

New York Antiwar Mobilization Set; Will Be Part of Nationwide Protest

NEW YORK, Oct. 11 — Plans for a four-day pre-election wave of nationwide demonstrations against the Vietnam war were announced here today by officials of the November 8 Mobilization Committee, a broadly representative group of leaders of peace and social action groups.

At a Hotel New Yorker press conference, it was stated that the committee views present U.S. "peace feelers" as fraudulent and an ominous prelude to a new post-election escalation of the war. They said this grave threat must be opposed by a counter-escalation of the antiwar movement. This estimate of the situation coincided with the report that massive U.S. forces are being deployed toward the border of the demilitarized zone between north and south Vietnam. The pretext for the move is the alleged possibility of a move south by north Vietnamese forces.

Starting on the Saturday before Election Day and continuing until the close of the polls on Tuesday, the demonstrations will take place simultaneously in New York and more than 30 other cities, according to the Rev. A. J. Muste, national chairman of the new group.

Events scheduled in New York include a rally in the Times Square area on Saturday, Nov. 5; a massive distribution of antiwar literature at a hundred or more churches; leafleting of GIs at bus and train depots; and a "sick-of-the-war" day on Monday. The highlight of Monday's activities will be a city-wide teach-in at Hunter College auditorium sponsored by professors and students from the city's colleges and universities. On Election Day there will be leafleting near the polls.

The November 8 Mobilization Committee was formed on the initiative of members of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, organizer of the national teach-ins. An initiating conference of the Nov. 8 Committee was held in Cleveland on Sept. 10 and 11.

Planned activities in other cities are reported in the first issue of the *November 8 Mobilization News*, issued from the committee's office at 107 Dryden Road, Ithaca, New York 14850.



Photo by Finer

BACK FORT HOOD THREE. Literary critic Dwight MacDonald (l.) and cartoonist Jules Feiffer on platform at New York Town Hall rally for Fort Hood Three, the three GIs imprisoned for opposing Vietnam war. For story on rally, and statements by the three servicemen, see page 3.

The Bay Area United Committee Against the War in Vietnam, which is in the process of becoming a statewide movement, plans to leaflet every family in the urban areas of Southern California. Peace Brigades will go to neighborhoods with topical sheets containing facts and arguments relevant to the people who live there. They will also leaflet street corners, with speakers and entertainers to draw crowds.

The slogan adopted by the group is SOS — Save Our Soldiers and Bring Them Home.

In Detroit, there will be an antiwar march on Sat., Nov. 5, 2 p.m., starting at Central Methodist Church and proceeding to the Federal Building. Other activities for the four days are to be announced.

Boston-area antiwar groups will hold a series of informal forums at the various campuses.

At the press conference here,

Muste pointed to the widespread apprehension that the elections will be followed by a new escalation in Vietnam.

"We are also hearing persistent talk in Washington," Muste said, "about the possibility of using nuclear weapons against north Vietnam and China, as if efforts were in progress to soften up public opinion for the eventuality of some such madness on the part of our government. No wonder people are alarmed."

Other speakers at the press conference included Edward Keating, editor of *Ramparts*; Robert Greenblatt, Cornell University professor and chairman of the Inter-University Committee; Prof. Howard Zinn of Boston University, a sponsor of the November 8 Mobilization; Dr. Herbert Aptheker, also a sponsor; and Patricia Griffith, administrative secretary of the November 8 Mobilization.

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King Joins Attack On Black Power

By Barry Sheppard

Martin Luther King, Jr., has added his voice to those blaming the "white backlash" on the advocates of black power. King expressed this view to the *New York Times* Oct. 10. King said he was considering a campaign in conjunction with the more conservative Negro organizations against CORE and SNCC for their espousal of black power.

Also running scared in the face of the attacks on black power is Democratic Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. Powell had identified with the black power movement, but after he fell victim to the "backlash" in Congress, which stripped him of his powers as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, he delivered a sermon in his Abyssinian Baptist Church against Negro "rioting" and "violence." At a press conference after the Oct. 9 sermon, Powell disassociated himself from SNCC. "Any effort to tie me with the SNCC definition of black power is totally erroneous," he said. "I do not agree with it."

The pressure King and Powell are bending to is white reaction to the growing militancy of the black ghettos, expressed in the black power concepts of CORE and



Rev. M. L. King

SNCC. This "backlash" is being exploited by arch-racist and right-wing politicians like Lester Maddox in Georgia and Ronald Reagan in California. George Wallace successfully used racism to

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What's Really Behind China's Red Guards?

By George Novack

The activities of the young Red Guards that have marked the second stage of the so-called "cultural revolution" convulsing China have startled the world. The bizarre and repellent features attending them have led many people to wonder what these events are all about. Have the Chinese Communist leaders gone out of their minds? — they ask. What is the meaning of this turbulent campaign against a bewildering array of targets ranging from aged Catholic nuns and statues of Buddha, Western-style clothes, shoes and haircuts, to noted intellectuals, educators and veteran party leaders? It is indicative that even the Albanian Communist Party leaders have been noticeably reserved in their references to the "cultural revolution."

There is a rational motivation and a consistent method discernible in this apparent madness. The People's Republic of China confronts the very real and growing threat of attack by the United States. Secretary of State Rusk has proclaimed that Peking is the

prime instigator of the National Liberation Front and Hanoi in sustaining the war in Vietnam. In the escalation of its operations, the U.S. military machine is heading toward China's borders. On Sept. 19 the State Department, in trying to answer Peking's charges that American planes twice bombed Chinese territory this month, wounding three peasants, could only claim that the raids may have been made in error.

Since the extension of U.S. intervention, Peking has been extremely careful not to give the Pentagon war hawks pretexts for implementing their contingency plans to destroy China's nuclear installations. Johnson's fabrication of an armed encounter in the Gulf of Tonkin to justify the initiation of air attacks on north Vietnam shows that he, like Hitler, can trump up whatever incidents are needed for aggression. Nonetheless, the Chinese leaders are obligated to take all precautions to meet the anticipated armed assault. The well-known writer on Chinese affairs, Edgar Snow, who has excellent sources of informa-

tion, is reported to have said that since early 1965 Mao and his entourage have been acting as though Washington intends to wage war on mainland China.

Apart from the military moves involved, the civilian population has to be prepared for resistance and possibly prolonged guerrilla warfare. The "cultural revolution" makes sense as a device thought up by the Maoists to promote this purpose. They thereby seek to solidify the masses around the regime and remove all sources and traces of disaffection which might impair national unity.

Stalin's Methods

Facing a comparable threat from imperialist aggression before the Second World War, Stalin resorted to similar methods, stimulating the nationalist as well as the defensive revolutionary sentiments of the Russian people, attempting to cement their solidarity before the class enemy while tightening his bureaucratic grip upon the country.

The prominence given the People's Liberation Army, which

is being held up as the original "school of the revolution," confirms this supposition. The country is increasingly dominated by military men from Defense Minister Lin Biao, who has been designated Mao's second in command, to the new acting Minister of Culture, who was recently a soldier. To accentuate the army's importance, Mao himself appeared at an Aug. 18 rally in military uniform.

If the new turn in domestic policy is comprehensible as a response to this critical external danger, the ways of furthering its objectives are surely open to question.

The Chinese leaders not only fear an American attack; they evidently believe that the Soviet Union will not come to their defense if it materializes. That is why they keep accusing Moscow of collusion with Washington and Tokyo against them and why Red Guards demonstrated in front of the Soviet embassy and manhandled several of its officials. These incidents have drawn sharp protests from Moscow and deepened the

Sino-Soviet rift on the state level.

Even if Brezhnev and Kosygin intend to leave China in the lurch (a possibility which cannot be excluded), does that justify the tactics followed by Peking? It is imperative for all the workers states to close ranks and act together against the fateful expansion of American aggression in Southeast Asia. Instead of inciting and applauding attacks on Soviet representatives in China, Peking should have seized upon the Russian proposals for common action, requested the convening of a conference of all Communist governments to consider concerted steps to aid the Vietnamese, and should have proposed a Sino-Soviet warning to Washington that any further escalation would be countered with graduated reprisals. The USSR has the deterrents to make such an ultimatum credible and give pause to the Pentagon strategists.

Cuba, the Japanese CP, the editorial board of Sartre's *Temps Modernes* and the Fourth International have been urging some

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THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Rank-and-file criticism of misleadership in high circles continues to produce significant casualties in union elections. Several top officials have been voted out of union office, among them David J. McDonald of the Steelworkers and James B. Carey of the International Electrical Workers. A new election casualty is George Burdon, three-term president of the United Rubber Workers.

Prior to the union's September convention, Burdon received strong criticism during pre-convention electioneering. He was accused of lack of leadership, complacency and indifference, of making decisions without consulting district directors or fellow officers and of not providing enough support for local unions in meeting their problems.

These criticisms, advanced at a time when the union is preparing for negotiation of contracts with the big five rubber companies — Goodyear, Firestone, U. S. Rubber, Goodyear and General Tire — which expire next April.

Considerable heat was generated by a request Burdon made for an expenditure of about \$1,600 from the union's general fund to cover his wife's travel expenses. The union's executive board approved the payment by a vote of 13 to 2, but the convention delegates took the matter up and overruled the board's decision. At the convention, Burdon withdrew his candidacy for re-election.

He has been replaced as union president by Peter Bommarito, a 51-year-old Detroit tire builder, who had been a union vice-president since 1960.

Officers of the United Steelworkers of America and the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have signed a

mutual assistance pact which will be in effect while formal merger talks between the two unions continue.

The agreement states that each union will "respect the existing bargaining certifications and contractual relationships of the other in the non-ferrous metals and other industries in the United States." Additionally, the document pledges both organizations to "continue their efforts, together with all other unions in the industry, to develop a common program for the achievement of effective collective bargaining with the employers."

Officials of both unions agreed that "substantial progress" has already been made in the talks looking toward merger of the two unions "at the earliest possible time consistent with the requirements of our respective constitutions."

The corporations persistently demand that unions be prevented from making mutual assistance pacts within industry, charging that such union action constitutes nothing less than a "conspiracy to control and wreck the national economy." But the corporations don't practice what they preach.

In 1958, a mutual strike-aid pact was made between eight of the nation's major airlines. Its terms provide that when a strike is called against any members of the pact, they will receive strike benefits from those still free to operate. Specifically, non-strike members of the pact return to struck members revenue from added traffic they may receive, deducting only the costs of handling such traffic. In addition, the non-strike lines make extra contributions if the payments from excess revenues are not enough to cover 25 percent of the normal operating expenses of the lines that are struck.

Last summer, four members of the corporation pact — Eastern, Northwest, TWA and United — became involved in the machinists' strike. The four non-strike pact members — American, Braniff, Continental and Pan American — continued to operate. During the strike, the *New York Times* reported an estimate from "Wall Street sources" that the four struck lines would receive strike benefits of about \$900,000 a day from the non-strike members of the pact. Actual figures published later for the month of July tend to confirm the Wall Street estimate and show that the four struck lines continued to rake in handsome profits during the strike.

Northwest Airlines was able to reap especially lush profits because it continued to operate military flights although its domestic flights were grounded. This didn't go unnoticed by the other airlines. According to the *Wall Street Journal* of Sept. 2, "Many companies also hope to keep profits up by landing more Federal contracts to airlift men and supplies to Southeast Asia."

"Actual Negro unemployment, as well as the percentage rate and the seasonally adjusted total, was higher (this year) in the May-August period than in January-April. Higher unemployment did not result from an unusual influx of new workers into the job market. In fact, the rise in the Negro labor force during recent months was a little smaller than usual." — Commissioner Arthur M. Ross, U. S. Department of Labor, in a letter to the *New York Times*.

"Intelligent discontent is the mainspring of civilization. Progress is born of agitation. It is agitation or stagnation." — Eugene Victor Debs.

Dodges Taking Stand on Gubernatorial Race

Aptheker Refuses to Back SWP

By Harry Ring

When the Socialist Workers Party announced that it was giving critical support to Herbert Aptheker for Congress, we explained that we were doing so not on the basis of his program, but in spite of it. We said it was correct to support Aptheker because his campaign represented the counterposition of a working-class party — the Communist Party, for which Aptheker is a leading spokesman — to the capitalist Republican and Democratic parties.

We added, however, that while we regarded the entry of a prominent CP spokesman into the electoral arena against the two big-business parties as a step in the right direction, we did not believe that this step represented a change of policy on the part of the Communist Party officialdom. We said that their over-all aim remains to win a coalition with "peace-loving," or "progressive" or "liberal" or "lesser-evil" capitalist politicians.

This estimate is confirmed now by Aptheker's refusal to support the SWP gubernatorial ticket. Clearly, if the Communist Party leadership was seriously interested in developing socialist opposition to the capitalist parties, endorsement of the SWP statewide slate would be the indicated move for it to make.

There certainly can be no valid justification for refusal to urge a vote for Judy White and her running mates. The SWP is the only ticket on the state ballot which is opposed to the Vietnam war. It is the only state ticket that opposes U.S. efforts to roll back the colonial and socialist revolutions; that brands Washington as responsible for the cold war; that defends the USSR, China, Cuba and the other workers' states against imperialism; that stands for a domestic policy of full support to the struggle for Negro equality; that opposes the labor haters and witch-hunters; that speaks out for socialism.

Nor can it be argued that agreement with all aspects of the SWP's program is necessary to endorse its slate. The endorsements of such figures as A. J. Muste, Edward Keating, Paul Sweezy and others make clear that this is not the case.

... King Joins Attack on Black Power

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win the Alabama Democratic primary for his wife, and similar results were obtained in the Arkansas and Maryland primaries.

These reactionaries are using racism in the same way Goldwater used the issue in the 1964 presidential campaign. The national Republican Party has made it plain it hopes to play up the issue in the coming elections. Although it didn't work too well for Goldwater, the Maddoxes and Reagans hope their racism will prove a benefit at the polls in November.

Congressional Retreat

The liberals, too, have joined the backlash bandwagon. The civil rights bill was first emasculated, then killed, without the liberals in Congress putting up any fight. Lyndon Johnson, who was intoning "we shall overcome" in Congress last year, didn't raise a peep in favor of the civil rights bill. And just last week, Congress killed a bill which would have given home rule and the vote to Washington, D.C., where Negroes are a majority.

The backlash is being whipped up by the capitalist politicians, playing upon the racism deeply imbedded in the American capitalist system. It is concentrated on the black power organizations,

Letter from Herbert Aptheker

Rita Shaw
Campaign Manager
Socialist Workers Party
New York City
Dear Miss Shaw:

Thank you for your letter of Sept. 15 requesting my support for your gubernatorial candidate. I cannot do this as an individual, and in discussion with the members of the Committee supporting my candidacy, have found such varied views that no consensus was possible.

I want to take this opportunity to convey to you my feelings of deep indignation at the dastardly bombing assault upon the headquarters of *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party. This is part of the pattern of rising ultra-right and fascist activity; especially atrocious is the cynical failure of the police authorities to act effectively.

With kindest personal regards,

Cordially yours,
Herbert Aptheker

Aptheker's stated reasons for not endorsing the SWP campaign are a patent evasion. We are not familiar with the precise structure of the "Committee" where he says he failed to obtain a "consensus." But it is obviously a supporting group in his campaign and does not have the authority to block him from stating his views on issues.

This is not meant to suggest that Aptheker is simply functioning as an individual. He is a prominent spokesman for the Communist Party and presumably has a voice in shaping its policies. Further, the organizational character and record of the party makes it perfectly plain that the publicly stated views of such figures as Aptheker on issues of any consequence can safely be assumed to be in consonance with party policy.

Party Line

The simple fact is that Aptheker's refusal to endorse the SWP ticket is an expression of Communist Party policy. The only difference is that he chose to answer the SWP's letter while the CP, as of this writing, has not answered a similar SWP request for endorsement of its gubernatorial ticket.

Up till now the CP apparently has not been able to make up its mind as to what stand to take in the gubernatorial race. In the last number of contests it has given

tacit support to the Democrats as a "lesser evil" to the Republicans. But this year the "progressive forces" that the CP seeks to align itself with — that is, the labor bureaucracy — is split three ways on the race for governor, making it difficult for the CP tops to determine who the "people's choice" really is. The one thing they seem to know for sure is that they want no part of a revolutionary socialist ticket.

Those who are backing Aptheker because they want to see the Communist Party move away from class collaboration politics would do well to insist that Aptheker and the party give a straightforward answer as to where they stand in the gubernatorial contest. Involved in the refusal to back the SWP ticket is the expression of a cynical effort to use the Aptheker campaign not to promote independent politics, but to further the line of coalitionism with the Democrats which has already proved so ruinous.

A final point. Aptheker's condemnation of those responsible for the fire-bomb attack on the SWP headquarters is certainly to be welcomed. But wouldn't such a stand be even more meaningful if he advocated electoral support for the SWP as against the capitalists' parties whose reactionary policies are responsible for such criminal acts?

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

APARTHEID AND THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Franz J. Lee, European rep. of African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa. Fri., Oct. 21, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

WAR AND THE U.S. ECONOMY. Speaker: Herman Porter, contributor to *The Militant*. Fri., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

NEW CALIFORNIA WITCHHUNT. Speaker: John Harris, Progressive Labor Party organizer discusses his indictment under California's "criminal syndicalist" law. Fri., Oct. 21, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM. Six weekly sessions beginning Thurs., Oct. 13: Thursdays at 7:30 p.m., The Chinese Revolution, Theodore Edwards; Fridays at 8:00 p.m., (beginning Oct. 14), The Heritage of Malcolm X, George Jones; Saturdays at 2:00 p.m., (beginning Oct. 15), The Philosophy of History, Max Goldman; and Sundays at 11:00 a.m., Women and Society, Della Rossa. 1702 E. Fourth St. AN 9-4953.

NEW YORK

BLACK POWER, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE GHETTO UPRISINGS. A symposium: Lincoln Lynch, Assoc. National Director of CORE; Ivanhoe Donaldson, New York Director of SNCC; and Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 21, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

WHY BLACK POWER IS REVOLUTIONARY. Speaker: Elizabeth Barnes, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 21, 8:30 p.m. 1704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

but it is aimed at the Negro people as a whole.

King is no more correct in blaming the racism evident in the white backlash on the black power movement than those who blamed him for "provoking" white racists with his open-housing marches in Chicago's suburbs. If racism were "provoked" by the struggle of the Negro people for equality, then the NAACP would be guilty of provoking the formation of the White Citizens Councils because it fought and won the 1954 desegregation decision in the Supreme Court.

When the oppressed struggle, their oppressors are always "provoked" to attempt to stop their struggle.

The black power movement is the most militant section of the civil rights movement today. It represents the aspirations of the ghetto masses for some power to change their condition. It contains the potential for an independent black movement truly representing the black masses of the country. Its most consistent spokesmen advocate achieving political power through independent political action against the ruling parties and the whole racist system.

To attack black power, as King is doing, and to attempt to isolate

CORE and SNCC, plays right into the hands of the racists, who are charging that the Negroes want "too much" and are going "too fast" and becoming too militant. Instead of joining the attack on the most militant section of the movement, King should be joining the black power advocates to repulse the racist attack.

Set "Plant-In" In S.F. Ghetto

SAN FRANCISCO — Residents of the Hunters Point area, the scene of the recent ghetto outbreak, have decided to make a memorial of the site where 16-year-old Matthew Johnson was killed by police. It was this shooting which triggered the outbreak.

A "plant-in" was planned for Columbus Day at the site, a desolate lot. Besides the planting of flowers and shrubs, Alan Williams, sculptor and architect, donated his bronze sculpture, "The Harp," for the site. Arthur Lisch of the Artists Liberation Front is working with the talented children of the area who want to express, in durable materials, their own feelings in memory of Matthew Johnson.

New York Town Hall Rally Salutes Fort Hood Three

By Arthur Maglin

NEW YORK — Nearly 600 people met in Town Hall here Oct. 9 to pay tribute to the Fort Hood Three, the GIs jailed by the army for their refusal to go to Vietnam on the grounds that the war is "illegal, immoral and unjust." A collection was taken, amounting to almost \$1,000 for the defense efforts of Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. David Samas and Pvt. Dennis Mora, who are now incarcerated at Fort Meade, Md.

The program was opened by Pete Seeger, who sang antiwar songs, including one about the Fort Hood Three. During the evening two other entertainers contributed their services: singer Joe Frazier of the Chad Mitchell Trio and comedian Dick Davies.

The first speaker was Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of CORE, who praised the Fort Hood Three with a quote from Winston Churchill: "Never have so many owed so much to so few."

Lynch said that America was on a racist course in world affairs, especially in Vietnam. "This is a

James Wechsler, in his New York Post column of Oct. 10, said of the Fort Hood Three, "Many will disagree with such young men, but their form of valor cannot be scorned. At the very least there should be the assurance that they will not be mistreated in prison."

"In a war from which so many find ways of escaping service and about which so many are assailed with doubts, there is no excuse for ruthless vindictiveness toward the few who are prepared to risk reprisal for acting out their beliefs."

plain, unadulterated, racist war," he declared.

Lynch said that since the U.S. is the aggressor in Vietnam it has no right to negotiate anything. He declared that the United States must withdraw its troops im-

mediately and that it must stop laying the groundwork for a world war against China.

Stanley Faulkner, lawyer for the Fort Hood Three, began with an indictment of the war and then went on to describe the legal case of the three GIs.

The noted author, Dwight MacDonal, said that while he approved of Truman's intervention in Korea, he opposed the war in Vietnam. "There is no moral justification for this war," he said, and declared his agreement with the Fort Hood Three's indictment of the war as "illegal, immoral and unjust."

MacDonal said that President Johnson has revived "the Rudyard Kipling gun-and-bullets type of imperialism." He went on to say, "Every time Johnson says something about peace in Vietnam you can be sure that the next day he's going to do something to escalate the war."

The famed cartoonist, Jules Feiffer, satirically scathed the government's conduct of the war and its treatment of the Fort Hood Three.

Several members of the GIs' families sat on the platform during the program. Three of them spoke — Grace Mora Newman, Joe Mora and James Johnson, Sr., and read messages from the imprisoned soldiers.

Union Support

Doris Turner, vice-president of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers Union, declared her opposition to the war and pledged to go back to her union to raise funds for the defense effort of the Fort Hood Three.

Dave Dellinger, the final speaker of the evening, had just come back from a fact-finding tour of Southeast Asia. Dellinger reported on the widespread enthusiasm with which the case of the Fort Hood Three had been met everywhere he went.

While in Japan, Dellinger was a signatory to an agreement between the American and Asian antiwar movements to cooperate in informing American GIs about the stand of the Fort Hood Three against the Vietnam war.

Samas and Mora Reiterate Stand

[The following statements by Pvt. David Samas and Pvt. Dennis Mora were read to the Town Hall meeting. Pfc. James Johnson's statement was read by his father and was not available when we went to press.]

Although I am being held in solitary confinement, the prisoners and guards find occasion to speak with me. I was ordered to remove the name tags from my uniforms and from above my cage door. I now exist as the man without a country or a name; this plus instructions for no one to speak with me entices the prisoners and guards to find out my story.

Naturally and eagerly, I am always explaining who I am and why I am opposed to the war in Vietnam. My beliefs as to the illegality and immorality of the war are accepted and (no surprise to me) almost always agreed with. It is simple, indeed, to show the wrongness of American intervention in Vietnam. I call their attention to the facts and figures, the dates, the names, the places. I explain how we came to be involved and point to our steps in the escalation of the war and our build-up of troops in other south-east Asian countries. The facts are easy to deal with and easily understood.

I find that after explaining why I feel the war is wrong, people still don't understand why I refused to go. They ask some very simple questions that are much more difficult to answer: Which is easier, one year in Vietnam or five years in prison? Why didn't you just go AWOL and get thrown out of the army? Why didn't you refuse the draft? Why did you make it a public issue? And, finally, their most basic question — What is in it for you?

In black and white, judged according to present-day standards, my actions were foolish. One year is easier! AWOL is simpler! Refusing the draft would have been easier! Relative silence would have been easier, and materially I did not gain a thing! In fact, long lists can be drawn showing why I have lost, and I cannot balance this with a numbered list of my gains, no more than I can trace the outline of my soul or tell you where my conscience lies.

After much consideration, I chose to take the hardest possible path because it was, to my belief, the most honorable one. Nothing is hidden and there is nothing that I have meant to hide. The world can listen to and watch Jimmy, Dennis and me or ignore us; truthfully, it matters little to me what anyone else might think. My conscience is a very selfish thing, judging and guiding only my actions. All the vague people, dwelling outside in freedom, may stand by me or desert me, as they see fit; but my beliefs, my mind, my conscience will always be immutably my own. I cannot, I will not violate my convictions.

Conscience is a costly thing, and I am paying dearly for the rights to my mind. Five years, a cement wall and cold iron bars, five years in a very horrible, empty, limbo is the price I am paying for real freedom. If it must be this way, I accept it gladly, knowing that the satisfaction, the pride and the honor I am feeling because of my actions will bring me through, whatever punishment my masters hand down to me.

I laugh at my masters but I pity them. I have no contempt for them, but hatred for a system which they are caught up in. The system may hamper my body but it cannot bind my mind. I still think and believe as I know is right. My body is theirs but the being inside their body is my own; and they cannot take from me the freedom that I hold within my mind.

Judge Learned Hand had a much quoted saying — "Liberty lies in the hearts of men; when it dies there, no law, no jury, no judge can save it!" I have taken this and changed it somewhat to help me to endure my prison life. Liberty lies in the hearts of men; when it exists there, no law, no jury, no judge can destroy it!

David A. Samas

P.S. (I guess)

I didn't know how long (or short) this was supposed to be but I hope this is alright. With my punctuation, grammar and spelling I deserve to be in jail but whether this makes sense or not I do mean it.

I hope the rally is a success. You are all doing such a damn fine job and a harder one than I. All I do is hang out here — just blah — good luck and I do thank you all.

I love you like my own family.

Dave

It has been 95 days now since we were asked to go to a "non-lethal" Asian murder. Of course many of the gangster elements are missing because the army does everything in a "legal," non-toxic and antiseptic way. Still, the broader implications and actions of our aggression in Vietnam remain criminal. True enough it is that our Madison Ave. and corporation boys try to sugar-coat and justify barbarity, but it's as convincing as an embalmer's make-up. Pentagon apologists may tell Nobel prize-winning scientists that napalm, poison gas and defoliants are humane, but this kind of insane raving can't continue to fool people all the time. Meetings like the one you are having tonight will wake people up.

We are able to keep up with the news because we have the privilege — no rights exist in a stockade — of a newspaper subscription. We see how old birds still want to play Dr. Strangelove with nuclear weapons. We know that superbird is off to give another puppet show. We also see how a parrot at the UN is squawking — "Peace, Peace" while at the same time it is announced that war plans for 1968 are already completed.

The hypocrisy of our leaders and the desperation of the ruling class is crude and borders on the lunatic. The racism and genocide, the aggression and arrogance of a class of corporate masters in a depraved Establishment stains the real honor of the U.S. They surely belong before a war crimes tribunal and I, for one, would like to see a fair court at work. Mr. Faulkner has told us that he still has some old briefs that weren't admitted in a case he had once. I'd hate to see them go unheard.

All in all, I can honestly say that I am ninety-five times as convinced of the justness and 'rightness' of my decision. Days to come are not going to change that. When I'm asked in years to come which side I was on, it will be with pleasure and pride that I will say that I was on the side of decency and democracy.

Much success and yours in peace and freedom.

Dennis Mora

Pfc. Johnson Describes Treatment

[Following is a copy of a handwritten and signed statement by Pfc. James Johnson given to his attorney, Stanley Faulkner, at the Ft. Meade Stockade on Oct. 7, 1966]

I awaken each morning at five a.m. From that moment until six in the evening, I'm not permitted to sit or lie down. At five, my bedding is disassembled and my bunk is used for my display. I am not permitted to talk to anyone. I've been given a direct order not even to talk to Dennis Mora who is my cellmate. The prisoners in the cells adjoining ours are not permitted to talk or even look in the direction of my cell.

I'm not permitted to receive mail from anyone except the immediate family and one girlfriend. Often the mail is held here for several days before I receive it. A letter written to us by our attorney which was mailed on Friday the 30th has not been delivered as of this date, Oct. 7.

We are not permitted to have shoestrings or razor blades although we are not considered escape risks. This means that many days we're not able to shave because it is difficult to obtain a locked razor or razor blades.

We have to eat all our meals in our cells and are not permitted any form of activity with other prisoners. My cell is about 8' by 10'.

James A. Johnson

World Events

Colombia Unification

Representatives of the Colombia guerrilla movement reported in France that the fighting forces in the provinces of Tolima and Huila have been reorganized, according to the Paris daily, *Le Monde*. The new movement will be called the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces.

For the time being, it is maintaining ties with the pro-Moscow Communist Party. Differences with the party may exist, however, since, according to the report, "the CP seems at times to doubt if armed struggle is opportune when the new government appears to favor trading with countries in Eastern Europe."

The pro-Peking Marxist-Leni-

nist Community Party accuses the pro-Moscow organization of "revisionism" and of "complicity with the enemy."

Inside Job?

The trial of the three men who allegedly stole B-26 bombers from the United States for Portugal's use against Angolan freedom fighters, reached a new stage of clarity Oct. 6. A witness for the three defendants, who insist that they were working for the CIA, pointed out, "You just don't fly military aircraft out of the United States without some form of cooperation."

Juliao Trial

Brazilian dictator Castelo Branco took a step forward in the consolidation of his reactionary regime, Oct. 1, with the trial in absentia of Francisco Juliao. Juliao is the popular lawyer who played a key role in the organization of peasant leagues in northeastern Brazil three years ago.

The movement was formally dissolved by the U.S.-backed military regime in 1964, and many of its members were imprisoned. Juliao, who is now living in exile, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. The conviction undoubtedly foreshadows even harsher punishment of those peas-

ant leaders who are still in government hands.

Party Line

The Oct. 1 number of *The Economist* focuses attention on disunity in the Italian Communist Party and the increasing troubles party leader Luigi Longo is having keeping the left wing in line: "The secret of Togliatti's strategy," *The Economist* states, "was to fall in with the dominant group in the Kremlin, whichever that happened to be."

"Signor Longo would fain do the same, which means that he cannot make full use of the war in Vietnam for purposes of propaganda. No consistent anti-American demonstrations have been laid on by the party with the single exception of an all-night protest vigil in a Rome theater. More recently, *Unità* strongly criticized the suggestion put forward by M. Jean-Paul Sartre and others that the Soviet Union should answer American escalation by bombing the Seventh Fleet."

"This extreme caution on the part of the leaders appears to confirm a feeling which is circulating in the party that there may, after all, be some sort of understanding between the Russians and the Americans over Vietnam."

Ed Smith

Socialism on Trial

By James P. Cannon

Transcript of testimony in first Smith Act trial

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THE MILITANT

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N. Korea's Solidarity Appeal

North Korean Communist Party chairman Kim Il Sung has called on Moscow and Peking to unite in defense of Vietnam, in spite of their differences. He also called upon all countries in the Sino-Soviet bloc to send volunteers to Vietnam. Chairman Kim's appeal thus parallels the position taken by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro since early last year.

"For us," Castro stated March 13, 1965, "small countries that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Vietnam and Cuba, we have enough instinct to see . . . that these divisions that weaken the strength of the socialist camp hurt no one more than us who are special situations — here, 90 miles from the Yankee empire; there, attacked by Yankee planes."

That was less than two weeks after the first contingent of combat-ready marines landed in Vietnam. Since then, more than 300,000 U.S. troops have been landed and 600,000 tons of bombs have been dropped on the Vietnamese countryside by the U.S. invader. These are more bombs than were dropped by the Allied Air Force in the Pacific area, including Alaska and the China-India-Burma theater, in the entire course of World War II; more bombs than were dropped in the entire course of the Korean war.

A united front of the workers' states in the defense of Vietnam is a burning necessity. The imperialists continue to escalate the war, placing north Vietnam in extreme danger, and threatening China and ultimately the USSR itself. The imperialists will continue on this path of aggression until they are countered by an effective response from the workers' states.

A New Arson Attack

Undoubtedly encouraged by the New York City administration silence over the fire-bombing of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters Sept. 29 and the Sept. 4 bombing of the Communist Party headquarters, right-wing hoodlums struck again in the city Oct. 8. This time the target was the new Harlem bookstore "Communist Party USA — Marxist-Leninist" which was burned by arsonists.

The police were quoted in the *New York Times* as saying "the fire was not being linked to the bombing of the Communist Party headquarters."

The failure of the police and city administration to "link" the wave of rightist bombings or do anything effective to halt them must be denounced. All who believe in civil liberties must express their solidarity with the victims of this latest attack, and the antiwar movement, which these bombings aim to intimidate, must redouble its efforts to end the war in Vietnam.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1689. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

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

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 982-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone EVERgreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St., San Diego, Calif. 92113.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party. LA 2-4325.

Views of an Indonesian Communist

What Is Now Needed

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 Aidit 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*.]

[This is the last of three installments of Mr. Soedarso's article. The first two installments dealt with the PKI's failure to prepare the workers and peasants for armed struggle, and the PKI's program of alliance with the national bourgeoisie.]

* * *

III

On the Question of Building the Party

The PKI's program calls for making the party "both a mass party and a cadre party." Aidit said, "The PKI is a mass party but at the same time a cadre party; it has many members and close contacts with the masses."

In 1952 the membership was only 10,000. In the national conference held that year, it was decided "to expand the membership from 10,000 to 100,000 within six months." (Emphasis added.)²⁶ And after the implementation of the first "Three Year Plan" (1956-59), the membership increased to 1,500,000.²⁸ At mid-year 1965 it was reported in the press to have reached 3,000,000.

It is an amazing growth. A mass production of Communist cadres! Perhaps no precedent exists for this in the history of Communist parties. But is it guaranteed that all of these three million members were good revolutionists? Perhaps the CIA agents knew the answer to this better than the members themselves, so that the reactionary forces dared to launch a brutal and massive suppression of the PKI. Of course, the rapid recruitment by the PKI frightened the reactionary forces, but apparently they recognized the fatal weakness of the organization better than did the members of the PKI.

Obviously it is not easy to turn out good revolutionists with mass

production methods. Aidit himself recognized the inherent weakness in this rapid growth and mass production of members. For example, he said, "In the beginning they become party members because they seek protection from the rising revolutionary tide of the peasants. But their cultural level is higher than that of the agricultural workers and poor peasants, therefore within a short time they occupy the chair of leadership in the party and for the time being the peasants grant them their trust."

"Besides there are cadres who joined the party during the armed struggle in 1945 or even before then, thus in the days before the party had an agrarian program. At the time they were good cadres; they implemented the party's policy with high spirits against imperialism and took an active part in the campaign to crush the reactionary rebellion. But they are not agrarian cadres."²⁹

Aidit recognized that in the local leadership of the party, in the villages, many were "under the thumb of rich peasants and this is not in line with the membership of the peasant movement which is mainly poor peasant."³⁰

Yet the slogan still remained, "Both mass party and cadre party." The fact is that the real cadres of the party stood at a distance from the mass members of the party. Thus the structure of the party was more or less like a mass organization. The cadres did not completely trust the mass members and tended to form many tight, secret rings within the party. The bureaucratic character of the party was thus intensified.

And in a time of crisis like last October, the party could do nothing. Instead of issuing instructions on what to do to counteract the brutal massacre initiated by the reactionary forces, the top leadership scurried for safe spots (some of them going to President Sukarno's palace) which they knew about in advance, leaving the mass members in the lurch.

Even two months after the disaster, there were still many in the rank and file who did not really know what was going on until they were massacred. Some fought back, but only in personal defense. They still did not know whether the leadership was intact or not, what policy was to be followed, etc. The rank-and-file member was not privileged to know the real policy of the party.

This state of affairs proved to be very dangerous. Experience shows that it is necessary to build a party of real cadres who have a correct political line, who are actively engaged in political work among the workers and peasants, and who dare to conduct an armed struggle to achieve the goals of the revolution. The party must have a program "which reflects the thought and experience of an authentic revolutionary movement, aims at really aiding the highest possible revolutionary activity of the working class, while starting out from its most elementary demands." There can be no secrecy among the members, since all are cadres, while democratic centralism must rule. Everything is discussed by all members, but all act in unity!

IV

Too Much Stress at the Top

Because of its policy of seeking to achieve socialism by means of a "parliamentary democratic" struggle and building a false "united national front," the party concentrated its struggle at the top instead of the bottom. Collaboration at the top was considered to be the best way to inch towards socialism. Activities cen-

tered around the "coalition cabinet" beginning in 1955, then around the "cooperation cabinet" in 1959, the last one being the "NASAKOM cabinet" in 1963.

The party sought to gain power through "working together" with its enemies.

Considerable progress was registered throughout this period. The masses were moving toward a revolutionary crisis. But they were not armed — not armed with a correct political line and not armed with real weapons to crush the reactionary ruling class. The peasants were set in motion to take over the land, to smash the domination of the feudalists. But there was no clear political line. And even the land take-overs were stopped because of the "im-pending probable" formation of a "NASAKOM cabinet."

The party did not protest the banning of strikes in industry because industry was considered to belong to the government, which was almost "a government of NASAKOM."

The party did not issue instructions to counteract the military-fascist suppression through armed struggle because "Sukarno is still at the top," the "pro-people elements are still in the government."

This line should have been reversed! All forms of struggle must be employed but the stress must be on building a genuine revolutionary working-class party, activating the masses in the revolutionary movement and preparing for armed struggle!

In Conclusion

The above criticism is not intended to undermine the role of the PKI nor to arouse distrust in Indonesian Communism. But the revolutionary movement in Indonesia will be successful only if it learns from past experience, if it learns not to repeat the same mistakes.

Only true revolutionists have the courage to correct errors. Criticism and self-criticism constitute the best method of reaching a more correct line. Mistakes are bad, but not to understand the mistakes is worse; and the worst is not to correct a mistake, having recognized it.

The situation is now quite favorable for a new line. People in arms are to be found everywhere. The line between friend and foe is very clear. The brutal character of the reactionary forces is very obvious. The opportunistic character of a bourgeois leader like Sukarno is very clear. Whether the leadership of the party likes it or not, the masses cannot wait out the increasing massacre against them any longer. What is needed now is a politically correct, class-conscious and militant leadership, which will lead an armed struggle to abolish the whole system of exploitation of man by man in Indonesia and establish a workers state!

Peking vs. Moscow

The Meaning Of the Great Debate

By William F. Warde

The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint

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26. D. N. Aidit, *Be a Good and a Better Communist*, p. 49.
27. D. N. Aidit, *Forty Years of the PKI*, p. 72.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

29. D. N. Aidit, *The Peasants Crush the Village Devils*, *Jajasan Pamburuan*, Jakarta, 1964, p. 55.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

... Red Guards

(Continued from Page 1)

such course of action. It would serve to mobilize the maximum forces on a global scale to slow down the Washington warmakers, assist the Vietnamese revolution and north Vietnam, and defend the People's Republic of China itself. Such a line would certainly muster far more understanding and support from friends of China all over the world than the present sectarian attitude and excesses attending Mao's "great cultural revolution" which have been denounced by Communist leaders from Cuba to North Korea.

The actions of the Red Guards are unlikely to win friends for the regime at home either. Under the approving eyes of Mao and Lin Piao, detachments of young militants have been striking out wildly at "old ideas, old customs and old habits."

Whatever is foreign, "bourgeois," or associated with China's past has been liable to indiscriminate attack. The cemetery for foreigners in Peking has been closed and renamed the "Anti-imperialist, Anti-revisionist Orchard." Classical Greek and Roman statues have been smashed. Goethe and Shakespeare have been blacklisted. *Pravda* reports that a memorial to Pushkin was torn down in Shanghai and "posters eulogizing Mao Tse-tung were pasted on the pedestal."

Ancient Chinese art objects have been destroyed as "demons and monsters of the old ruling class." The Shanghai home of 75-year-old Madame Sun Yat-sen, vice president of the nation, has been ransacked. Premier Chou En-lai had to admonish Red Guards for pasting up posters against Mrs. Sun and trying to remove busts of her dead husband, the honored founder of the first Chinese Republic in 1911, from buildings.

Bourgeois Haircuts

People have been stripped of their jewelry and other ornaments, forced to take off Western clothes and change "bourgeois" haircuts. Cosmetics have been removed from shop counters. Statues of Buddha have been taken out of Tibetan lamaseries. Old women have been dragged through the streets of Peking with placards hanging around their necks reading "I oppose the revolution."

Is this how to "destroy the old world" and "establish a new world?" Why do the party leaders feel impelled, 17 years after the conquest of power, to encourage measures of this kind which damage the reputation of the regime, weaken the already demoralized and disoriented pro-Maoist forces elsewhere and intensify Peking's isolation in the Communist and colonial world?

According to the official explanation, these drastic steps are being taken to cleanse the country of revisionists, right opportunists, restorationists and bourgeois "monsters" aided and abetted by "sinister anti-party and anti-socialist, counterrevolutionary gangsters." We are told that the Red Guards are the banner bearers of an epoch-making "proletarian cultural revolution" which will totally transform the nature of Chinese man. Let us examine these two points.

So little reliable information is available that one can only guess at the views and orientations of the forces now locked in struggle. Selected capitalist entrepreneurs, who are often exhibited to foreign visitors, have been permitted to operate in Communist China under strict supervision by the government. One demand of the demonstrators is that these and other privileged elements be deprived of their dividends, bank accounts and opulent living standards.

However, these remnants of the old order carry little social weight compared to the widespread petty-bourgeois forces which are deeply rooted in the predominantly peasant population and among the

state functionaries and intelligent. Spokesmen for such tendencies with rightist and even counterrevolutionary leanings may have been emboldened by China's string of reverses on the foreign field and the domestic difficulties and errors committed by the regime, to raise their heads and look about for openings and allies.

But the spectrum of dissent extends far beyond such quarters. It reaches into the party, the government, the army and intellectual circles where highly placed personages are dissatisfied with Mao's policies on one ground or another. Some have reportedly been pressing to change the out-of-hand rejection of any alliance with the Soviet Union and may even have evinced sympathy for Moscow. The confluence of these variegated trends may well have presented the specter of a rising opposition from the right to Mao's general line.

Suppress Critics

It is asserted that the Red Guards are mobilized exclusively against such rightist forces. But this is only part of the picture. They are being used to suppress all dissent, whether from revisionist and "opportunist" opponents or from more radical communist voices on the left. This is the most ominous and reactionary aspect of the affair. Any sort of criticism, regardless of its aims or inspiration, is being lumped together and branded as counter-revolutionary and unpatriotic. The formula for this stringent thought-control is craven obeisance to the all-sufficing thought of Mao Tse-tung who has just been elevated to an almost god-like status as "supreme commander."

The wave of suicides among prominent personages and the unrestrained and unfounded accusations launched against others shows how unbearable the atmosphere of intimidation has become. Typical are the denunciations in the press of Li Ta, one of the three surviving founders of the Chinese Communist Party and, for the past 14 years, president of Wuhan University. According to the army paper, "Li Ta is a shameless traitor, a national disgrace, a veteran anti-Communist, a despotic landlord and anti-socialist, anti-Mao-Tse-tung-in-thought shock trooper, and an extremely rabid and stubborn counterrevolutionary element." *Jenmin Jih Pao* called him "a landlord element who has always exploited the peasants."

Mao and his associates have not scrupulously conformed to constitutional rules of party life. The CP has not held a national convention for a decade. This time Mao has gone further by forming battalions outside the party and its youth organizations which are conducting the purge through extra-legal channels from one end of the country to the other.

The Red Guards have castigated the party figures or administrative units that the men at the top want to undermine or remove from their posts. This has split the CP in many places and provoked sharp encounters between the Red Guards and local leaders and organizations. "In provinces as far apart as Shensi and Heilungkiang in the north and Kweichow and Szechwan in the south," says a Sept. 7 *New York Times* dispatch from Hong Kong, "struggles are developing between Maoist and anti-Maoist factions using rival groups as pawns in their power play." That same day, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee, *Hung Chi*, declared that powerful elements within the party were waging a power struggle against Mao Tse-tung and Defense Minister Lin Piao. It said these "enemies" would be crushed.

The youth movement is in disarray. The Central Committee of the Young Communist League was disbanded a month ago on the



PEKING PARADE. Red Guards march through Peking street, bearing flags and portrait of Mao Tse-tung.

ground that its leaders wanted to transform the organization into a weapon for restoring capitalism. It was replaced by a "revolutionary group" that was then also removed. Now, fresh posters call for a new youth organization to be formed under a different name. All foreign students have been asked to leave China by the end of September.

The youth cadres appears to have divided into different contingents. On one side is a minority centered in the universities which is critical of the leadership and afraid of being beaten down. On the other side are all those who make up the Red Guards. These less sophisticated, zealous young militants are accustomed to carry out directives from Mao and his men, in whom they repose blind confidence and unlimited trust. They have apparently plunged into this latest crusade, as they have in previous campaigns, full of fervor and intent on sweeping away all who are pointed out as open or hidden opponents of the regime.

In some cases and places, the drive has gotten out of hand and passed beyond the control of its promoters. Its participants have had to be curbed and called to account. This can be deduced from orders issued to the Red Guards not to interfere with agricultural or industrial production. An editorial in *Hung Chi* on Sept. 19 admonished the Guards to follow rules of obedience to orders, speaking politely, not hitting or swearing at people, not damaging crops, not taking liberties with women or maltreating captives. Such warnings would not have been given unless incidents of this kind had occurred.

Pravda has been printing more detailed and chilling accounts of brutalities. "The Red Guards beat up a worker because he happened to be in a room where they found a portrait of Mao Tse-tung with a crack in the frame," it said. "They beat people with sticks, rifle butts, belts, chains and electric rods. One man was tortured a whole night until he died."

The "proletarian cultural revolution" is running up against resistance from workers and peasants. Japanese and other correspondents in Peking have reported numerous bloody clashes in which Chinese army troops have been forced to intervene.

The employment of teenage militants in this fashion is risky for the leadership. Their eagerness in attacking certain sections of the party apparatus betrays a hostility toward its officialdom which may later boomerang. In any event, the regime is at fault for abusing and misdirecting the ardor

and idealism of these youth.

Mao has exceedingly ambitious ends in view. In his twilight years, he aspires to shape the youth and remold their elders into incorruptible soldiers of communism, as he understands it, who will be armored against all temptations to relapse into the old ways. This accounts in part for the Spartan severity and ruthlessness of this new "leap forward" which is being carried out in the now familiar extreme "Maoist" manner.

Is this campaign an authentic "proletarian cultural revolution," as Peking and its followers contend?

A thoroughgoing reconstruction of human relations, customs and habits, art and culture, is the logical sequel and eventual culmination of a profound popular revolution like that in China. However, this can only be the ripened achievement of a wholly renovated social order, based not only on new economic foundations but on an unprecedented flow of wealth, a reduction of compulsory labor, an end to state coercion, and harmonious human relations. This is the collective work of a succession of generations. It cannot be produced on command from above in obedience to the edict of an arbitrary all-powerful individual. Such an arbitrary conception could only emanate from the heads of autocrats who travesty the aims of scientific socialism.

In any case, such a profound transformation of life cannot be consummated in an impoverished, backward and besieged country, with immense unsolved economic problems, like China today. It cannot be accomplished amidst fierce social conflicts. The socialist cultural revolution in the Marxist, not Maoist, sense is not a weapon or a phase in the class struggle. It will have to grow out of the dying away of social differentiations, cleavages and antagonisms in a stateless and classless society of equals elevated high above the standards yet attained anywhere. China is very far from that.

Nor can the coming socialist culture be created within the boundaries of a single country, as the Maoists, imitating Stalin, proclaim. It will not bear a class imprint even of a proletarian character. It will be the first classless and universal culture, built on the highest technology and science, to which each country and people will contribute its distinctive gifts and proper share.

To be sure, these radically new human relations and its appropriate art and culture will have to be prepared in the transitional

period leading from class society to socialism. But its major objectives cannot be taken by storm or by forced marches on short rations, any more than the roots of religious belief can be eliminated by government edict or desecration of churches. Such tactics reinforce anti-communist prejudices, cast discredit upon socialism and repel people from its principles.

At the very least, a campaign for culture should serve to enlarge the democratic control of the workers and peasants over their economy, their party and their government. The very methods employed by Mao ensure that the masses and the communist ranks will emerge from this upheaval not with more but with less of a role in decision-making on a local, regional and national level.

The recent meeting of the Central Committee — the first in four years (aside from possible secret ones) — consolidated all powers around Mao and Lin Piao, the army chief. The ousting of all dissidents, right and left, right or wrong, should further tighten the hold of the Maoist bureaucracy over all spheres of Chinese life.

During the campaign, a sign outside a pedicab depot in Peking read that vehicles may still be hired, but the passenger is to do the work while the driver sits in the passenger seat behind. (The pedicab is a tricycle pedaled by a man. This kind of coolie transportation was a symbol of personal and national degradation under imperialist domination.)

Superficial observers might interpret this as a sign that the privileged elements are being overturned in Communist China as the toilers move into the driver's seat. This is what the official promoters of the purge would have us believe.

However, the very absurdity of the innovation should put us on guard against so simple a conclusion. The reversal of roles between the passenger and the chauffeur-pedaler has not worked in practice.

So, whatever is being knocked topsy-turvy, the powers and political influence of the working masses are not being augmented. On the contrary, the autonomy of the bureaucracy is being buttressed by the smothering of the rights of expression within the party and the country. Regardless of the motives of its initiators, the "great cultural revolution" testifies to the hardening of bureaucratic rulership, not to any revolutionary replenishment from below or extension of workers and peasants democracy in China.

A RAMPARTS FEATURE

The Sad Record of Gov. Brown

By George Novack

The October *Ramparts* magazine contains a highly informative article on the California political scene, written by its editors and entitled "Golly Gee, California is a Strange Place." The article describes the sad record of the Brown administration, which has deeply disillusioned many liberals in the Democratic Party with their hero of yesteryear.

Brown was elected in 1958 over Oakland newspaper publisher William Knowland, former U.S. Senator and representative of Chiang's "China Lobby." Brown was regarded by the liberal faction in the Democratic Party, not as "a lesser evil," but as the greater good.

"The fusion of liberals, visionaries and activists who created the Brown tidal wave saw a truly golden future for the Golden State: the chance to break the economic stranglehold of California's big landowners, the long-awaited opportunity to better the rightful lot of the state's minorities, the means to introduce social planning into a fantastic growth pattern and the occasion to re-vitalize a great state university that had been crippled by a ridiculous but ominous loyalty-oath fight. It was an eager, exciting moment. The Republican machine was being swept out of Sacramento. Democracy, with a small 'd,' was back in politics."

Calif. Parley Declares Against Brown, Reagan

LOS ANGELES — A statewide "Conference on Power and Politics," organized by liberal Democrats, adopted a resolution against supporting incumbent Democratic Governor Brown as well as Republican Ronald Reagan in the November election. The conference was held in Los Angeles over the Oct. 1 weekend.

The conference, attended by 2,098 registered delegates, was called by the Committee for Liberal Representation. The CLR is made up largely of liberal Democrats who had operated through a faction of the state Democratic Party, the California Democratic Council. They broke with the CDC when Brown purged their chief, Cy Casady, for his opposition to the Vietnam war.

The CLR leadership viewed the conference as a means of exerting pressure on Brown. A demonstration of their strength, they thought, would make Brown realize he could not win without heading their views and without their support. They did not really want to break with Brown.

Leading the anti-Brown grouping were Robert Scheer of Berkeley and Mike Hannon of Los Angeles, both of whom ran in the Democratic Party primaries in June.

These two forces met at the conference. The CLR leadership hoped to pass a resolution endorsing neither candidate, but leaving the delegates free to work for Brown if they wished. The anti-Brown forces aimed at a forthright repudiation of the Democratic incumbent. Their proposals for alternative action ranged from a boycott of the election to writing in the name of Pope John.

The CLR leadership came to the conference confident of victory, but uncertain of the strength of the anti-Brown forces. In many respects it was a wide-open conference. Any individual who paid a dollar could be a voting delegate.

The CLR leadership utilized

I recall a top leader of the state Communist Party enthusiastically apprising me around that time that they were taking a seat on the Brown bandwagon because in California, at least, it was possible for "progressives" to capture control of the Democratic Party.

After eight years, it has become clear that Brown and his team have flunked the least exacting standards of liberalism on every test issue: civil rights, democracy in higher education, resistance to big business, opposition to capital punishment, attitude toward labor and devotion to peace. Here is the most damning part of the record.

CIVIL RIGHTS. Brown originally pressed for passage of the Rumford Fair Housing Act to check racial discrimination in the sale or rental of private residences. This law was fiercely opposed by real-estate interests who financed a successful referendum to eviscerate it by amendment through Proposition 14. Thereupon Brown ran away from the fight. Although two state courts have ruled Proposition 14 unconstitutional, Brown has failed to enforce the fair housing law. "The word is definitely out to Brown's supporters in the Democratic Party: cool it on civil rights."

The Watts explosion in 1965, which reverberated around the world, dramatized the anger and impatience of California's two million blacks. What did Brown

do? He first dispatched the national guard to repress the Watts rebels with rifles and machine guns after the hated Los Angeles cops had failed. He then appointed a commission headed by the reactionary Republican millionaire and ex-CIA chief John McCone. Its report whitewashed the brutalities of the police department which had ignited the uprising and even ignored the findings of its own expert consultants on the social and economic reasons for the grievances of the Negroes.

Brown had also signed the vicious "anti-riot" bill sponsored by Los Angeles' racist Mayor Yorty which was designed to be used as another weapon against Negro rights. Brown's appointed judges had dealt harshly with the 110 civil rights demonstrators who were serving sentences for participating in the San Francisco sit-ins of 1964, and Brown himself had refused clemency to them.

"Since his opposition to Proposition 14 two years ago, Pat Brown has said nothing on civil rights that would disturb the tranquility of an Alabama sheriff," comment the *Ramparts* editors.

BERKELEY. Young people got a further lesson in Brown's liberalism when he loosed the nightsticks of Oakland cops and state highway patrolmen against the Berkeley students two years ago. On Dec. 3, 1964, 800 members of the Free Speech Movement sat down in Sproul Hall, the campus administration building, to force a revision of restrictions on campus political activities. The university has its own police force, and outside cops are rarely allowed onto campus.

Called in Cops

Against the advice of President Kerr, who preferred further negotiations, in the early hours of the morning Brown ordered police to drag the students out of Sproul Hall. A radio reporter, stationed inside the hall with the demonstrators, a tape recorder over his shoulder, reported the scene with shock clearly audible in his voice. "I've just seen — I — I've never seen policemen act like this," he cried.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. Brown first shocked his liberal constituency by his conduct in the Chessman case. For twelve years, Chessman had managed to stave off execution for a couple of crimes he denied having committed. Brown was on record against capital punishment. Yet he swept aside the world-wide clamor for clemency and let the condemned man go to the gas chamber.

LABOR. Although the AFL-CIO officially endorsed Brown, he has treated the workers of his state no better than the Negroes and students. When the spearhead of the super-exploited agricultural laborers, the Delano grape strikers, marched for weeks through the sweltering San Joaquin Valley to the capital at Sacramento to win support for the cause of unionization, the governor was not there to receive them. He ducked away to the plush Palm Springs home of Frank Sinatra for the weekend.

BIG BUSINESS. A skinflint toward the poor people, Brown has been a Santa Claus to the power elite of the state. He has showered bounties worth billions upon them.

California's agriculture, the richest in the world (cash income in 1965 reached 3.75 billion dollars), is controlled by a dozen or so large landholders who own hundreds of thousands of acres apiece. These wealthy groups: Kern County Land, Standard Oil, DiGiorgio, the Southern Pacific Railroad, the Chandler family who own the Los Angeles *Times*, are also the dominant influences in state politics.

In addition to their cultivated properties, these giants own thou-



SENT IN BY BROWN. National Guardsmen ordered into Watts by California Gov. Brown to suppress ghetto outbreak provoked by police brutality, racial oppression and poverty.

sands of acres of arid land, especially in the western side of the San Joaquin Valley, awaiting only water to be immensely productive. But a federal law limiting the individual landholder to only enough water to irrigate 320 acres had blocked their path for decades.

They couldn't get two conservative Republican governors, Earl Warren and Goodwin Knight, to lift this restriction. In two years, the liberal Pat Brown gave them what they wanted through the \$1.75 billion California Water Plan which will take water from the state's two major rivers and flush it down to the large landholdings in the south at the taxpayers' expense.

"Pat Brown was fully aware that the plan meant additional billions for the state's richest men, yet, over the opposition of all of organized labor and virtually every liberal group in California, he pushed it through the legislature... Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois called it the greatest water steal of this century. Pat Brown called it a major triumph of his administration."

Decision Makers

THE INNER CIRCLE. The major policy decisions in the state Democratic Party are not made by the voters, and certainly not by its liberal wing, but by an inner ring of professional politicians and monied magnates. Prominent among these is Jess Unruh, boss of the state legislature and top broker for the lobbyists, industrialists and financiers whose annual testimonial dinner raises \$400,000. Another is "the Dragon Lady," Carmen Warshaw, vice president of the Democratic State Central Committee, a large stockholder in the anti-labor Harvey Aluminum Co., which has made millions out of war contracts.

A replica of Brown is state controller Alan Cranston, a former president of the California Democratic Council. An eloquent advocate of disarmament and civil rights before his election in 1958, he has since then steadfastly refused to commit himself on any hot issue from the House Committee on Un-American Activities to Vietnam. But he has consolations. He controls the appointments of the state's 150 inheritance-tax appraisers who get \$20,000 yearly for little work and can contribute \$3,000 to \$5,000 each whenever he undertakes a new campaign.

But the main power behind the throne is the oil mogul Ed Pauley, one of the 15 Regents of the State University, Brown's golfing partner and chief money-raiser for the party.

THE CDC. The California Democratic Council, a grass-roots organization manned by thousands of earnest liberals and Stalinist helpers, aspired to become the agency for liberalizing the Democratic Party. In 1958, its followers believed they had scored an epoch-making victory over the political hacks as well as over the Republicans.

Since then, part of the CDC

leadership has been seduced by the sweets of office. "Many CDC activists sought, and received, their share of the spoils of victory — judgeships, administrative assistantships, high-salaried state positions, appointments to prestigious governor's commissions and boards... A significant segment of its membership now shared in the caretakership of the ruling establishment, instead of opposing it."

Those who wouldn't go all the way to the right with Brown were steamrollered. The most conspicuous case involved Simon Casady, recent president of the CDC.

VIETNAM. Casady collided with the national and state leadership over Vietnam. After the 1965 CDC convention passed a resolution opposing Johnson's course in Vietnam, Casady stumped the state, attacking the President's war. Cranston and Brown advised him to soft-pedal his criticism. The governor told him the President was very disturbed about what he had been saying and arranged to fly him to Washington for a briefing on U.S. policy. Among other things, the White House staffer Charles Cooper, said to Casady: "I don't want to see the white world which we've built up since the Reformation besieged by the rest of the world in the next 10 to 20 years."

Casady went away unconvinced and unsilenced. Thereupon, Brown demanded his resignation as president of CDC. Although Casady fought back, he was thrown out at the 1966 convention through the packing and pressures of the Brown machine. The callous crushing of Casady finally persuaded large numbers of already disenchanted left liberals that they could no longer support Brown.

While Brown has alienated most honest liberals in the CDC, his eight years in office have boosted the chances of the Republican candidate, movie actor Ronald Reagan. This prize packaged product of the right wing was also at one time a liberal Democrat. His present finance director is multi-millionaire Henry Salvatori, backer of many anti-Communist crusades. One high Republican official declared: "I asked Salvatori once why he was supporting Reagan, and he said, 'I will tell him what to do. He will listen.'"

"It won't make much difference to California if Brown does not squeak through. The right will win in any case, because it has already won. Johnson swamped Goldwater only to emulate him; it is painfully clear that a close Brown victory will have much the same effect, if not so dramatically," conclude the *Ramparts* editors.

The case history of Brown's development is a lesson in the politics of class collaboration. Although the *Ramparts* editors do not draw this generalization, their article documents the futility of civil rights, antiwar and labor forces engaging in faction politics within the Democratic Party.

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.]

"Shoot to Kill!"

New York, N. Y.
This is a description of how the suppression of Negro protesters in San Francisco's ghetto looked on one of the major network TV programs. It was broadcast before your article on the San Francisco events appeared in the Oct. 10 *Militant*. The TV cameras certainly corroborated *The Militant's* account.

The building must have been the Bayview-Hunters Point Community Center, and the man who ran out must have been Mr. Harold Brooks, who according to your report, rushed to the front of the building and shouted to the police: "For God's sake — let me bring the kids out and take them home!"

The TV coverage first showed National Guardsmen being briefed before being sent into the "trouble spot." (Lily-white, they were, looking fresh from the suburbs.) The commanding officer was saying plain as day, regardless of the TV microphones: "Shoot to kill!"

We didn't believe it at first, but he repeated himself: "Don't shoot over their heads . . . This is a battlefield . . . Don't take chances . . . Shoot first, questions later . . . And if it's a car, don't shoot in the air . . . Shoot so you stop that car."

Then they showed footage of a crowd of cops kneeling and standing in a wide-open ghetto street, facing a big building. A shot or two rang out, who knows from where? (In Saigon, something like that sent GIs shooting at each other for hours, and killing Vietnamese pedestrians.)

You wouldn't believe the fusillade that broke out then if you hadn't heard it. Dozens of pistols and rifles must have been firing — and maybe some machine-guns — pouring their fire indiscriminately against the entire building. After it stopped, an angry Negro man came running up with a white handkerchief. Apparently he had been in the building. He seemed to be demanding the cops stop their insane shooting. He also must have pleaded for people who'd been hit to be allowed to be taken to the hospital, because the next thing shown was groups of residents moving past the cops, carrying wounded persons in their arms. No ambulances.

Such was the violence in the

air that when that brave, indignant man ran up toward the crouching cops, you expected at any moment that they would mow him down, white handkerchief or no white handkerchief. That news-reel documented in a few short minutes the massive terrorism and bloody race hatred that the rulers of this country are unleashing against the inhabitants of America's black ghettos. And only because they dare to object to their enslavement.

G.S.

Women in S.F. Outbreak

San Francisco, Calif.
Much has been written about the San Francisco rebellion, but no one has mentioned the role of militant Negro women in organizing their people to present their grievances and protest their conditions. Long before the war on poverty, women were active leaders of the Bayview Citizens Committee and the Bayview Community Center. With the advent of the Economic Opportunities Council, many activists, as well as volunteers, were put on a salaried basis.

Among these were Mrs. Oeola Washington, Julia Commers, Mrs. Westbrook and Ruth Williams in the Hunters Point district, Bayview. On Potrero Hill, Jean Bowie, Mrs. Lola Hill and Mrs. Neal have been organizing various tenants groups, baby sitters and Citizens Improvement Associations. In the Fillmore district, Audrey Smith has been active.

Also in the Fillmore district, another group of militants, quite different in outlook, organized Black Care. Sympathetic to the nationalist mood, these women believed an attack on the ghetto was imminent and were taking lessons in first aid and considering how to protect and care for their men and children in such an event. Mrs. Washington, an organizer of the Bayview Community Center, was in the Center when it was attacked by the riot squad late in the afternoon, Wednesday, Sept. 28. Nine youths were wounded, including Mrs. Washington's son, Kirkland, 19. None of the 60 people in the building were armed. Police found no weapons on anyone when they came out. This was the major police action responsible for deepening and sustaining the protest of Hunters Point against police brutality.

In spite of the major role played by women in the recent period, there were no women on the negotiating committees with the Mayor, Chief of Police and Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce, through the businessmen of the city, made a pledge of

2,000 jobs. It was specifically stated that these were for "young Negro men" by the Negro men in the meeting televised by KQED. It is to be hoped that this will be changed in the course of continued negotiations to include young Negro women who also desperately need jobs.

Lorraine Hansberry, Negro playwright, saw black women as more self-assertive and independent than white women and with more of an international consciousness. She saw black women as playing a role beside black men in the coming struggles and hoped "they would never know their 'place' either as Negroes or as women."

(*Ebony* — 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation Special Edition.)

V. S.

From Russell Stetler (I)

New York, N.Y.
The following is the text of a letter which I sent to the *New York Times* Sept. 20 and which they have not published:

Mr. Richard E. Mooney's article "French Maintain Hard Line on War," which appeared on page five of the *New York Times* this morning, contains an inaccuracy which can only benefit those who are attempting to discredit the international war crimes tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell.

Mr. Mooney states that the French Government does not wish the tribunal to be held in Paris since it would constitute a "further aggravation of relations with the

Thought for the Week

"It became apparent, meanwhile, that a much-discussed American bombing 'pause' in a small sector in the eastern part of the buffer zone had not taken place because there was no bombing there to suspend at the time . . . This may explain why the step got a cool reception from the north Vietnamese regime . . ." — From a Saigon dispatch to the Oct. 12 *New York Times*.

From Russell Stetler (II)

New York, N. Y.
This letter is intended to serve as a post-script to my letter of two days ago. Yesterday *The New York Times* repeated its contention that the war crimes tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell "has been running into trouble with French officialdom and may have to be shifted from Paris." The repetition of a false statement does not make it true. Once again *The New York Times* is attempting to bewilder its readers regarding the fate of the tribunal.

The facts are simple. The members of the tribunal will have a preliminary meeting in London in November, but the decision to meet in London in no way implies a response to pressure from the French Government. On the contrary, we still intend to hold the full proceedings of the tribunal in Paris, at a later date, and the French Government has refused to ban the tribunal, although under overt pressure from Washington to do so. The French Government has stated publicly that it would only interfere with the tribunal if the tribunal acted in violation of French laws.

Russell Stetler

Russell Stetler
Executive Director
Bertrand Russell
Peace Foundation

It Was Reported in the Press

LBJ's Resources Taxed — Reflecting on "problems that tax our resources," President Johnson told a White House audience, "We cannot wipe out outright the slums that took 100 years to deteriorate. But everyone can plant a tree." Asphalt jungle dwellers in New York and elsewhere will be particularly delighted to learn this.

A Proper Pet — President Johnson has a new Beagle — "Edgar" — a gift from J. Edgar Hoover. Wonder if he lifts it by the ears?

A Good Question — In view of current U.S. foreign policy statements, a letter to the *Washington Star* presented these quotations: "We see in communism more now than before the incarnation of human destructive forces . . . We therefore oppose any attempt at spreading communism, wherever it may take place . . . We shall always and everywhere champion peace and freedom against aggression." "We never retreat . . . No human power can force us to do so . . . But we seek no wider war." According to Corrine A. True, the letter writer, these statements were made Feb. 20, 1938, and Nov. 23, 1939, by Adolph Hitler.

Rocky, O'Connor Say No — Both Nelson Rockefeller, Republican nominee for Governor of New York, and Frank O'Connor, Democratic nominee, have turned down a proposal by Liberal Party nominee Franklin Roosevelt to set a \$1 million limit on campaign expenditures. Judy White, Socialist Workers nominee, had expressed interest in the proposal.

Poor Hubie — Senator Stephan Young of Ohio says it really isn't fair that there was all that uproar about Congress appropriating \$750,000 to build a house for the vice president when U.S. taxpayers are now sinking \$2 million in a 200-room palace for dictator Ky in Saigon.

Free-World Advice to Germany — Commenting on the debate in West Germany on the role of the army, *New York Times* military expert Hanson Baldwin wrote Sept. 22: "The Defense Ministry has said that it wishes to establish armed forces based on the concept of the 'citizens in uniform.' In the view of most American observers, this is sound provided it is not interpreted to mean a 'democratic army.' A 'democratic army,' military experience has indicated, is a contradiction in terms . . ."

Socialized Medicine, Anyone? — An authority in the field told a Senate subcommittee that Americans generally get "mediocre to poor" clinical chemistry testing in medical laboratories. Dr. Ralph Thiers, director of the Clinical Chemistry Laboratory of Duke

University Medical Center, said the poor service is a result of hospital laboratories being understaffed and overworked. He said the charges for laboratory tests are far in excess of actual cost.

How Touching — A House Foreign Affairs subcommittee has called for an international conference to discuss ways and means of saving hundreds of animal species from the growing threat of extinction by hunters.

Blinds As Well As Chokes — Air pollution has reached the point where it is creating a problem for star gazers. A University of Michigan astronomer reports that reflection of city lights by dust and smoke particles is raising sky illumination to the point where it is impossible to observe the fainter stars.

—Harry Ring

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More Protests Against Fire-Bombing of SWP

In our last issue, we printed many statements of support and solidarity from antiwar, civil rights and radical organizations, protesting the Sept. 29 fire-bombing of the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant*. We have since received more messages of solidarity from: the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee; Professor Mulford Q. Sibley of the University of Minnesota; the Cambridge-Boston Committee to End the War in Vietnam; the Detroit CEVW and the Wayne CEVW; the Madison CEVW; the Denver SWP; and the Washington, D.C. Young Socialist Alliance. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International sent the following message:

Terrorist Attack

With indignation we have learned that the national headquarters of the SWP was bombed by four unidentified men. This terrorist attack follows the bombing of the CP national headquarters; the DuBois Clubs headquarters; the headquarters of the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley; and the criminal attack by a rabid anti-communist against the Detroit headquarters of the SWP, which led to the killing of Leo Bernard and the wounding of Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

Obviously, the right wing, which flourishes in the atmosphere of

anti-communism, chauvinism and violence bred by the Johnson administration's Vietnam war, tries to intimidate and silence all those courageous Americans who are struggling against U.S. imperialist aggression and want to prevent "escalation" from leading to a war against China or even a nuclear world war. Since you in the SWP are in the forefront of that struggle, the rightists select your party for attack.

No Intimidation

We are convinced that no revolutionary socialist in the United States will let himself be intimidated! We are convinced that all those who oppose the Vietnam war in the USA will learn through just this kind of experience that the struggle against war and aggression abroad is intimately linked to the struggle to preserve civil liberties and the struggle for socialism inside the USA. And from its whole history, we know that the SWP is a party which can only grow under such criminal blows as those which were directed against your national headquarters.

In this spirit, we send you our warmest revolutionary greetings and express our complete solidarity with your courageous stand and fight.

Pierre Frank
United Secretariat

"Instant" Pickets Greet LBJ On Surprise New York Visit

NEW YORK, Oct. 7 — An "instantaneous" demonstration was organized today by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee to picket LBJ. Johnson was in town to speak at the Carnegie Endowment House, opposite the UN building.

Although there was only time to contact organizations by telephone after the last-minute announcement of Johnson's plans, about 100 people belonging to a dozen different groups joined the picket line, which began at 1:30 p.m. on First Avenue and 45th Street.

Among the organizations represented were the Fort Hood Three

Defense Committee, Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, Independent Committee on Vietnam of Columbia U., CNVA, SPU, NYU CEVW, Long Island CEVW, SWP, the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter and YAWF.

A number of independents and a group of nine students from a new committee against the war being organized at Robert Louis Stevenson High School, a small private school on New York's west side, were also present.

Chief among the slogans shouted by the demonstrators at intervals throughout the two-hour picketing were: "Stop the War in Vietnam, Bring the Troops Home," "Free the Fort Hood Three," and "Big Firms Get Rich, GIs Die."

City motorcycle cops roared their engines to drown out chants of "Hey, hey, LBJ — How many kids did you kill today?" when Johnson was within earshot.

Slate Phila. Meet For Fort Hood 3

PHILADELPHIA — The Philadelphia Fort Hood Three Defense Committee will hold a public meeting in honor of the three GIs court-martialed by the army for their opposition to the Vietnam war. Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora and Pvt. David Samas were convicted by the military court early in September, and are now serving their sentences in Ft. Meade, Md. Appeals are being made.

The principle speakers will be Mrs. Grace Mora Newman, sister of Pvt. Dennis Mora, and Stanley Faulkner, the GIs' lawyer. Also, Stewart Meacham of the Society of Friends and Ethel Taylor of Women Strike for Peace will speak.

The meeting will begin at 8 p.m., on Friday, Oct. 21 at the Ethical Society, 1906 Rittenhouse Square. (See story on page 3 about New York meeting for the three courageous GIs.)

Students, Antiwar Fighters Back New York SWP Slate

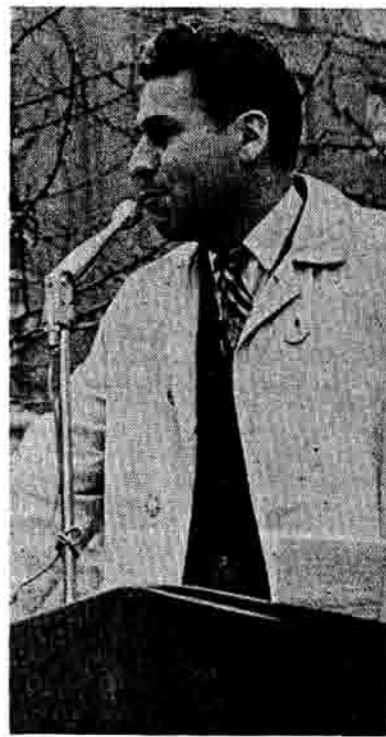
NEW YORK — With the Socialist Workers gubernatorial ticket certified for the state ballot, support for the campaign by opponents of the Vietnam war continues to grow. Ninety-five students and two professors at Columbia University have declared themselves in favor of an antiwar protest vote for Judy White, SWP candidate for governor, and her running mates.

Meanwhile, other independent endorsements of the slate are continuing to come in. These include Michael Myerson and Morris Goldin. Myerson is a former national leader of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. Goldin is co-chairman of the Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action (LEMPA). He was a leader of the American Labor Party and in 1958 was co-chairman of the Independent Socialist Party, which ran a united, socialist ticket in that year's gubernatorial race. Several other members of LEMPA, including Robert Greenberg, have also endorsed the SWP ticket.

The SWP slate has also been endorsed by the Queens College W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. The club members adopted a motion stating: "In spite of the fact that we do not agree with all the planks in the SWP platform, we do support its stand on black power and the war in Vietnam and urge people to vote for its slate."

Independent Support

In addition to the 95 at Columbia, nearly 100 independent voters have endorsed the SWP ticket as a means of registering opposition to the Vietnam war. They are sponsoring a newspaper advertisement which will state that while they do not necessarily agree with all of the SWP program, they are urging a vote for



Richard Garza
For Lt. Governor

its ticket as a protest against the Vietnam war.

Among those who have made such endorsements are: Rev. A. J. Muste, veteran pacifist leader; Edward Keating, editor of *Ramparts*; Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*; Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, literary critic; and John Gerassi, an authority on Latin America.

The students and professors at Columbia University are sponsoring an advertisement to appear in the *Columbia Daily Spectator*. It will state that while they do not necessarily agree with other

planks in the SWP platform, they urge their fellow students and faculty members to vote for the SWP candidates as a protest against the Vietnam war. Among those who will sponsor the *Spectator* advertisement are:

Profs. Vernon K. Dibble and Robert Wolf; Nick Gruenberg, Dave Gilbert and Jane Klare of SDS; George Gruenthal of the American Liberation League; Peter Seidman, Mel Baron, Tony Gronowicz and Peter Bobrick of the Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam; Paul Rockwell, editor of the new campus publication *The Gadfly*; and Jeff Nichols of CORE.

Radio Shows

Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Attorney General, will appear on the Barry Gray Show, Radio Station WMCA, on Sunday night, 11 p.m. to 1 a.m., Oct. 16. Richard Garza, candidate for Lt. Governor, will appear on the same show Monday night at 12:30, Oct. 17. On Thursday night, Oct. 20, 12:15, Judy White will appear on the show.

On Sunday, Oct. 23, 10:30 a.m., Judy White, Paul Boutelle and Ralph Levitt, candidate for Controller, will appear on WNBC-TV, channel 4. All of the candidates have now appeared at successful street rallies in various parts of the city.

The candidates will be doing more campaigning upstate this year than in previous elections. Appearances have already been scheduled at Southampton College in Riverhead; St. John Fisher College in Rochester; Union College in Schenectady; and New York State University at Geneseo. Also, Richard Garza has been invited to address the Putnam Valley League of Women Voters.

Salute Fallen Guatemalan Guerrilla Leader

1,500 Attend Turcios Funeral

Luis Augusto Turcios Lima, head of the Rebel Armed Forces [FAR] of Guatemala, was killed in an auto crash Oct. 2, according to a communiqué issued by his organization. The car driven by the 24-year-old guerrilla leader presumably hit an object on the highway outside of Guatemala City, overturned and burst into flames. Another occupant of the car, Silvia Yvonne Flores Letona, 18, died shortly after reaching the hospital. Another passenger, an unidentified young woman, survived with minor burns and bruises.

The FAR announced that Luis Turcios' command would be taken over by his lieutenant, César Montes, who is 23.

At the funeral, held the following day, some 1,500 mourners turned out to pay homage to Turcios and Miss Flores, who was reportedly also a member of the guerrilla group. The turnout was a remarkable demonstration in view of the repressive atmosphere in Guatemala and the ruthless way in which the government has murdered partisans and sympathizers of the guerrilla movement. A price of \$25,000 had been put on Turcios' head by the Guatemalan authorities. Suspicion was expressed in various quarters that foul play was involved in Turcios' death.

Turcios, who was born on Nov. 23, 1941, gained international prominence as a co-leader with Marco Antonio Yon Sosa of the November 13 Movement [MR-13].

Both of them had been officers in the Guatemalan army and had received "counter-insurgency" training under auspices of the Pentagon.

Two years ago, Turcios split from the MR-13, charging that it had been "infiltrated by Trotskyists." (They were actually followers of J. Posadas, an ultra-leftist who parades as a "Trotskyist.") Although he developed fraternal ties with the leadership of the Guatemalan Communist Party, Turcios stood to the left of that organization. He was a particular admirer of Che Guevara and a strong advocate of the Second Declaration of Havana. At the Tricontinental Conference last January, he was singled out for special attention and praised by Fidel Castro in the same speech in which Castro levelled an unwarranted attack against the Trotskyist movement.

Posadasite Expulsions

Last April, the MR-13 expelled the followers of Posadas for misappropriation of funds. Recently it was reported that Yon Sosa and Luis Turcios had opened discussions on the possibility of uniting their forces. How the death of Turcios will affect this progressive step is not known.

At the Tricontinental Conference, in an attack against imperialism and its neocolonialist game, Turcios said: "But revolutionary war, the war of the people, has already begun, and even though we know that we shall

have to undergo suffering, death and destruction for a long time, we are resolved not to halt until the people take power in their hands."

The fighting spirit embodied in these words will undoubtedly continue to animate the Guatemalan guerrillas who stood shoulder to shoulder with Turcios in the struggle to free their country from the grip of imperialism and to take it onto the road to socialism.

Boulton Files For Congress

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 29 — The Secretary of State for Wisconsin today accepted the nominations filed by James E. Boulton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in Milwaukee's 5th District.

Boulton filed 4,750 signatures after a two-week crash campaign by the Milwaukee Socialist Workers members to gather 4,450 signatures. Boulton opposes Democrat liberal Henry Reuse and Republican psychiatrist Curtis Pechtel.

Boulton recently participated in demonstrations against the Milwaukee Eagle's Club and its member, Judge Robert C. Cannon, protesting the club's white-only membership clause. The demonstrations were organized by the Milwaukee NAACP Youth Council.

Joe Johnson Again Ordered Deported

MINNEAPOLIS — Joseph Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator, was notified Oct. 10 that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) upheld previous INS rulings that he be deported.

Johnson is a native-born citizen of the U.S. The government charges he lost his citizenship when he went to Canada as a young man and allegedly voted in Canadian elections.

The new ruling was handed down by the sixth hearing INS has held on the case. Johnson has filed an application to appeal the decision to the U.S. Immigration Board of Appeals. The Board of Appeals heard the case last April and returned it to the local level without a decision, in an attempt to introduce new evidence to strengthen the government's weak case.