or control."

Frank Pestana, Harris' attorney,

said the language of the law is vague and ambiguous. "Its thrust," he said, "is against the expression of unpopular ideas."

The criminal syndicalism law was first used against the Industrial Workers of the World during the 1920s. The viciousness of the law lies in its vagueness, making a "crime" of "conspiracy" and "advocacy," which permits conviction and imprisonment when no act has been committed.

The Los Angeles district attorney's office admitted that it had an undercover agent working to get evidence against Harris since last May, the period when there was wide spread anger in the ghetto over the Deadwyler killing.

Deadwyler, a Negro motorist, was killed by J. M. Bova, a white policeman who admitted having a cocked revolver pushed into Deadwyler's side. Bova said the firing was accidental and the coroner's jury ruled the death "accidental homicide."

The American Civil Liberties Union entered the case Sept. 22 when A. L. Wirin, ACLU attorney, appeared in court with Pestana. The attorneys won a reduction in bail to \$1,500 and Harris was released after posting bail.

Wirin participated in the last criminal syndicalism case in 1937. "It is a matter of the deepest astonishment to me," he said, "that in 1966, after a lapse of almost 30 years and a virtual discard of the act as a basis for criminal prosecution, the present case should be filed."

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Letters From Our Readers

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

The Chicago Racists

Chicago, Ill.
As an eyewitness to George Lincoln Rockwell's Nazi rallies and march on Chicago's Southwest side, I can confirm Herman Porter's account in *The Militant* of Sept. 19 as essentially correct in its facts and conclusions.

However, an inaccuracy crept into the report of the Marquette Park rally, where Rockwell addressed some 1,500 persons. I refer to the sentence: "A considerable section of the crowd was made up of foreign-born pro-fascist elements who were ready to shout such slogans as 'Kill the Jews'."

The Marquette Park area and the nearby Gage Park area were the scene of the most violent Negro-baiting neighborhood reaction to the "open-housing" marches of Martin Luther King's Chicago Freedom Movement in August. Mobs opposed the marchers with stones, bottles, bricks, and direct attacks; they accepted eagerly from the Nazis banners carrying the swastika symbol and the words "White Power."

Rockwell tried to capitalize on the racist hysteria with his rally in Marquette Park. As Porter points out, this was the high point of his activity in Chicago. The crowd of 1,500 showed no hostility to the swastika banners and applauded the vicious anti-Negro and anti-Semitic harangues of Rockwell and his lieutenant Patler. They responded to the appeal for funds by thrusting bills at the collectors wearing swastika armbands.

But no one in the crowd shouted "Kill the Jews," and it would not be correct to indicate that this was the temper of the rally. Anti-Semitism was certainly present; the Nazis distributed cartoon books which ridiculed Negroes and Jews crudely, and which were accepted and read with amusement. But the dominant factor in the crowd's attitude was fear and hatred of the Negro; their shouts were "White Power!"

The race-hating mobs of the Southwest side of Chicago are not consciously pro-fascist at the present time. Rockwell's failure to draw any significant number in support of his march to a Negro neighborhood, or to his downtown Coliseum rally shows that he has not won support and loyalty in the disturbed Southwest side communities. The residents have the attitude that they are defending "their" neighborhood against Negro invasion, and they are willing to listen to anyone, including the Nazis, who articulates their bigotry and antagonism. Their unquestioning acceptance of, and response to the Nazi entry into their community is indeed a dangerous portent.

Observers in the area have pointed out the irony in the fact that a large proportion of the residents in these neighborhoods are first- and second-generation East Europeans, whose families have had direct experience with the weight of the Nazi boot in Europe. Two later developments are worth noting:

Rockwell's Nazis have planned a march through a Jewish neighborhood in Chicago. A court injunction has prevented this action so far. Plans to organize a counter-demonstration in protest have likewise been held up.

Birch Society elements, who have long been on the scene in the Southwest side neighborhoods, have become very active in organizing "property owners" groups to oppose the weak compromise arrived at between the Freedom Movement and the City officials, banks, and real estate organizations. They castigate the compromise as a "betrayal." They have been reported successful in drawing enthusiastic audiences numbering up to a thousand to their rallies.

R. Follett

Canadian on Fort Hood 3

Toronto, Canada
The response to the persecution of the Fort Hood Three in the Canadian antiwar movement has been one of strong criticism of the government which is persecuting these brave men, and a solid identification with their right to choose for themselves whether they will fight in this dirty war.

While we are mostly concerned with stopping Canadian arms shipments to your country, and

with pointing out how Canada is being used to whitewash U.S. aggression through diplomatic support, we realize how important it is to join hands with the soldiers and citizens of the U.S. who have nothing to gain from the escalation of this unpopular war.

The time will come in the near future when the people of the United States will settle accounts with their belligerent leaders by building an anti-Vietnam war movement so united and so strong that no one will be able to stop them from telling the truth.

Harry Kopyto

LBJ's Concerns

Glens Falls, N.Y.
President Johnson, it seems, is concerned about the slaughter of human beings on American highways. Would that he was also concerned about the slaughter of human beings in other parts of the world — Vietnam, for instance.

Our president also cautions against trying to go "too far and too fast" in laying the social welfare and educational planks of the Great Society. Would that he might also caution against going "too far and too fast" with his Vietnam war.

According to a newspaper clipping of a while back, President Johnson is said to have said that he "has never known any men in public life who would put their party above their country."

Just because President Johnson has never known any such men in public life does not "mean there aren't any. Prof. Thomas Bailey of Stanford University says that the brutal fact is that the supreme object of the politician is to keep his party in power and keep himself in office.

Ambrose Bierce defined politics as "the conduct of public affairs for private advantage."

Macauley, in 1842, said that the

Thought for the Week

"To be a Snick member in good standing these days, one has to be simultaneously angered, amused and frustrated by the society around him. It also helps if you are a Negro and can quote at length from Malcolm X Speaks, a collection of speeches given by the late black nationalist leader in the year preceding his assassination." — From an article about SNCC by Gene Roberts in the Sept. 25 *New York Times* magazine.

time-serving politicians "think much more about the security of their seats than about the security of their country."

The true politician pays lip service to the welfare of the nation, but he thinks nothing of insulting a friendly power if by doing so he can score a point for his party or himself in the political game.

K.M.G.

Learn and Live

Philadelphia, Pa.
I believe truer words were never spoken than the phrase, "You live and learn." But yet and still, I frankly believe it should have been "you learn and then you might live."

The reason for emphasizing this is simply that a gigantic amount of enthused people, allowing themselves to take part in the Freedom Movement, have dealt with various kinds of conflict, administered by all kinds of hate groups and racists who deliberately focus their hatred on people who begin to accomplish power, or those who become too active fighting for Freedom, or too educated in knowing the value of "Black History."

Well, the involvement of a few civil rights groups here in Philadelphia after they began to take on the role of "Black Power" and "Black Unity" is a perfect example of the intent to destroy those who learn the truth — basically by our racist enemies.

Our ability to create a con-

crete program of "togetherness and unity," which would be an upward step toward Freedom could not be stomached by the stone-hearted destroyers of Black Mankind. We learned from our enemies some things we never conceived could or would exist in the North.

Hunters all over the world shoot and kill game daily, but there just doesn't seem to be an end to or the last of the animals they kill.

In other words, "They can't kill us all." The movement will grow stronger, not weaker, when the racists try to kill us off. We live and learn through bigotry of others. We absorb teaching of hate by racists who are unaware that their teachings to their allies are the keys to Black Man's education on how to deal with, and what to expect of, ordinary devils who bomb churches or kill women and children, or commit perjury and endorse frame-up jobs on innocent people.

The time has come for all civil rights groups to unite and become energetically active and much more militant. We are struggling for the comparable achievements — human dignity, human rights, equality, voting rights, the right to reside where we choose, the right to withdraw from an unjust, racial war — all adding up to one thing: Freedom.

Yesterday, my friends, we lived and learned. Now we must use the skills we have learned in order to live.

Stanley Vaughan

It Was Reported in the Press

Great Leader Unhappy — The Sept. 26 *Newsweek* reported: "GIs manning LBJ's traveling communication center have been told to mind their manners. While flashing informal messages about the president, it seems, they have been referring to him as 'Clyde' and 'the Great Cowboy.' In future chitchat, the informalities will be limited to 'the President' or 'the Boss.'"

Selective Reporting — Two lengthy articles on the Socialist Scholars Conference held in New York were published in *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party. The two articles accomplished the unusual feat of not even mentioning the principal speaker at the conference, the noted historian Isaac Deutscher.

The Outside Agitator — Racist authorities in Cleveland have tried to establish that "agitators" were responsible for the outbreaks in the Hough ghetto this summer. Now the federal census bureau has reported that in 1959, 31 percent of the families in the Hough district lived in poverty. By 1964 the number had shot up to 39 percent.

Think You've Heard Everything? — "NEW YORK — Roger M. Blough, chairman and chief executive of the United States Steel Corp., warned against the danger of the federal government trying 'to do too much, too fast' in its anti-poverty war." — *The Wall Street Journal*.

Fall Guys — Three men are on trial for selling military planes to Portugal in violation of federal law. The sale was unearthed after the U.S. publicly agreed not to

sell such planes to Portugal because they would be used to bomb insurgents in Angola and Mozambique. The defense insists that the entire operation was organized by Washington through the CIA. They charge the CIA "spooks" involved vanished from the scene after the sale became public.

Our Pride and Joy — Senator Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) sought unsuccessfully to include a proviso for criminal penalties in the Senate-approved bill setting certain auto safety standards in new cars.

Senator John Pastore (D-R.I.) who led the opposition to Hartke's proposal declared: "We're not dealing with mobsters and gangsters. We're dealing with the pride of the United States business world."

The Very End — The American drive toward automated existence received its ultimate expression at a New York exhibit of new inventions which included a machine which reportedly takes the physical effort out of sex.

—Harry Ring

Have You Read?

"Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International"

Documents and Comments by Participants in a Fiasco, with a preface by Joseph Hansen: "Sectarianism and Tinpot Despotism — an Example for the Textbooks."

Some Comments:

"So far as the treatment which the pamphlet meets out to the representatives of the Socialist Labor League at the International Conference, it is legally libellous. We shall not hesitate to deal appropriately with the handful of United Secretariat agents who hawk it around the cynical fake-left in England." — Political Committee of the SLL, headed by Gerry Healy.

"Hansen's attack stems from weakness, not strength. It is a desperate effort to divert attention from the crisis facing the revisionists." — Fred Mueller in the *Bulletin*, edited by Tim Wohlforth.

"The truth is that the SLL is left gasping in the face of the documents. It can only bluster, threaten, conceal and tragically itself cross the class line by threatening to call the cops." — *The Spartacist*, edited by James Robertson.

"Sales of the pamphlet are very brisk." — Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E. 1.

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Calif. SWP Slate Hits Brown And Reagan on Vietnam War

LOS ANGELES — The California Socialist Workers Party has announced that it is running a write-in slate in the coming gubernatorial elections. The SWP has nominated Allen Taplin for Governor and Louis Cobet for Lt. Governor.

Taplin pointed out that the "same argument is being used to support incumbent Governor Brown against Ronald Reagan as was used to support Johnson against Goldwater. That argument states that labor and the Negro people should 'stop Reagan' by voting for the 'lesser evil' Brown. But both Reagan and Brown are for the Vietnam war, both represent and defend the system which exploits labor and keeps the black people oppressed.

"The parties of capitalism must be opposed, and Louis Cobet and I are the only antiwar and anti-capitalist candidates running against Brown and Reagan. We will use our campaign to advance the idea of independent black political action against the capitalist parties, and the need for a labor party.

"The SWP campaign," Taplin said, "will concentrate on the issue of the war in Vietnam. We believe that all U.S. military forces should be withdrawn unilaterally immediately.

"The war in Vietnam is cruel and unjust. Hundreds of thousands



Allen Taplin

of U.S. soldiers and 'billions of dollars are being committed to this immoral and evil war. The working people of this country are expected to pay for this dangerous military adventure through inflation and higher taxes. The giant monopoly corporations, in the meantime, rake in huge profits from war orders. This war must be stopped now!"

Allen Taplin will discuss the California elections at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday, Oct. 7, at 8 p.m. The forum will be held at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles.

Harlem Parents Press For Voice on Schools

By Al Solomon

NEW YORK — The boycott of Intermediate School 201 in East Harlem is a result of the fact that the education of Negro and Puerto Rican children in the city has deteriorated to the point that parents in the ghetto have lost all confidence in the system's ability to teach their children.

Basically, this is the cause of the conflict between the parents of I.S. 201 and the city board of education. As one placard on the picket line read: "Give Us a Chance — We Couldn't Do Any Worse."

The background of the present struggle goes back to 1962, when the construction of the school was first proposed. Parents in the area rejected the proposed site as being impossible to integrate and suggested other sites in the white fringe areas near East Harlem. But the board went ahead, promising a separate but equal (or even better) school. The board said it would make the segregated school a quality school through unusual facilities and curriculum innovations.

The parents didn't buy the idea and protested so vigorously that the board was thwarted twice in attempts to open the school last spring.

Successful Boycott

At the beginning of this school year, the boycott had the solid support of the community and was so successfully organized that the board made no attempt to open the school while negotiations went on for 10 days. The parents now were demanding community control of the school and a Negro principal.

It should be pointed out that in most communities in the country, including many a good deal smaller than Harlem, the school system is under community control. In Harlem, where racial discrimination results in inferior, segregated education, there is a crying need for a voice in school administration by those most concerned —

the parents whose children directly suffer from segregated education. But Harlem's schools are run by the all-city board of education, and the demand by Negro and Puerto Rican parents to have a voice in deciding school affairs is attacked as — "racism in reverse."

After negotiations, the parents seemed to have won their demands. Dr. Bernard Donovan, superintendent of schools, agreed to a measure of community control and agreed that a Negro principal acceptable to the parents would administer the school. At this point, however, a squeeze play by Donovan and the United Federation of Teachers against the parents took place.

The Machiavellian game was played out to perfection. The white principal "resigned" and a Negro assistant principal was appointed on a temporary basis. The assistant principal refused the appointment and the white principal retracted his "resignation" at the demand of the Negro and white union teachers of the school. The union had been putting pressure on behind the scenes. Albert Shanker, president of the union, and the union leadership had aroused the membership against the idea of parent control and selection of the principal.

The role of the UFT was the most damaging in the entire affair. The enemy of the teachers is the administration, not the parents. The union excludes principals from membership for the simple reason that the principals are notoriously anti-union and represent the administration against the teachers. The parents are the natural allies of the teachers — both are interested in better facilities, working conditions, etc.

The parents are still picketing the school in an attempt to salvage whatever they can of the victory that was within their grasp.

Lord Russell Urges Step-Up Of Soviet Arms for Vietnam

[A sharp debate recently flared up among French intellectuals when Jean-Paul Sartre, the well-known playwright and Existentialist philosopher, advocated that the Soviet Union come to the aid of north Vietnam with more effective material means.

[This proposal was attacked as a "provocation" by such sources as l'Humanité, the official newspaper of the French Communist Party.

[A proposal similar to Sartre's, made by Bertrand Russell in the form of a letter to Premier Kosygin July 20, met with comparable criticism from columnist Francis Flavius in the Aug. 26 issue of the London Tribune. Bertrand Russell replied in the Sept. 2 issue. The following is the attack levelled by Francis Flavius together with Bertrand Russell's reply.]

* * *

Flavius Scores Russell

I have the utmost respect for Bertrand Russell and his views, but I was shocked and amazed by the letter which he sent to the Soviet Premier Mr. Kosygin, on the subject of Vietnam, urging the Russians to send the Soviet Air Force to defend north Vietnamese cities from the vicious American air attacks.

Does not the man who requested both Kennedy and Khrushchev to draw back from the brink over Cuba know what this could mean? It could spell out the first actions which would be the start of World War III? Does he want that?

Premier Kosygin replied [Aug. 2] to Bertrand Russell in the most moderate of terms, pointing out that the Soviet Union has done everything to avoid a dangerous escalation of the war, but condemning the American action in no uncertain terms.

But why should Russell want something to occur in Vietnam which he rejected so vociferously in Cuba? It is surely a piece of muddled thinking. Or why did he not write to the Prime Minister of China and ask his reasons for not using the Chinese Air Force to defend the north Vietnamese cities? Indeed the Chinese Government itself has blamed the Russians for not sending more aid to north Vietnam, while at the same time making it difficult for the Russians to send such aid through to Hanoi.

What is even sadder about the whole business of Bertrand Russell's letter was that it was he who so clearly spelled out the dangers which nuclear strategy brought to the world. A small war could easily become the start of a large nuclear conflict, the very thing that Russell and his supporters have been so vigorously combating.

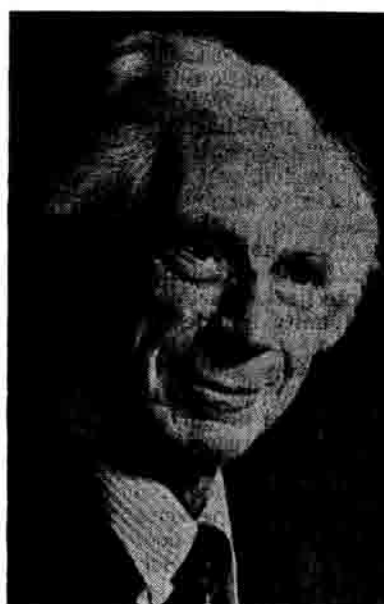
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Bertrand Russell Replies

Francis Flavius [Tribune, Aug. 26] is critical of my cable to Premier Kosygin, which he apparently has not read. I asked the Premier to turn part of the Soviet air force over to the Vietnamese for the purpose of defending the territory of Vietnam against the unrelenting air bombardment of the United States.

The issue which Francis Flavius chooses to raise is that of increasing the dangers of World War III and he compares my appeal to Kosygin with my request to Khrushchev and Kennedy to draw back from confrontation over Cuba.

The fundamental problem in both crises has been how is this



Bertrand Russell

world war to be averted without sacrificing the rights of the oppressed people whose social revolution was under such vicious attack by the United States. I am in no doubt that had the Soviet Union made clear at the time of the Bay of Tonkin that the Soviet air force would defend Vietnam against air attack, that air attack would not have occurred.

The vast bombardment of a small people without an air force is the supreme atrocity and it is too terrible for supposed allies to allow such destruction to be rained on an heroic people, pitting their revolutionary spirit against the evil and gigantic power of the largest military arsenal possessed by any nation in the history of warfare. Thus, on grounds of elementary morality, there is an absolute obligation incumbent upon the Soviet Union, which has the means to accomplish adequately the defense of Vietnam against air attack.

Escalation by Steps

I should point out to Francis Flavius that every piece of evidence we have about the war in Vietnam shows that the United States tests the water before plunging in. The Bay of Tonkin incident was faked, preparatory to full-scale bombardment of the north. World reaction was observed in between time. An incident involving poison gas took place before the massive and indiscriminate use of the gas was undertaken. Air strikes on the periphery of Hanoi and Haiphong were performed before direct

strikes on these cities were risked. In all these instances, the pattern is that of Hitler's in the Rhineland and in Czechoslovakia.

Those who are anxious to prevent world war without betraying the Vietnamese revolution must consider how this is really to be done. It is too easy to say any defense of the Vietnamese is a provocation to the bully and the aggressor. On the contrary, unless the Soviet Union intervenes now with its air force to protect Vietnam, American imperialism will extend the scale of the war outside Vietnam precisely as it has within Vietnam. The Soviet Union will then be obliged to intervene on a massive scale or to permit the United States to carry on in its aggression. The lesson of appeasement is that nothing is gained by delay. In fact, delay makes more likely the larger conflict later.

Danger Increases

The Soviet air force over Vietnam is clearly a defensive action restricting the conflict to the borders of Vietnam, but when Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and China are attacked the problem of the Soviet Union will be vastly more serious. It is precisely because the confrontation over Cuba occurred at the penultimate moment that nuclear war was so imminent. It is precisely because that penultimate moment will be more likely to occur that the Soviet Union is asked to act now, the better to avoid having the penultimate moment the only moment when it is possible to intervene.

Francis Flavius advances the official Soviet view regarding China's unwillingness to let Soviet military equipment and personnel pass through its territory. The Russians have been asked to say that an attack on China would be an attack on the Soviet Union. They decline to do this. The implications of such a refusal when combined with the request that Chinese territory should be so used is clear.

Francis Flavius is late in supporting the Vietnamese, for he has been occupied, in the pages of Tribune, with pressing on them formulas for negotiations which would ratify the American aggression and the presence of American troops in Vietnam. If a world war is to be avoided, universal defense of the Vietnamese is the first prerequisite. Sitting on one's hands while the Americans do their worst is the surest way to bring the world to the point of no return, the point at which Cuba was in 1962.

Tribunal on Vietnam War Crimes Barred from France by De Gaulle

De Gaulle has been reaping a good deal of publicity putting up a show of "independence" in relation to Washington and its dirty colonial war in Vietnam. He nevertheless knows how to make a cheap concession aimed at pleasing the White House. On Sept. 19, the Paris correspondent of the New York Times reported that "On one point France wants no further aggravation of relations with the United States. This is the 'international war crimes tribunal' that Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher, has been organizing to decide whether the United States and its ranking officials are guilty of a crime against humanity. The announced meeting place was Paris. The French Gov-

ernment does not want it here, and presumably has the power to prevent it."

It is possible that the State Department hinted to the French that a ban would be well received. The tribunal is headed by such figures as Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Isaac Deutscher and Lázaro Cárdenas. Its hearings can prove highly embarrassing to Johnson, Rusk and McNamara.

On Aug. 28 the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation announced that a letter had been sent to President Johnson requesting his appearance at the hearings of the tribunal "in your own defense."

Another site for the tribunal is under consideration. According to the Times it may be held in Sweden.