

LBJ Presses Closer To the Atomic Brink

By George Novack

The Pentagon has widened the air war in North Vietnam by deliberately bombing closer than ever to China, and bombing the port facilities at Hanoi and Haiphong for the first time. According to U.S. military sources in Saigon, these attacks on the docks were made in response to those who have been calling for some means of closing the channel short of mining it.

Johnson decided to escalate the air strikes after a prolonged controversy between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and certain members of the administration who resisted further extension of the bombings.

The raids came only two weeks after Defense Secretary McNamara had told the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee that bombing of the port area was too risky because Soviet, Chinese and other Communist bloc vessels might be hit. Attacks on such targets, he testified, run "the risk of direct confrontation with Communist China or the Soviet Union" and these dangers outweigh the military desirability of striking them.

The overriding of McNamara's arguments indicates that the President is now bent on maximizing the air war even though that involves greater risk of conflict with China and the Soviet Union. Behind and beyond this decision to press ahead regardless of consequences looms the specter of the nuclear mushroom cloud.

General Curtis Le May, former head of the Air Force, who has been demanding total destruction of the port of Haiphong and all installations allowing North Vietnam to receive supplies from abroad, is also one of the most vociferous advocates of wiping out China under the steamy slogan of "let's nuke the Chinks."

The idea of an atomic war is so



PREPARE DEFENSE. Young North Vietnamese women working on defense project.

ghastly, irrational and inhuman that many people incline to confuse their spontaneous revulsion against such a possibility with its rejection by the U.S. military strategists. However, the Pentagon has prepared contingency plans for nuclear warfare which can be set into motion whenever the command comes from the supreme head of the armed forces in the White House.

Its occupant has considered resorting to atomic weapons at several junctures over the past 15 years. Kennedy, the most liberal postwar Democratic president, was ready to bring nuclear weapons to bear in the 1962 confrontation with the Soviet Union in the Caribbean.

On Sept. 10 C.L. Sulzberger, diplomatic correspondent of the
(Continued on Page 3)

THE MILITANT

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Viet War Vote Set In San Francisco

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 18 — A major victory for antiwar and civil liberties forces was scored here when the state Supreme Court overruled a lower court and ordered an anti-Vietnam-war referendum to be placed on the ballot in San Francisco. This ruling that the people have a right to express themselves on the war will give a big boost to antiwar fighters in other cities where officials have blocked similar referendums from being placed on the ballot.

The referendum will place before the voters of San Francisco the following proposition: "It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

The Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam had submitted over 22,000 signatures on a petition to the San Francisco registrar of voters, Basil Healy, on Aug. 22 (12,000 are required to put an issue on the ballot). Healy at that time would not even accept the petitions, declaring that the Vietnam vote issue was not a proper concern of the city board of supervisors, and therefore the people couldn't vote on it. Healy was upheld when the citizens group appealed, but the Supreme Court ruling now places the issue on the ballot.

Chief Justice Roger J. Traynor said that the court's majority held that the purpose of local government was to represent its citizens before the legislature and Congress in matters over which the local government had no power.

Traynor's opinion noted that only recently the board of super-

visors had adopted a resolution commending President Johnson "for his stand on the present Arab-Israeli crisis." The court said that the city charter allowed people, as well as elected officials, to adopt such resolutions.

The Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam met this evening to lay plans for a massive campaign to get the people of San Francisco to vote "Yes" in November. A mass meeting is planned for Saturday at Galileo High School, at which the leading speaker will be Dr. Spock.

Neighborhood meetings are being planned all over the city, and the group will enlist the aid of every artist and speaker it can get. A small pamphlet is being prepared, which the group hopes to put in the hands of every voter. It will explain why immediate withdrawal is the only alternative to American involvement in Vietnam. Ads will be placed in newspapers and magazines. There may even be a Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam float in the local Columbus Day Parade.

Chairman of the group, Ed Farley, feels "We'll win the vote, because the overwhelming majority of the American people are unalterably opposed to Johnson's insane war." He cited figures from a recent poll, not yet released, which had been taken for one local candidate for office. The poll showed 43.6 percent of the people here for the declaration, 42.1 percent against, and 14.2 percent undecided.

Bay Area residents are urged to attend the mass meeting at Galileo High School on Sept. 23 at 8 p.m., and to come to the headquarters of Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam at 55 Colton Street (phone 415-861-1866) to begin work on the massive publicity campaign that lies ahead.

THE FORD SHUTDOWN

What the Strikers Are Saying

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Sept. 18 — As the UAW strike against the Ford Motor Company stretches to the third week, when strikers begin to collect benefits of \$30 a week for family men and \$20 for the single man, serious attention now centers on the conduct of the strike over the long haul. Some of the questions on the picket lines and around the union halls have to do with the over-all demands. How much can we pry out of the auto corporations? What will we be willing to settle for? How much is "equity"?

Other questions are about the conduct of the strike and ways to make it more effective. How long can Ford hold out? Why can't workers still on the job at Chrysler and GM assess themselves enough to raise strike benefits substantially, to \$75 a week across the board for every striker, as notice to Ford that the UAW will take care of its own for as long as the auto corporations choose to continue the struggle?

These are the questions that will be more widely talked about and debated as the strike continues. At this stage the matter of "how to win" has precedence over "what do we want." One of the reasons for this is the Oct. 8 Special Convention of the UAW, called to consider and act upon a strike assessment.

Top officials of the UAW are talking about a \$100 million strike fund to take on General Motors

after they finish with Ford. Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer, wants \$200 million in the strike fund by 1970 according to unofficial reports. This idea is being propagated at meetings of local union officials where UAW staff men come to explain what is expected of the Special Convention.

Above all else they stress an increase in dues from the present \$5 a month to \$6.50. They talk about a \$25 monthly assessment for the duration of the strike on all employed members, \$20 of which will be used to swell the strike fund. Little is said about increasing cash benefits for those on strike, and no exact figure of what the strike benefits ought to be.

The strikers at Ford Motor Company gates are expecting the UAW Special Convention to substantially increase union benefits, especially now that it appears the strike will be a long one. When asked by one of the daily press reporters how long strikers could hold out, (a question now of great concern to the auto bosses) one of the strikers answered "forever." But this answer presumed that UAW strike benefits will be increased. A \$75 weekly strike benefit would make it possible for the strikers to hold out "forever," and would convince the corporations that their present freeze-out policy is impractical, and could serve to bring them back to the negotiating table.

The manner of conducting the strike discourages rank-and-file

discussion of strike strategy. The picket lines are limited in numbers and token in character. Official policy is to allow all supervisory employees into the plants. Strikers are requested to report only once for picket duty every 11 days. No machinery is set up for serving the pickets' needs.

There is no effort on the part of the UAW leadership to keep the strikers informed about the conduct of their strike; the stiffening attitude of the employers; the present state of negotiations (which have broken down completely); the ever-present threat of federal intervention and what this will mean in light of anti-labor legislation now pending in Washington; the full meaning of UAW contract demands and how they can be won.

All this is left to the speculation of the striker based on what information he gets from the daily newspapers (which give the employers' side of the story and explain all developments according to the needs and hopes of corporation spokesmen). There is no sign that strike strategists at UAW Solidarity House have considered issuing a daily strike bulletin for the information of UAW members. Local union papers, which appear monthly or bi-weekly, give little or no information about the real issues of the strike and have long since discontinued the practice of encouraging rank-and-file discussion in their pages.

Ford Facts, the official publica-
(Continued on Page 2)

Oct. 21 News

Activities are underway throughout the country and abroad to build the massive antiwar Confrontation scheduled to take place in Washington, D.C. October 21. The action has been called by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, organizers of the giant April 15th Mobilization that brought out 400,000 people in New York and 75,000 in San Francisco.

One of the chief builders of the October 21 Confrontation is the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) which reports a significantly greater response both nationally and internationally to the call for the October 21 action than has been seen in any previous demonstration.

The SMC itself has already distributed 35,000 brochures on the October 21 Confrontation. They have sent out more than 75,000 stickers; 30,000 copies of the last two issues of the *Student Mobilizer*, the SMC's tabloid newspaper;

5,000 buttons; and 4,500 copies of three multi-color, professional-looking posters calling people to Washington on October 21. Local groups are also putting out their own literature.

Even more impressive is the scope of the distribution: Organizations in 45 states are working to build October 21 using material from the Student Mobilization Committee.

Following are a few of the highlights of the reports that have come in to the Student Mobilization Committee from around the country and the world.

* * *

TWIN CITIES, Minn. — 50,000 brochure-leaflets are being drawn up for widespread distribution in the region. Buses have already been reserved.

* * *

BOSTON, Mass. — The Boston SMC reports that tickets for a 1,500-people antiwar train are
(Continued on Page 6)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The Morse Railway Board handed down its terms for settlement of the six shop craft union demands against the nation's railway lines last week. The unions involved have already accepted the terms but the railway companies are threatening to take the issue to court on the grounds that Johnson's compulsory arbitration board "had exceeded its legal authority."

The five-man presidential panel, headed by Democratic Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, and including AFL-CIO President George Meany, recommended a two-year contract that would raise basic wages on the average, about 5.5 percent a year and provides skilled workers with an average of nearly 9 percent annually.

This settlement is considerably less than the 137,000 workers could have won had the government not prevented them from using their strike power.

It underlines the scabby role of AFL-CIO President George Meany in accepting membership on the Morse board, thus putting his stamp of approval on the strike-breaking compulsory arbitration measure put through last summer by Johnson and Congress. Meany has joined forces with the capitalist class in dictating settlement terms to the railroad workers.

As a matter of fact, he never left that side of the fence. In December 1955 he addressed a meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers and presented his credo in these words:

"I never went on strike in my life, never ran a strike in my life, never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line."

John L. Lewis once described the American labor movement as "A lion led by asses." Lewis was a genius at the apt turn of a phrase!

* * *

New York and New Jersey Teamsters locals agreed on Sept. 14 to extend their contracts for a second time while negotiations between the Teamsters Eastern Conference and the Empire State Highway Transportation Association continue.

There are 16 truck drivers' local unions involved, covering 40,000 men employed by 2,500 trucking companies. Each local has had its own contract in the past and now an attempt is being made to bring all the various local unions under one central contract — which, according to Joseph M. Adelizzi, managing director of the employers' association, is a difficult task indeed.

Frank E. Fitzsimmons, acting head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters while James Hoffa is in prison, is being brought into the negotiations. It will undoubtedly be his task to try to

sell drivers on giving up favorable conditions and higher wages they now have in order that a uniform contract covering everyone can be achieved. According to the above quoted Mr. Adelizzi, "the union will find it difficult to sell individual locals a contract that would take away benefits they now enjoy. But the truckers cannot accept the prohibitive costs that would stem from granting the 'most favored' provisions contained in each of the individual contracts . . . the job is to find something in between."

It is more than a bit difficult to imagine truck drivers standing still for having wages and working conditions they have fought for and won taken away. It would seem Mr. Fitzsimmons and Mr. Adelizzi have a tiger by the tail.

* * *

One does not generally associate the glamorous Rockettes, the Corps de Ballet and the singers at Radio City Music Hall with labor militancy but that is exactly what these young people are demonstrating in a strike which began on Sept. 15 — the first strike in the 35-year history of this New York landmark. Instead of performing their precision dances on stage the Rockettes are now marching up and down in front of the theater with picket signs outlining their demands.

These include a wage increase of 40 percent, payment for the 40 hours per week they now rehearse without compensation, and a change in work-hours. At present the wage scale ranges from \$99 a week to a maximum of \$126.50. The management has offered 10 to 15 percent increases but The American Guild of Variety Artists has turned it down.

There are 49 Rockettes — 36 of whom form the line in each of four performances a day. The girls work four shows a day, seven days a week for 21 days, then have one week off. They rehearse a minimum of 40 hours a week without pay. Each girl must conform to rigid weight and measurement scales, as well as minimum and maximum height. At the age of 26 they are retired as "too old."

The Corps de Ballet are hired at an average of \$120 per week, but they must pay for their own ballet shoes which they wear out on an average of one pair a week. In addition, each girl in the Corps must take at least three private ballet lessons a week, at her own expense, in order to maintain her skill — this in addition to the 40 hours per week rehearsal time she contributes to the management. When you deduct all the taxes, federal, state, city and social security, the cost of shoes and ballet lessons, the "glamor" fades drastically.

—Marvel Scholl

... Ford Strikers' Views

(Continued from Page 1)

tion of Ford UAW Local 600, publishes weekly and is one of the better local papers. When opinions of the members appear in its column such opinion is solicited and edited. Even so, when the editor went out for a sampling of what workers at the River Rouge plant thought about the Ford offer he came back with clear statements about what these workers need and want.

One of them, D. T. Smith, Engine Repair, said, "I feel that the company has failed to take into consideration our working conditions — more relief time, production standards, and retirement with full benefits at an early age."

A young production worker, Redus Garwood, reported what these men are thinking about. He said, "When we young members got together this morning and discussed the company proposal we were glad the huge strike vote was recorded last week. We need more money to buy the things young people need."

Another young worker, Frank Wiecha, in the tool and die unit, simply observed that Ford's offer "does not keep up with the cost of living." Of the more than 30 workers quoted in the survey all spoke about the need to improve working conditions and raise wages to meet the rising cost of living.

A Lopsided View of Black-White Unity

Harry Bridges Smears Carmichael

By Elizabeth Barnes

"Black and white unity," — this is the verbal position of the bureaucratic union leadership today. But their present actions are leading in the opposite direction, toward more clashes with the black movement.

In New York, the teachers' union has opposed the demands of the black community for black control of ghetto schools. And in San Francisco, Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, recently launched a vicious attack on Stokely Carmichael in the union paper.

Bridge's article in the Aug. 18 *Dispatcher* presents his own version of "workers' solidarity" and is a typical example of the attitudes which will have to be driven out of the union movement if real black and white solidarity is to be achieved.

The article begins by saying that the Longshoremen's union, "supports the fight of black people," and Bridges even goes fur-

The complete text of Stokely Carmichael's speech at the OLAS conference in Havana is available in *World Outlook*. Send 50 cents for a copy to P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Sta., New York, N.Y. 10010.

ther than most union officials in condoning, at least in words, black power. But, after these formalities, he launches into an attack on Stokely Carmichael which includes a distortion of his views which could compete with any appearing in the capitalist papers.

After going through the now familiar routine of charging Carmichael with advocating violence, Bridges explains that, "Carmichael's call for the use of guns in urban communities . . . is not only dangerous but suicidal." Furthermore, he says, "A call such as this, not only feeds already existing



Stokely Carmichael

prejudice, but scares a lot of sincere liberal thinking people out of the struggle that is already taking place."

Attacking Carmichael's concurrence with Che Guevara's call for "more Vietnams," Bridges writes that, "when Carmichael says that '50 more Vietnams' are needed, this invites a military police state at home that could make Hitler's Nazi regime look like a tea party . . . Once aggressive armed violence becomes the order of the day, then, believe me, those who really do have the police power — with all the weapons and wealth at their command — will destroy every vestige of Negro and minority group struggle for a better American society."

To top it all off, Bridges ends with a little sermon about how the Longshoremen's union has always won its battles through "solidarity," and "that's the way black power will ultimately win, shoulder to shoulder with Americans of all color."

Bridges would do best to direct his "solidarity" speeches to him-

self, and his own kind in the union movement, because if any black and white workers' solidarity is to be achieved, it will only be on the basis of full support of the black struggle by the union movement. It will mean — not attacks on Stokely Carmichael, but at a minimum, opposition to the government's attempts to forcefully, violently, put black power militants behind bars.

If the unions do not learn this on their own, the development of an uncompromising black liberation movement is going to drive it home to them — by its increasingly sharp opposition to racist union policies. This opposition will show that the ultimate success of union battles is dependent on unity with the black community, and therefore upon union support for the struggles of black people.

Not only this, but in the long run unions can win in the intensifying battles with the government only if they learn from what Carmichael is saying, only if they learn that the way to survive is by fighting, not by pandering to the "sincere white liberals," as Bridges advocates.

Harry Bridges does concede in his column that in the history of his own union, "the use of violence has always been an important element in our growth." He writes that, "Those of us old enough to remember the National Guard on the waterfront in 1934 may also remember that we were determined to fight if we had to."

The parallel between defending yourself from the National Guard in San Francisco in 1934, and defending yourself from the National Guard in 1967 in Detroit and Newark does not seem to occur to Bridges.

And he shows the same "blindness" in criticizing Carmichael's desire for "more Vietnams." The fight against U.S. aggression and oppression at home and abroad can only succeed, as Carmichael says, through struggle.

Novack Replies to 'Worker' Attack

By George Novack

In an unfavorable appraisal of the Third Socialist Scholars Conference in the Sept. 17 *Worker*, Richard Greenleaf was especially incensed by the panel on "Radical Intellectuals in the 1930s." He wrote that "the chief monstrosity" at the first session was the paper I gave on the pernicious influence of Stalinism on American intellectuals during that decade.

"His picture of the 1930's consisted almost entirely of an attack on the Communist Party, U.S.A. for having led the intellectuals to

believe that socialism was being built in the Soviet Union," the *Worker* reporter concluded. He missed the main point of my indictment.

This was not only that the CPUSA misinformed its members and sympathizers about what was really happening within the Soviet Union under Stalin's misrule and therefore many became disillusioned as they began to find out part of the truth. No less reprehensible was the fact that the CP leaders, in both the ultra-left and opportunist phases of their policy, deluded and disoriented their followers about the principal political developments within the United States during that period.

Let me cite the following illustrations of the CP's twists and turns that, for lack of time, I had to omit from my presentation:

How the mentality of that generation was warped and confused by the gyrations of the counterfeit Marxism of the CP may be gauged by the opposing appraisals of the Roosevelt regime given by the Stalinist leadership from 1934 to 1944. First, Earl Browder's report to his Central Committee in April 1934: "Roosevelt's program is the same as that of finance capital the world over. It is a program of hunger, fascism and imperialist war . . . The New Deal is not developed fascism. But in political essence and direction it is the same as Hitler's program."

By 1938 General Secretary Browder was acclaiming the alliance with Roosevelt as follows: "With all its weaknesses and inadequacies, its hesitations and confusions, the New Deal wing under

the Roosevelt leadership is an essential part of the developing democratic front against monopoly capital."

Browder's 1940 election platform sang a different tune. "The Democratic Party is the party of Roosevelt and Dies, of the Garners and Woodrums, of the du Ponts and Cromwells, of the Boss Hagues and Kelleys, of Tammany and the KKK. It is the party of 'liberal' promises and reactionary deeds . . . Both parties are war parties, M-Day parties, parties of imperialism, reaction and hunger."

By 1944 Browder announced to the CP National Committee: "We know, as we go into it boldly . . . that the Teheran Declaration which was signed by Churchill, Roosevelt and the great Marxist Stalin represents the only program in the interest of the toiling masses of the whole world in the next period."

Irony is virtually disarmed before such prescient and mutually annihilating judgments.



George Novack

Che Guevara Vietnam and World Revolution

His declaration from somewhere on the guerrilla front

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Detroit School Closing Ends With Victory for Teachers

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT, Sept. 18 — Teachers here ended their 13-day strike today with a 3,445-411 vote to accept a new two-year contract calling for a salary raise of \$1,700 (\$850 this year and an additional \$850 for the 1968-69 school year), a reduction in the school year from 40 to 39 weeks and some control over class size, textbooks and curriculum. The total economic package represents the most substantial victory to date for Detroit teachers although it falls short of some of the original demands: a salary raise of \$1,700 for the 1967-68 school year alone and two weeks paid vacation to cover the Christmas and Easter lay-off periods. The salary schedule now going into effect will start beginning teachers at \$6,650 and provide \$10,350 for top seniority teachers with a B.A. degree.

Other Demands

Although the economic demands attracted the most attention, non-economic demands which would provide better schooling for the children were fought for and won to some degree by the AFL-CIO Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT). A Class Size Review Board, composed of three teachers and three administrators, has been set up to review and correct classes exceeding 39 students for all schools in the city and classes exceeding 30 pupils in 50 selected inner-city schools. Last year more than 51 percent of Detroit's elementary school classrooms had from 35-49 students. Also included in the contract are provisions to further racial integration of school staffs and to provide for a curriculum consultant to coordinate and develop material on Afro-American history and literature.

The teachers, engaged in their first strike in the history of the city, remained firm and united in the face of attacks by the school board, state officials, the mass communications media and the rival Detroit Education Association (DEA). Shortly after contract negotiations began last March, the union was faced with a collective bargaining unit election forced by the DEA. The union won the election with 62 percent of the total vote — an even larger margin of victory than the 59 percent of the vote received in 1964 when the DFT first won the right to be the sole bargaining agent for Detroit's 11,500 classroom teachers.

The union returned to the bargaining table stronger than ever

Conclude Aid Effort In Debs Hall Case

DETROIT — The Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham, has announced that it is concluding its work.

The fund was set up after a crazed anticommunist gunman entered Debs Hall here on May 16, 1966 and shot three young socialists. Leo Bernard was killed, and Jan Garrett and Walter Graham were severely wounded.

The total amount contributed to the fund was \$2,809.01. Of this, \$538 paid Leo Bernard's funeral expenses, and the remainder was used to help defray medical and rehabilitation expenses for Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

Professor David Herreshoff and Dr. Paul Lowinger, co-chairmen of the fund, wish to thank all contributors for their generous donations. Jan Garrett's operation this summer was successful and he and Walter Graham join the co-chairmen of the fund in sincere appreciation for the contributions.

after this show of strength and solidarity on the part of the teachers. The board's first contract offer was overwhelmingly rejected by the teachers during the last week of school.

Pressure was put on the union all summer to accept the inadequate board proposals and to avoid a strike because of the "devastation suffered by the city" during the July ghetto uprising.

Governor Romney threatened to "put teeth" into the state's Public Employment Relations Act which prohibits strikes but includes no penalties for striking public employees. The governor proposed changes in the law which would make it an unfair labor practice to refuse to bargain with public employees and would make it mandatory for courts to issue injunctions if a school strike were called before fact-finding panels issue recommendations.

Two weeks before schools were due to reopen, Superintendent Drachler announced that the Detroit system would be short 530 teachers. On Sept. 6 the Detroit school system was short 11,500 teachers. The teachers again rejected the board's contract offer and went on an "extended summer recess." The DFT argued that since the school calendar was a negotiable item there was no official opening day until a contract was ratified by the teachers. Since there was no opening day, there was no "strike" either because teachers were not walking off their jobs — merely continuing their summer lay-off.

Under the slogan "No contract, no work" daily picket lines were set up around every school in the city and frequent demonstrations were held at the School Center Building. The daily newspapers kept up a steady barrage of statements from community leaders deploring the "unprofessional" conduct of teachers who were sup-

posed to be "dedicated." The TV news reports were loaded with interviews with parents upset because their children were missing school. Threats of court injunctions were frequent. Editorials lambasted the teachers almost daily.

The reactions to the picketing teachers, however, were very different on a neighborhood level. Parents would tell the pickets, "Keep it up . . . We're with you . . . You're right. You got to fight for what you believe in, what you want . . . I'm a union man myself and that's the only way we ever got anything — by striking."

During the first week of the strike over 100 new members joined the union, statements of support came from the UAW and the union office received many calls from citizens saying, "Don't give up. We're with you!" The DEA was forced, through this show of unity and strength, to solidarize itself with the DFT and support the picket lines.

During the course of the strike, the teachers twice rejected proposals to have a citizens committee resolve the contract differences by setting up a package which would be binding on both the board and the union. The board was willing to accept such a compulsory package rather than admit that the teachers had the power and the right to determine school policy issues. The teachers refused to give up their right to decide the issues themselves.

One of the major achievements of the strike was to establish the DFT as a power to be reckoned with in the running of the schools. Inroads were made in the traditional dictatorial powers of the school board. The medieval methods of financing public education were held up to public review and pressure was built up to replace current school tax elections with a more adequate method.

N.Y.C. Teachers Standing Solid

By Jeff Miller

NEW YORK, Sept. 19 — As the mass walkout of the city's teachers enters its second week, the schools remain shut down tight. The teachers' action remains firm and has gained ground in the face of the union-busting Taylor law passed early this year by the state legislature. The Taylor law is better known among city workers as the RAT law — for Republican Governor Rockefeller and Democratic Speaker Travia, who combined to push the bill through.

The RAT law declares strikes by public employees illegal. The city has secured a court ruling that the mass resignations by the teachers constitute a strike, but the courts have not attempted to apply the penalties in the law against the United Federation of Teachers so far.

There were 117 fewer teachers in the schools this week and the number of "volunteers" dropped to 3,528 from a previous high of about 8,000. The walkout is over 90 percent effective among the city's 55,000 teachers.

Student attendance has also dropped off considerably but the board of education is still trying to maintain the fiction that schools are operating normally.

Mrs. Betty Ostroff, head of the Association of Assistant Principals, has accused the board of

maintaining a babysitting operation during the walkout and has called upon the board to close the schools. Mrs. Ostroff announced that at a meeting to be held tonight a recommendation would be made that the city's 1,100 assistant principals not report to work on Wednesday.

Meanwhile, State Supreme Court Justice Emilio Nunez has adjourned the criminal contempt trial of Albert Shanker, UFT president, for a third time. Shanker and two other union leaders have been accused of violating the court order prohibiting a walkout.

The city has asked in its contempt motion that under the RAT law, the union be fined \$10,000 a day for each day of the walkout for violation of the strikebreaking Taylor Law. The RAT law provides for fines of \$250 and/or 30 days' imprisonment for persons found to be in violation of contempt orders.

Apparently the court order has not deterred the teachers from manning the picket lines, which have been maintained throughout the city since the action began.

In another attempt to frighten the younger teachers back to school, the board has sent the names of 50 draft-age teachers to local draft boards for reconsideration of their deferments.

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345

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Black School-Control Is Backed by Boutelle

NEW YORK, Sept. 19 — Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, said here today that "the SWP wholeheartedly supported the demands of black and Puerto Rican parents for control over the schools in their own communities. This is part of the general struggle of black people to win control of their communities, a progressive and revolutionary demand."

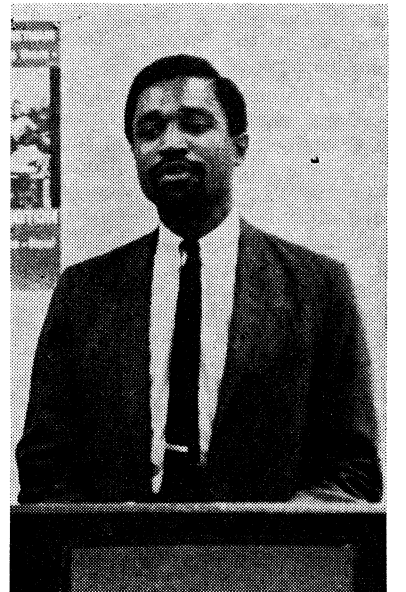
"The frictions between the striking teachers and the black and Puerto Rican communities," the vice presidential candidate said, "are a result of the hostility the bureaucratic officials of the United Federation of Teachers have demonstrated toward this just demand of the black and Puerto Rican parents."

"The Socialist Workers Party stands one hundred percent with the black and Puerto Rican parents in their fight for control of their schools and against the racist attitude of both the board of education and the UFT bureaucrats. We also stand one hundred percent behind the teachers in their battle with the board of education and against the slave-labor RAT law."

"The outright racist hostility toward the black and Puerto Rican communities on the part of the UFT officials," Boutelle continued, "was demonstrated last year when parents organized a boycott of Intermediate School 201 in Harlem. The parents were demanding a voice in the selection of the principal, and wanted the current white principal replaced. The UFT backed the white principal, and UFT members crossed the par-

ents' picket line and helped break the boycott.

"The fight of black people to control their own communities is at bottom a struggle against the whole racist capitalist system and the government which runs that system. The teachers should understand that the capitalist government that oppresses the black community is also the same government the teachers are currently waging a strike battle against. Instead of demonstrating hostility toward the demands of the black community to control their schools, the teachers' union should support those demands wholeheartedly and coordinate its union struggle with the struggles of the black community."



Paul Boutelle

... Johnson Edges to Brink

(Continued from Page 1)
N.Y. Times, pointed out that top men at the Pentagon were eager to open their nuclear arsenal early in 1954 when the French were defeated at Dienbienphu. They not only sought to limit the victory of the Vietnamese but to wage preventive war against the entire Communist bloc. Here is what Sulzberger wrote:

"Admiral Radford, Eisenhower's Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and profoundly influential on Secretary of State Dulles, wanted to intervene with tactical atomic bombs to help France at Dienbienphu. But, according to men then prominent in American officialdom, his real hope was to get the United States engaged first in Indochina, then in China, in order to provoke a preventive war against the latter before it became a great power."

"Radford realized that more than Chiang Kai-shek's troops on Taiwan would be needed to crush Communist China. This meant the use of American military force. Radford reckoned that if the Soviet Union were to intervene in such a war it would have to be hit with thermonuclear weapons and the Strategic Air Force. At that time Russia was just edging into the super-weapons race and had no long-range delivery system.

"The Radford theory was that the relative advantage of the U.S.A. was fading, that the Russians were catching up, and that China itself would eventually be a threat. What he really wanted was to get involved in a preventive war against China — and even perhaps Russia — without letting the American people know."

Eisenhower vetoed Radford's course and turned instead toward the Geneva accords which cut Vietnam in two and led to the present situation.

In the light of the new developments, is there much doubt that what the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was urging more than 13 years ago within the Republican administration is again being projected by the nation's top generals within the present Democratic administration? That would account for the warnings that have come from Senator Mansfield and other highly placed figures in Washington over the past two months.

The ominous extension of the air attacks in North Vietnam following the flights of planes over Chinese territory, is fraught with tremendous dangers, especially when this reckless policy brings the U.S. imperialists no closer to victory in Vietnam than it has done up to now.

Latin-American View of OLAS

[The following are extensive excerpts from an article, datelined from Havana, which appeared in the Aug. 11 issue of *Marcha*. The author is Carlos María Gutiérrez, one of the editors of the Uruguayan weekly, who attended the July 31-Aug. 10 conference of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity (OLAS).

[As will be seen, the author is of the opinion that the outcome of the OLAS conference was the formation of a new international. While this would seem to be at least a premature conclusion, the conference, with its claim to speak for all of Latin America, could certainly be taken to represent a step in that direction.

[The article is of unusual interest, in our opinion, because of the facts it offers on the struggle that went on in the closed sessions over some of the most important issues that faced the delegates.

[The translation is by World Outlook, a labor press service. The full text appeared in their Sept. 22 issue.]

Today, Wednesday [Aug. 9], the OLAS conference was supposed to have ended, but things fell behind schedule and the agenda will not be completed until possibly Friday the eleventh. This was due to two factors that were not counted on at the opening: first, the capture of two groups of CIA agents on the coast of Cuba . . . , then the monolithic resistance put up by the Communist parties adhering to the Soviet line, or the delegations they control, to the majority theses of the conference.

The Cubans and the other delegations sharing their views did not wish, in the opening days, to force their hand; this atmosphere of unity . . . also included certain delegations of antithetical composition, such as the Uruguayan (with its mosaic of organizations) and the Chilean in which the Socialists and Communists held parity. But by the third day of the deliberations, the basis of the dispute was well defined and the attack leveled against the orthodox Communist parties . . . had become so sharp as to cut off further verbal offerings on the altar of unity.

The parity delegations, like the one from Chile, simply began to neutralize each other in voting; in the others, where the CPs exercised control, they began to rigidly apply the system of majority rule . . .

But on top of the internal disputes of the delegations, significant

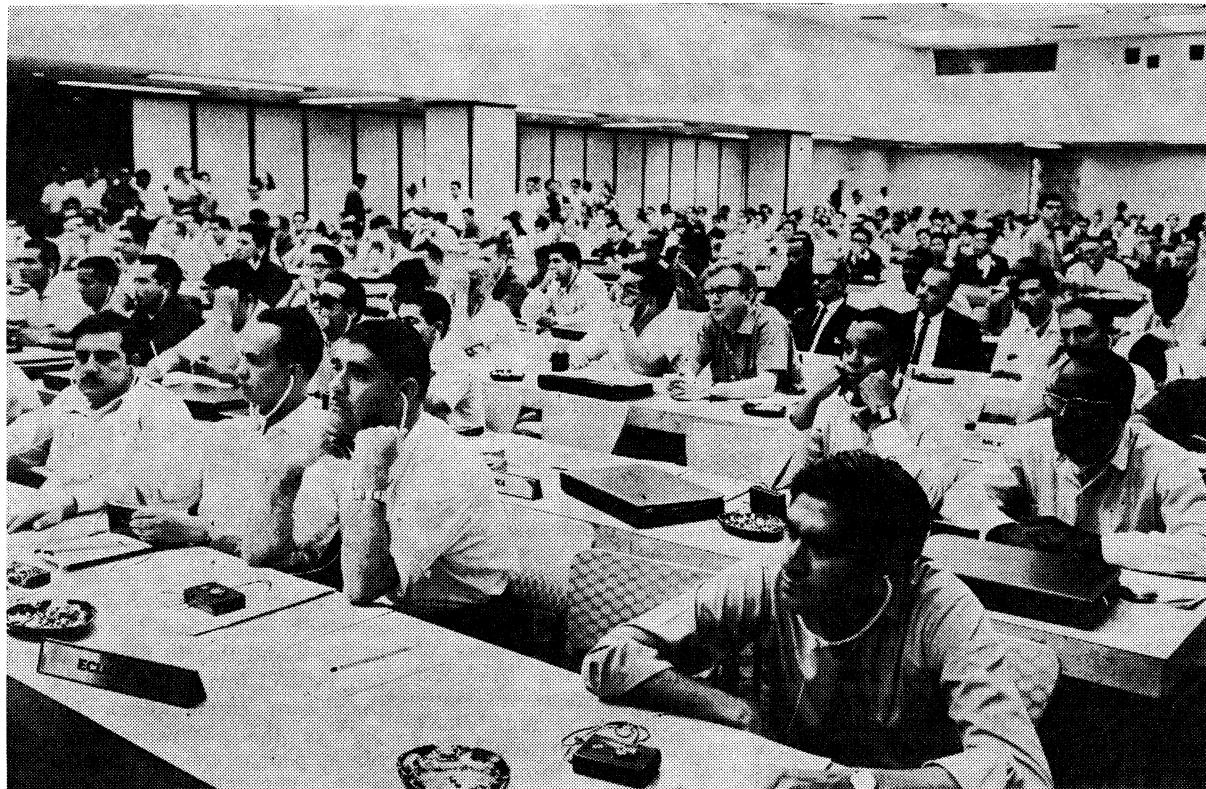


Photo by Joseph Hansen

DELEGATES AT OLAS CONFERENCE. Delegates listen to speech by Stokely Carmichael at final session of conference.

things began happening in the work of the commissions beginning last Wednesday . . . The mechanics of the conference was as follows:

The four work commissions elaborated resolutions of a general type. . . . Next, the presidium of the conference worked up a draft declaration which was approved by everyone and which would complete the group of general resolutions. Hence the importance of the declarations in the commissions, whose deliberations were not mere rough drafts of personal views or discussions but the expression of the definitive thought of the two clashing lines.

Commission I, in a relatively brief time, worked up its draft of a general resolution; and Commission IV, charged with drawing up the statutes for the OLAS, also completed its task without trouble. . . .

Birth Pangs

On the other hand, the deliberations of Commission III were marked with incidents, delays and heavy birth pangs which brought out — openly, late last night — the real objectives sought by the two contending sides. The revolutionary process in Latin America appeared to have reached a point where the narrow political schemas of the orthodox Communist parties were not sufficient to contain the new theses. . . .

Insistence on respect for discipline under threat otherwise of being considered against unity or something worse (this old alternative with which the CPs have been trying to intimidate the left in Latin America) no longer works.

In Commission III, during all this, it was Armando Hart [who headed the Cuban delegation] himself who said, with regard to the discipline to which the defenders of the Venezuelan CP appealed as an argument in order to avoid being condemned for repudiating the guerrillas:

"The cult of discipline above everything is an absurdity which we do not understand. Discipline does not stand higher than a revolutionary line." . . .

It was specifically in Commission III where the criticism of Soviet strategy in Latin America was voiced mainly in two resolutions. . . .

Up until five o'clock this morning, in an impressive work session that began 20 hours earlier, Commission III discussed the bitter end the matter of condemning the economic aid which the USSR is granting to the continental oligarchies.

The vote was conclusive: 15 in favor, 8 abstentions (from the delegations who were neutralized by their parity composition) and 3 opposed. El Salvador, Bolivia and Uruguay voted in defense of the policy of the USSR. . . .

In the morning, before voting, the Chilean Communist deputy, Jorge Montes, played the final card: the Communist parties, he said, would withdraw from the commission (and perhaps from the conference) if the condemnation of the USSR was insisted upon.

Armando Hart had the reply ready:

"They accuse us of being anti-Communist and anti-Soviet because we are going to pass this motion. This signifies accusing Compañero Fidel Castro of being anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. You can reach even this absurdity. One comrade has indicated that he would withdraw from the commission. Everyone has the right to withdraw, but this constitutes a threat. You must know that the Cuban Revolution has never bowed to threats from anyone. If anyone wishes to leave, he should understand that the door he takes is to the right."

Backing of Oligarchies

The resolution on Soviet aid — which is not to be given to the press but communicated to the USSR and the socialist countries, is short — scarcely a page. It is entitled, "Denunciation of the technical and financial aid which some countries grant to the puppet governments of Latin America," and it says in its whereases, "that at present a tendency is developing in some states of the socialist camp to grant technical and financial aid to these puppet governments" . . .

This aid "contributes to enlarging the resources of the oligarchies and to mitigating the grave economic difficulties confronting these governments, and all this in manifest contradiction with the aspirations of the oppressed and the exploited."

Also that "It operates against the revolutionary movements in those countries where an armed struggle is being mounted because the aid brings additional resources to the puppet governments that are trying to stamp them out" . . .

"That the technical and financial aid offered to the puppet governments by the socialist countries violates the principles of solidarity and, consequently, should not be granted."

In the resolution on Venezuela prepared by Commission III which

was likewise passed with 15 votes for and 3 against (among them, the Uruguayan delegation), the OLAS condemns "the bungling, opportunist position of the rightist leadership of the Venezuelan CP, which by abandoning the road of armed struggle betrayed revolutionary principles and is serving the interests of imperialism and the oligarchies and all their policies of oppression."

In turn, Commission II issued four basic declarations that obviously systematize the new line of the Latin-American revolution. . . . on the economic penetration by imperialism, on its politico-military intervention, on its cultural and ideological penetration, and on the OAS. The most important conclusions are as follows:

National Bourgeoisie

Economic penetration: "In the present historical conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anticlass struggle . . . The major task of breaking up the neo-colonial structure belongs to the workers and peasants of the Americas, in an indestructible alliance, along with the most progressive sectors of the intellectuals, students and other middle layers."

Politico-military intervention: "Against the complex scaffolding of penetration, intervention, subversion, occupation and politico-military hegemony of the United States in Latin America . . . the Latin-American peoples must oppose a common revolutionary strategy, based on a profound feeling of solidarity, aimed at taking power by means of armed struggle." . . .

As a summary of the spirit and positions contained in the documents of the commissions, the draft of the presidium's general declaration indicates positively . . . the line that triumphed in the conference. The explanatory part contains these postulates:

- Revolutionary violence offers the most concrete and manifest possibility for defeating imperialism.

- "In many countries," the special conditions "make guerrilla war the fundamental expression of the armed struggle." . . .

The main points of the general declaration to be made by OLAS include:

- Marxism-Leninism guides the continental revolutionary movement.

- Armed struggle constitutes the fundamental line.

- "All the other forms of struggle must serve and not hold back the development of the fundamental line of armed struggle."

- "In those countries in which this task is not posed in an immediate way, the development of a revolutionary struggle must in any case be considered as an inevitable perspective." . . .

- "The leadership of the revolution requires, as an organizational principle, a unified political and military command to guarantee success."

- "The most effective solidarity which the revolutionary movements can display toward each other is to develop and bring to a culmination their own struggle within each country."

In all these documents the new revolutionary thesis is unequivocally paramount, and each of its postulates runs counter to the Soviet strategy for Latin America and the schemas that up to now were imparted by the Communist parties to the liberation movements:

- The national bourgeoisie is rejected as a revolutionary factor, or rather what is rejected is the CP notion about forming "broad" or democratic-bourgeois "fronts." . . .

- All implications are dropped that the existing political vanguards . . . are the necessary points of crystallization for the forces involved and this function is transferred to the armed struggle as proof that the political vanguard is really revolutionary.

- All other forms of struggle are made subordinate to armed struggle.

It can already be said, as a consequence, that a new Marxist-Leninist international has just been created. Tacitly or explicitly, it has broken with ideological and strategic dependency on Moscow without lining up with any of the other camps. Headquarters naturally gravitate to Havana. . . .

And its appearance, without doubt, falls within the regroupment of revolutionary forces that is occurring in the world socialist camp. . . .

Cuban Art Exhibited In London

The "first exhibition of Cuban contemporary art" will be opened in London, according to the Sept. 3 *Sunday Telegraph*. It is sponsored by Ewan Phillips who recently visited Cuba.

Phillips told the London newspaper that Cuba is the "first Communist regime to advocate experimental art." He said that Che Guevara had played an important role in creating this atmosphere.

"Cuban artists are quite free to paint what they like," Phillips stated, "but it's difficult for them to get paints and so on. And it's difficult for them to live through their art; there's no great buying by the trade unions as in other socialist countries."

"They have to do other work, like teaching or poster design. Cuba has the best posters I've ever seen, and I'm hoping there'll be a show of them here later on." Phillips' exhibition will be at 22a Madox Street, W.1.

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"Toward a Radical Tammany"?

Behind New Politics Parley

By Harry Ring

Editorial reaction to the New Politics convention held in Chicago Labor Day weekend has been varied.

For example, *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party, took a rather dim view of the conference because it failed to field a 1968 presidential ticket as the CP had strongly favored it doing. According to *Worker* correspondent Mike Davidow the fact that so many young activists at the conference opposed fielding a ticket and succeeded in winning a hairline majority against it was evidence of a certain sectarianism on their part. Acknowledging the generally anti-capitalist outlook of those opposed to a third ticket, Davidow wrote Sept. 17:

"But as often happens, many of those in the first flush of radicalization did not address themselves to the crucial problem of how to unite with the far greater number who though discontented were not yet disillusioned with either the capitalist or two-party system but who were ready to vote for an alternative to President Johnson or a Republican supporter of his war policy in '68."

Previously, in the Sept. 10 *Worker* Davidow decided that the convention had been, after all, not very broad or representative. The question of whether or not there will be a "peace" ticket in '68 is still to be determined, he asserted, and will be determined "by what happens on the issue in the peace and freedom movements whose scope is considerably wider than the forces represented in Chicago."

Approves

A different and much more favorable view of what happened in Chicago was offered by Andrew Kopkind in *The New York Review of Books* Sept. 24. Kopkind was apparently sympathetic to the "New Left" forces which counterposed local community organizing to a third ticket. He was greatly heartened by their victory.

For Kopkind, the typical member of the local organizing or "radical" caucus at the convention was the young white radical "organizer" who has been building local antiwar groups and working among poor whites, urban and rural.

"First they called themselves the Vietnam Summer caucus, then the SDS caucus, then the organizers caucus, and finally, simply, the 'radical caucus.'"

"The members seemed to sense," he added, "that they were now at the heart of the New Left and that in effect they were the only 'new politics.' The organizers are the 'movement.'"

Summarizing the views of the local organizers, including their favorable view of "local radical election campaigns," Kopkind concludes:

"That at last is a new politics,

Peng Shu-tse Interview Reprinted in Hong Kong

The June issue of *Ming Pao*, a liberal Chinese monthly published in Hong Kong, carried the interview with Peng Shu-tse entitled "Mao's 'Cultural Revolution'" which appeared in the Feb. 13 and Feb. 20 issues of *The Militant*. The translation into Chinese was done by the well-known translator, Kao Shung.

Ming Pao, "A Non-Profit Magazine for the Promotion of Knowledge and Cultural Exchange," has the largest circulation of any Chinese magazine outside of mainland China. Its stand can be judged from the fact that it supports the work of the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell.

and blacks can do it as well as whites. After Chicago, they are both ready to begin."

Kopkind's estimate is, in our opinion, unduly optimistic. To begin with, the New Politics convention was a gathering of very heterogeneous forces which did not succeed in arriving at any common agreement. There is every indication that each of the various groupings will now go their own separate ways.

But there is an even more decisive reason why, in our view, the local organizers will not be able to build New Politics into a meaningful radical political force. That factor is the total absence of a clear-cut principled political orientation on their part. The absence of such an orientation leaves the local organizers open to domination by those working with them in New Politics who do have a political line — a line of working in and around the Democratic Party.

Democratic Party?

It is interesting to note, in reading the various reports of the New Politics convention, that virtually none of those reports seriously assess the role of those participants in the National Conference for New Politics whose line is to develop a liberal power base within the Democratic Party.

True, several references were made to the remarks at the conference by Peter Weiss and Ted Weiss of New York. Both are active in Democratic politics and both argued against what they regard as the futility of working outside the Democratic Party. Both were very poorly received by the convention.

But in the leadership of the NCNP there is an entire grouping that has the perspective of building a power base by involving the young, politically uncommitted radicals in capitalist machine politics on a precinct level. Such a perspective was most graphically summed up by NCNP leader Arthur Waskow with the phrase "toward a radical Tammany."

Those leaders of NCNP who have such a political perspective were entirely sympathetic to the stand of the "local organizers" who oppose a third ticket even though their motivation may be quite different.

Third Ticket

(Curiously, the ones at the convention who most closely shared this pro-Democratic Party orientation were the Communist Party members and other like-minded people among the third-ticket partisans. Their argument simply boils down to the contention that in '68 the only realistic way to line up people for the "liberal" or "reform" wing of the Democratic Party is to offer them an "alternative" on the presidential line to the thoroughly unsaleable LBJ. That's why, for example, they favor a third ticket but oppose even advocacy of a third party.)

However, the initiating leaders of NCNP were not ready to commit themselves to that kind of a move. Their general approach is quite well described by Kopkind in his previously referred to article. It is worth quoting, even though somewhat extensive:

"NCNP was white from the very beginning. It was formed nearly two years ago in a Washington loft belonging to a legislative assistant to a liberal congressman. Its shape was defined by Arthur Waskow, a hard-working imaginative Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies. On occasion, Waskow describes himself, perhaps too narrowly, as 'the last liberal.' NCNP was a bit that way too. Waskow and a few companions invited a number of 'last liberals' and the new radicals to a discussion during the weekend of a

SANE antiwar rally in Washington in late November 1965.

"The NCNP board came out of that gathering, and two presentable and (at that time) exciting political figures were rounded up to serve as co-chairmen: Julian Bond, the young ex-SNCC Georgia assemblyman, and Simon Casady, the recently fired chairman of the California Democratic Party. Both were suffering for their antiwar stands; Bond had been denied his seat and Casady got the axe from Pat Brown. Both were in the Democratic Party. Both were putting almost all their energies into electoral politics, and both were busy disassociating themselves from the extremes of their respective scenes.

"Given the new location of the political center, NCNP was then not much more than a jazzy model of an ADA. During the election primaries of the Spring of 1966, NCNP began operating in a number of localities. Money was raised from wealthy liberals wisely placed on the board of directors, and funds were parceled out on the basis of the sketchiest priorities.

"Thousands were given to Howard Morgan in Oregon, a 'dove' Democrat who ran a disastrously dull race against Robert Duncan in the Senate primary. Morgan was a hopeless candidate from the start. But only small amounts went to Robert Scheer for his much more promising, and more radical, Democratic primary campaign in California's seventh congressional district against liberal Jefferey Cohelan. It was one thing to spend against a 'hawk,' and another to spend against a liberal."

More Radical

Since then, Kopkind says, NCNP has moved toward supporting things of a more radical character like Scheer's Community for New Politics, the Mississippi Freedom Democrats, the Lowndes County Freedom (Black Panther) Party and the Connecticut American Independent Movement. It is worth noting that the only one of these which is completely independent of the two parties, on principle, is the Black Panther Party which, to our best knowledge, has received minimal assistance from NCNP.

Such a move would be in line with the efforts to persuade the young radicals who are not particularly attracted by pleas on the need to exercise "leverage" inside the Democratic Party (Ted Weiss) or on the virtues of staying in such "mainstream" movements as the New York Reform Democratic Clubs or the California Democratic Council (The CP pitch).

Arthur Waskow presents a version of his view of New Politics in a position paper in the *New Politics News* (undated) and entitled: "Perspective on '68 and Beyond: Toward a Radical Tammany."

Title's the Clue

The article must be rather carefully deciphered. It is difficult to even determine if much of it is really meant seriously. But the title really is the message. Since Waskow has played a key role in NCNP and was a leader of the local organizing caucus in Chicago it is worth trying to understand what he is saying.

He writes: "The argument for dropping out into urban kibbutzim [Israeli farm cooperatives] that are sexually and economically unrepressive (the hippie argument) suggests that presenting the society with the utopian vision in actual practice is most likely to attract people who begin to realize that no longer need one work to eat; is most likely to bring to bear against the modern corporate system the one conceivable countervailing power — the consumer



Photo by Shannon

AT NCNP CONVENTION. Arthur Waskow, bearded, looking at camera, discussing issues with other delegates.

strike; and thus is most likely to replace the existing society with a new one. There is probably considerable truth in the argument.

"The argument for syndicalist organization," he continues learnedly, "suggests that members of the new professions can be more easily radicalized at work — where their bosses and the system deprive them of freedom and dignity — than at home, where life in the suburbs is fairly comfortable. There is probably considerable truth in this argument too.

"What both arguments lack, however," he adds, "is a sense of the interaction between neighborhood and the work institution... the new-politics form should be seen not as antagonistic to the communitarian or syndicalist forms, but as complementary to them."

New politics, he explains somewhat dialectically, is both a movement and not a movement. It is not a movement in that it is "a mode of action" for other movements. He lists "five identifiable large 'movements' of people in action toward the left... the student movement, the Negro movement, the peace movement, the liberal reform movement (as in the New York reform clubs or the California Democratic Council) and the religious movement..."

"Precinct Work"

With a bit of something for everyone in the New Left, Waskow explains how "creative disorder" (like a civil defense protest or lunch-counter sit-in) "can overlap with electoral organization. The same ward, precinct and district groups that support a candidate can stay useful between elections..."

Tossed into the pot is "institution-building" of a "radical Tammany" model. This would include such things as local consumer groups and community schools. And, we learn parenthetically, "(The community school will turn out to be a useful place for the precinct committee to meet, etc.)"

Turning to the third-ticket idea, Waskow argues there should be no move in this direction unless all five previously listed groups are willing. "If the Reformers are not ready to leave the Democratic Party," he states, "and the Students are not yet willing to put full energy into electoral politics, we ought not commit the silliness of 'compromising' between those views to go third party..."

Hang Loose

"Will the energy that might be spent on organizing to win a local Democratic primary or hold an election for local neighborhood school board be frittered away on gathering petitions for a national third party?"

Asserting that New Politics should neither commit itself to staying in or leaving the old parties, Waskow states: "To sum-

marize: the new politics ought to hang loose, in every conceivable way. The New Politics ought to see itself as a party in the form of a movement *sometimes*; and a movement in the form of a party, *sometimes*. It ought to be a radical Tammany not only in content, but also in form." (Emphasis in original.)

Tammany Hall

We admit to confusion on any number of thoughts that Waskow advances, perhaps including his use of the Tammany example. But we are intrigued by it. Our understanding of the nature and functioning of New York's Tammany Hall Democratic machine was of a strikingly simple operation. The politicians built a local machine by suckering people into delivering votes in return for petty favors and, in the case of those who delivered significant blocs of votes, jobs that either paid well or offered unusual opportunities for unofficial remuneration. Precisely what the "radical" counterpart of Tammany would be is not too clear to us. Or would it possibly not be that different?

Waste of Time?

Now, some people in New Politics will argue that we should not have spent so much time on the political notions of an Arthur Waskow — that he and people like him simply aren't that influential among the young radicals. That may be. But that's not the point.

Like it or not, the Waskows have a political program. Stripped of the radical verbiage and gobbledegook, it is, as we have tried to demonstrate, a conscious program of suckering young activists into capitalist politics. And so long as there is no serious move within New Politics for a break with capitalist politics in all its forms — local or national, inside the two capitalist parties or a "third" competitor to them — the Waskows will inevitably succeed in persuading a certain number of young people into joining their game.

No Real Alternative

At the New Politics convention, not a single delegate spoke for the need to break with capitalist politics and to build a political movement in opposition to the capitalist system and all of its attendant evils. This was true of the supporters of all three political views — local organizing, third ticket and third party. This was the fatal defect of the convention and of NCNP.

All of the great issues of our time are political and those who seek solutions to these problems are inevitably driven to seek political solutions. And, at the risk of sounding dogmatic, in a capitalist society, people must finally opt for either procapitalist or anti-capitalist political solutions. Those who do not find their way to anti-capitalist solutions can all too easily wake up in bed with "radical Tammany" politicians.

Greek Revolutionists Assess Victory of Military Clique

An important document from the revolutionary Marxist underground movement in Greece appeared in the Sept. 22 issue of *World Outlook*, an international labor press service. It is the first political evaluation to reach the West from inside Greece itself of the reasons for the success of the April 21 military coup, the character of the new military regime and the organization of underground struggle against the dictatorship.

Dated Athens, the report written in August declared that "Only permanent mobilization of the masses and deepening of the mass movement could have countered the reactionaries' strategy... from the time the masses were drawn from the streets into auditoriums for formal demonstrations or were mobilized in passive flocks to hail and applaud barnstorming 'democratic leaders'... the schemes of the reactionaries began to show progress."

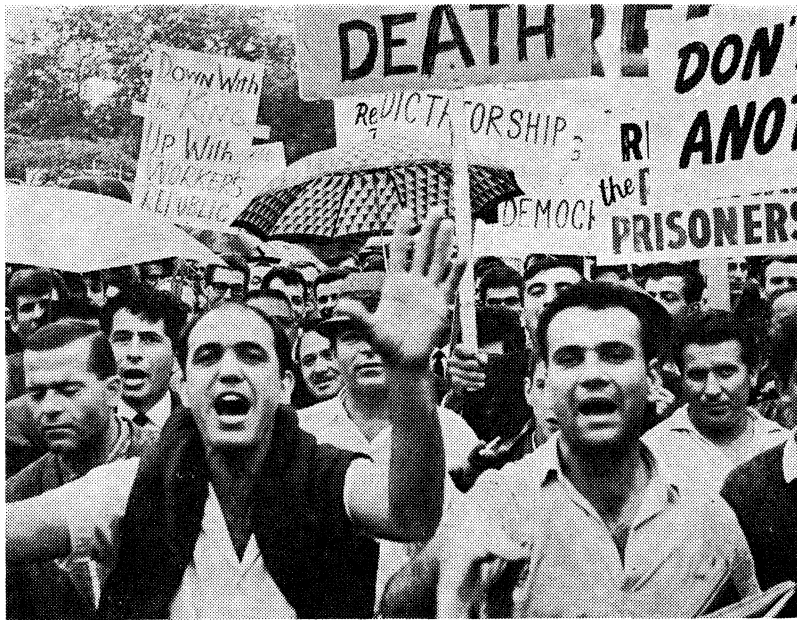
They sharply criticize the leaderships of the liberal capitalist parties and many of the left parties as well:

"The Center Union and the EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristoteras — Union of the Democratic Left] leaderships, for their part, functioned as a barrier against the upsurge of the masses thus facilitating the evolution toward dictatorship..."

"The EDA's political objectives (and those of the Greek Communist Party) went no further than such empty nostrums as 'a democratic solution and return to normal democratic life,' 'support a really democratic government,' etc."

The document discusses the role of the Greek revolutionary Marxists:

"The Greek Internationalist Communist Party [the Greek section of the Fourth International] correctly noted in time the court's absolutist orientation in recent



DENOUNCE GREEK DICTATORSHIP. Over 3,000 Greek-Canadians marching in Toronto show their hatred of military government.

years. It warned of the threat of dictatorship and denounced the reactionary utopia of peaceful democratic progress.

"In setting the overthrow of the monarchy as the immediate strategic objective, it sought to popularize the 'referendum' slogan, and envisaged a general strike and a popular uprising. It called for building a worker-peasant-student front as the tactical means for accomplishing these objectives."

"It must be noted, however, that its prediction in February 1967 that 'all signs indicate that the elections will take place in May' was a grave error. This view was based on circumstantial and superficial evidence..."

The underground fighters draw a balance sheet on the character and stability of the new military regime:

"The new regime rests solely

on the state repressive apparatus. It has no base among the masses of the people..."

"The April 21 dictatorship is not fascist. Its similarities to fascism are formal and superficial (its methods and demagoguery). It lacks the support of the petty-bourgeois masses enjoyed by fascism. It is a court-military dictatorship of Bonapartist character."

"This kind of regime has a short life. If the masses do not succeed in overthrowing it by revolutionary means, it will collapse on its own due to the impasses created by its mere existence. For this reason it is preparing the way for its successor, which will obviously be a reactionary one but more 'respectable,' if more hypocritical — rule by the royalist nationalist parties, with the military junta still in control behind the scenes, based on a constitution remodeled along absolutist lines, with a pseudoparliamentary facade and a ban on left parties."

"The dictatorship's primary goal is to annihilate the left movement, to terrorize the masses, and to honeycomb the state apparatus with police agents."

Despite the massive terror, jailings and the filling of concentration camps, the underground fighters have begun the difficult and dangerous work of building a resistance movement:

Opposition

"For the time being, the manifestations of opposition to the dictatorship are of small-scale and conspiratorial nature. They emanate from vanguard elements. But these manifestations are occurring more frequently as time goes on and are becoming more systematic and spreading from city to city..."

"The revival of the mass struggle will bring down the dictatorship. It is the supreme duty of the revolutionary Marxist vanguard to bring this about. By making every effort to increase the number of clandestine centers, by spurring the masses on to demand that their elementary needs be met... to compel acceptance of the right to strike and other trade-union and democratic rights which have been abolished as well as a general amnesty for the militants, we will continue, together with the masses, to build a worker-peasant-student front against the dictatorship and the palace, against capitalism and imperialism."

"As this front goes forward, it will lay the groundwork for a socialist solution to the crisis."

The full text of this important document can be obtained from *World Outlook*, P.O. Box 635 Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010. The cost is 50 cents.

... News About Oct. 21

(Continued from Page 1) being printed and extra buses are being arranged for.

SEATTLE, Wash.—"I am going to Washington, D.C. on the 21st. Put me in contact with others in the area that have indicated they want to go. I will organize in this area if you send me some stuff to do it with."

MADISON, Wis.—Several buses have been reserved by the Madison Mobilization Committee to carry Madisonians to Washington.

DURHAM, N.H. — From Vietnam Summer: "Persons in our group will be organizing for the October 21st march on Washington to end the war. We will be working in the community, the University of New Hampshire, and this whole area of the state."

BERKELEY, Calif. — From the Campus Mobilization Committee: "... We are preparing a large campaign when school opens on Oct. 1. We are planning to initiate very soon a call for car caravans to Washington from the West Coast... it could be called a 'drive-in' to Washington."

A GI WRITES FROM THE SOUTH — "I plan to make the march in Washington on October 21 if my leave days are the same... I have friends that will back and help me 100 percent."

HAYWARD, Calif. — The Stu-

The Black Struggle

Black Antiwar GI Court-Martialed

New cracks have appeared in the imperialist army with the case of Pvt. Thomas Tuck of Cleveland, a black antiwar GI stationed at Ft. Knox, Kentucky. Tuck was given a summary court-martial Aug. 4 and sentenced to 30 days in the stockade at hard labor. His offense was that he twice refused to pick up a gun.

Tuck was given a day's notice for his court-martial and was denied the right to have a civilian lawyer. The Cleveland Draft Resistance Union has hired New York lawyer Conrad Lynn, who has filed notice of an appeal on the basis of a soldier having the right to due process of law.

Antiwar Stand

The deeper question involved is the fact that Pvt. Tuck, although he has only been in the Army since July 3, is part of a group of 12 antiwar black soldiers referred to as the "Dirty Dozen." Ten of them are from Cleveland. The "Dirty Dozen" argue against the war and are attempting to reach more GIs with the facts on the war at Fort Knox. This action raises the question of the right of soldiers to speak freely about the war. Members of the "Dirty Dozen" often get extra work details.

A lot of the soldiers going through basic training with Pvt. Tuck are very disturbed about the war. Some of them have gone AWOL, and several have slashed their wrists with razors.

Pvt. Tuck's brother David returned from Vietnam in February where he saw combat with the artillery. David says he saw for himself that the U.S. was intervening in a civil war, using poor black and white people and Puerto Ricans to suppress the Vietnamese. He says that the guerrillas have wide support and a stronger will to fight than anyone else.

Black power advocate Dr. Nathan Hare, who was kicked out of Howard University by the handkerchief-head administration, will return to Washington, D.C., this time as a professional boxer. Hare fought in 1962 and 1963, so he is no stranger to the profession. At present, he is chairman of the recently formed Washington Committee for Black Power.

After he was ousted from Howard, Hare was offered teaching positions at the City College of New York, University of Tulsa, Colorado State, University of Illinois, and San Francisco State. He rejected these offers because he intends to fight for reinstatement at Howard. Summing up his feelings, he told one reporter, "My major interest is making Howard a black institution."

Because of the racist attitude of the United Federation of Teachers, an attitude which embraces both the leadership and many rank and filers, the UFT strike has met open resistance from the black community in New York City. The hostility was especially manifested in Harlem, where on Sept. 12, black parents attacked the teachers picket line at Intermediate School 201.

The UFT has a history of disregarding the demands of black parents, who want to have some say in the running of the school system. At several picket lines, Harlem parents have taunted teachers to the point where the teachers felt it necessary to leave. These are cases of chickens coming home to roost for the UFT.

Black militants and parents have been raising the idea of black people controlling the schools.

H. Rap Brown told reporters after making an exit from I.S. 201, "This community is insisting on controlling the schools in this area."



READS ANTIWAR LEAFLET. Soldier at Fort Dix, N.J. reading leaflet on case of Fort Hood Three, last year.

They should. And I also agree with them that say white teachers who picketed here and turned in their resignations can never come back here and teach. They better heed the warnings of the community and stay away from here forever."

On Sept. 16, Robert 35X Smith was gagged and handcuffed in court for protesting his "speedy" trial. Smith, described as a "Black Muslim," was being tried for attempted murder of three detectives last March. The cops approached him and Smith allegedly started firing at them, according to the cops.

Smith protested that he didn't think his court-appointed lawyers were adequate, and that the trial was being given a rush job. After Smith was gagged and handcuffed, on order of Justice Barshay, the good judge told the jury of 11 Italian-Americans and one Afro-American, "Remember there was no prejudice of any kind, direct or indirect in anything you may have seen in this courtroom today. This case must be decided on evidence alone." The detectives Smith is accused of wounding are all Italian-Americans.

—Derrick Morrison

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Letters From Our Readers

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

Antiwar Vote

Baltimore, Md.

On Sept. 12 a phone-in poll was held here on WMAR-TV (CBS) on the following question:

"Should U.S. troops be unconditionally withdrawn from Vietnam now?" The results were: YES 64 percent; NO 36 percent.

A few weeks ago a question as to whether the listeners thought the war in Vietnam was morally justified brought a response of YES 33 percent, and NO 67 percent.

This is how the poll is taken: Every evening at 7:30 a question is announced. The listeners are then asked to call one phone number if they wish to vote YES and another to vote NO. After the 11 p.m. news the result is announced.

Les Evenchik

Black Power

Houston, Texas

We have suffered for 400 years or more under the Man's injustice and inequality. I'm sure that you all know that he has determined and still is determining the economic, social, political and governmental status under which we are said to have voice.

However, through our suffering and prolonged oppression in all these categories, the truth of the Man's statement has been proved false. According to the percentage of the population, the so-called American Negro has been highly misrepresented.

We are misrepresented in Congress in both houses. Locally our representation is still under par. Therefore we cannot have a voice politically.

Economically our percentage is far less due to our jobs, homes, communities and education. This is factual to the extent that there is a greater percentage of poor black people than there are middle class.

The social level of the black man is considered lower than many ethnic groups. We are considered lower than the Latin Americans, poor white Americans, Japanese Americans and others.

Our government in the U.S. is run solely by the white man. They use processes like gerrymandering, re-zoning, re-districting and other political gimmicks such as fixing votes which decreases the percentage of representation.

This is what we are fighting when we say black power. It only means political, social, governmental and economic equality.

Over the past years the white man has defined black power to you. He has defined whether a march was peaceful or violent to you. He says that we are violent but he will kill his own for personal gain. He killed a whole race of people for the U.S. He killed for his independence from England. He killed in World War I and World War II, where he dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

Korea and Vietnam are no exceptions. He is bombing now in Vietnam, using germicidal warfare, killing old men, women and children in order to impose or impress upon them what he calls "good old American democracy."

You as an Afro-American, black man, red man, yellow man, brown man, you know, as I know how much our forefathers have suffered and how much our parents have suffered. If you don't, then what does it take for you to wake up? Do you plan to remain a dead man, a walking tombstone, and remain suppressed for the rest of your life? The white man doesn't care for you any more than he cares for me.

If you're a brother who is awake to these facts that I have previously mentioned, then I sincerely hope we can join hands together, regardless of what civil rights groups you are in, in order that we may fight for the cause.

An Afro-American Brother

Reads Between Lines

Cortland, N.Y.

I must say that I find *The Militant* interesting but that I look for the truth somewhere between your bias and that of the local press. You are at least as honest editorially as they are!

R.H.

Soviet Scholars

New York, N.Y.

The Socialist Scholars Conference was attended by two Soviet scientists, sociologist Yuri Zamoshkin and economist Timur Timofeev, both from the Institute of the World Labor Movement in Moscow.

T. Timofeev, speaking on "The Working Class in the World Arena," presented the general outline of the official Soviet strategy: the stress on economic development in the socialist countries and a peaceful increase in the role of the working class in the capitalist countries. He expressed confidence in the growth of the Communist parties in the West because they do not any more — as in the old days — base their policy on the maxim "The worse, the better."

In connection with this the young Soviet scientist made an astonishing "discovery" during his current visit where he found the proceedings of the early congresses of the Communist International. It turned out — according to him — that the real father of the theory "the worse, the better" was . . . Leon Trotsky!

We leave aside the rather comical situation that a Soviet social scientist has to find documents pertaining to the history of the Comintern in capitalist America. In a more serious vein, we would advise him to study a little the so-called Third Period of the Comintern from 1929 to 1933.

At that time the Communist parties under Stalin's dictation developed the whole set of adventurist, ultra-left ideas which the young

Soviet scientist would like to attribute to Trotsky. The Russians have a saying that some sinners in their atonement like to beat other people's breasts instead of their own.

Another panelist, Philip S. Foner, who is better versed in American than Soviet history, had in this case only one objection, namely, that the first author of the theory "the worse, the better" was not Trotsky but DeLeon . . .

The first encounter of the Soviet social scientists and American socialist scholars had — without any doubt — a positive effect. It could have been even more fruitful if the Soviet scientists could get more liberty in assessing all the facts of their own past and present and the American socialist scholars had been engaged with them in a serious and blunt discussion, animated by critical sympathy for the Soviet Union.

A. Binder

Phila., Pa.

Women's Rights

Lenin says that in no bourgeois country do women enjoy equal rights with men in fact, and they don't even enjoy equal rights by law, not even in the most "democratic" countries like the U.S.

Mrs. John Hill of Pittsburgh was fired from her teaching job because she didn't tell the school

board she was pregnant. I say it's none of the board's damn business, and certainly they shouldn't fire her because of it.

As she says in an article in the Aug. 29 Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, "I think the board over-emphasized my private life and under-emphasized my intellectual capabilities."

What happened was that she took a year's sabbatical to study and received half pay for it. She became pregnant in the middle of this sabbatical and didn't know it, so didn't tell the board. She finished her studies, so it wasn't as though she was taking advantage of the board by claiming she was studying and not really doing so.

They are punishing her for being a woman, if you ask me. I'm sure they don't ask men who are about to be fathers to report this fact to the school board or get fired.

In line with things like this, the National Organization for Women has among its goals the abolition of certain work laws which prohibit women from working more than X hours a week, which in

effect bars them from certain jobs and discriminates against them, not for them.

They also want to see want ads integrated by sex, as well as by race. I, for one, have had to look under the Male column for computer programmer jobs, and I would certainly appreciate an end to this discrimination.

I agree with Bob Gebert's letter in the Aug. 21 *Militant* and am glad to see letters from men in favor of women and against male chauvinism. I'd like to see more of them.

Amy Lowenstein

Immediate Withdrawal

Providence, Ky.

The war in Vietnam is futile, disgusting, asinine, useless, unnecessary, idiotic, barbaric, aggressive, brutal, and any other adjective of a horrid nature one can imagine. America has only one choice as far as the future of this hideous conflict is concerned: that is immediate withdrawal.

R.C.

Thought for the Week

"This man in the White House is probably the cutest, smartest, throatcuttingest political operator I have ever run into." —Barry Goldwater, Sept. 18.

It Was Reported in the Press

Free-World Contribution — The U.S. Mission in Saigon reported Sept. 13 that 819 million propaganda leaflets have been dropped on North Vietnam since the program began in 1965. We don't know if the North Vietnamese are suffering a shortage of toilet tissue but this should certainly help ease any possible scarcity.

Rulers Falling Out? — We hope it won't be regarded as the opportunist reaction of a lonely crusader, but we do see new evidence of a rift in U.S. ruling circles with Bobby Kennedy's declaration that cigarettes should be regarded as "a deadly weapon." We recognize, however, that he probably won't go beyond demanding negotiations with the tobacco industry.

Stoic — Joseph Timon, a Southwest community developer, says the long-term trend is against poor people. By the year 2,000 he says, a balcony seat to a play will run \$12.50 and orchestra seats will be going for \$50. "The pity of it," opines Mr. Timon, "is that there is nothing we can do but face the inevitability of it."

It Figures — A spokesman for the mayor of Nagasaki said that the people there had a different attitude toward the U.S. than the people of Hiroshima. "There is not the bitterness in Nagasaki that one finds in Hiroshima," he said, "and I feel this is due to the strong Christian influence here."

Clear-Eyed View — Dr. Arthur Steele, president of Clearwater, Fla., Christian College, warned against doubters in the fold. He disclosed that less than one-third of the ministers responding to a questionnaire said they believe in such biblical teaching as miracles, the immaculate conception, Satan and the hereafter. "The danger is not fallout," he warned. "It's sell-out."

Sparkling Bathroom — Do you spend a lot of money on jewels that you then keep locked out of sight most of the time? If so, check with Paul Associates, a New York shop. They offer bathroom fixtures in combinations of cut crystal and 14-karat gold plate. Faucets start for as little as \$216.

We don't know if they have mink-lined seats, but that also sounds a lot more practical than a stole that you only get to wear a few times a season.

Suggestion — Congressmen are getting a lot of antiwar mail, according to *U.S. News & World Report*. Wrote one man from Clairton, Pa.: "I would like to suggest that we withdraw from Vietnam while making the claim we have obtained our objectives. I don't know what our objectives are and I don't think anyone else does. Hence we can define a new set of objectives, which are things already accomplished. We can point out what a great job we have done, then pull out."

Used Car Dealer — Edgar Jurist, a Nyack, N.Y., used car dealer is offering a Rolls Royce Phantom IV, that used to belong to the Emir of Kuwait, for \$50,000. His problem is that people treat it like an ordinary used car, kicking the tires and so on. Mr. Jurist takes a dim view of this and has ejected several such potential customers from the premises. Some of the

customers apparently take a dim view of his doing so. One evening someone put a number of bullet holes through his front window.

Servicing the Commuter — Someone sent us a New York-New Rochelle train schedule. Among its ads for Broadway musicales, hairdressers, etc., is one from an employment agency featuring: "English-Speaking Trinidad Maids. Able, Mature & Eager to Please. All experienced, with special training for American homes! Live in . . . from \$50 a week."

Apartment-Hunting? — We don't know if it's still available because a friend read it in the June 13 *Look* at her dentist, but anyway the magazine reports: "To be 'in' is to rent an apartment in the new building at 1045 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. Special attraction: Jackie Kennedy lives next door. The few remaining apartments that offer the same view of Central Park that Jackie enjoys run from \$620 to \$670 a month."

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

THE GHETTO REBELLIONS — An Eyewitness Report From Newark. Speaker: Lawrence Stewart, black socialist and trade unionist. Fri., Sept. 29, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Hall 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT AND THE 1968 ELECTION. Speaker: Lynn Henderson. Fri. Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE GHETTO UPRISING — A Black Socialist View of the Afro-American Liberation Struggle. Speaker: George Davis, Chairman, L. A. Alexander Defense Committee. Fri., Sept. 29, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East 4th St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

ALIENATION UNDER MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. First of two talks on The Problems of Alienation Today. Speaker: George Novack, author of *Origins of Materialism*. Fri., Sept. 29, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway near 18th St. Second talk, *Alienation in Post-Capitalist Countries*, will be announced. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

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Photo by Hermes

NATIONAL GUARDIAN PICNIC. Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, speaking on black power at National Guardian meeting on Sept. 16. Boutelle had just returned from Montreal, Canada, where he spoke under the auspices of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

Havana and Paris: 2 Approaches

PARIS — The overwhelming majority of Parisians take their vacations in July and August. This year upon returning they were greeted with an unpleasant surprise. During their absence, the government decreed the biggest jump in transit fares since 1958. The obvious idea was to catch the subway and bus riders by surprise so as to make protest actions more difficult.

The average fare was boosted some 60 percent for the city and 30 percent for the suburbs.

For the average Parisian transport costs have tripled since 1958.

HAVANA — On Aug. 1 a number of measures went into effect in the capital of revolutionary Cuba to improve bus service.

Formerly bus fare had been 8 centavos [1 centavo=1 U.S. cent]. A transfer cost 2 centavos. The fare is now a straight 5 centavos and transfers have been eliminated. For many bus riders this meant an immediate saving.

Besides transfers, the issuance of tickets has been eliminated. You simply drop a 5-centavo piece in a coin box.

The number of workers on the buses was cut in half, all conductors being shifted to other jobs or placed on the retirement list.

Bus drivers are not required to

give change or even to demand payment. This is left up to the control of the passengers. While waiting at a bus stop they must arrange with each other to make change. Four people can enter a bus by dropping a 20-centavo piece in the coin box.

If a passenger does not pay, the other passengers are asked to call the oversight to his attention. If he refuses his name can be cited at his place of work for moral censure.

Stops for buses are now mandatory at every designated bus stop. These are about five blocks apart.

By the end of August, the improvements had worked out so well that Havana residents were under the impression that many more buses had been added to the fleet. Schedules were being followed much more rigorously and because of the speedier service the buses seemed less jammed.

Still more surprising, it was discovered that the number of people using bus service had increased considerably, the increase oscillating between 150,000 and 200,000 daily.

The 3,765 conductors suffered no loss inasmuch as their wages were guaranteed until they found other jobs. The Aug. 22 *Granma* reported that 3,264 were already

in other occupations. The remainder were either on vacation or had taken out retirement.

Besides lowering bus fares in Havana, Cuba's revolutionary government has instituted another highly subversive innovation — free public telephones.

The Ministry of Communications announced the new benefit to the people on July 17. Telephone workers began rewiring the coin boxes the same day and by July 26, the fourteenth anniversary of the famous attack led by Fidel Castro on the Moncada barracks, the changeover had been completed throughout the island.

Now when you want to make a local call from a public telephone in Cuba, you don't start by fumbling for a coin; you just lift the receiver off the hook and dial the number you want.

Black GI Tells Army He Won't Go to Vietnam

Pvt. Ronald Lockman, a black GI who has received orders to be sent to Vietnam, has announced that he will refuse to go. Lockman, 23, is a member of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. He first announced his intentions at the New Politics convention held Labor Day weekend in Chicago. He also held a press conference in New York at the DuBois Club convention Sept. 8-10.

Lockman appeared at a press conference in San Francisco Sept. 13, the day he was to report to Oakland Army Base for shipment to Vietnam. He was accompanied by his lawyer, DuBois Club leader Terrence Hallinan.

Reading a prepared statement, Lockman declared: "My position on my orders is NO!! I won't go. I can't go, I will not be used any longer."

Lockman entered the Oakland Army Base, but was not arrested. He is scheduled to fly to Vietnam Sept. 22 and expects to be arrested then when he refuses to board the plane.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

The Trade Union Division of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has issued a call for a "National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace" to be held in Chicago Nov. 11-12. The conference will be open to "all trade union leaders, of whatever persuasion, to join with us in these deliberations at this most crucial hour in the nation's history."

The call for the conference is issued in the name of three prominent union leaders. Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; and Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, sponsored the call.

"The continuing escalation of the war in Vietnam has created a situation unique in American history," the call says. "There has never before been a time when the American people have been so openly skeptical of the methods, the purposes and the goals of their own government while actively engaged in war . . .

"Within most of the Third World our Vietnamese adventure is viewed as a classic example of a powerful white nation pitted against a small country of colored people.

"The annual cost of the war to America will soon reach 30 billion dollars a year. This enormous diversion of human wealth and energies into war has grievously undermined every program to meet the needs of our cities and has intensified the undercurrents of violence in our own land.

"Young men who deserve better are dying in a war whose purpose they do not understand. The culture of our country is being brutalized by a logic which seeks to justify the use of the most inhumane weapons of war whose primary victims inevitably are the population of Vietnam — both North and South.

"We share UN Secretary General U Thant's view that there is an alternative creative role for America in the world today and that 'the labor movement can be a very powerful force in producing the changes in attitude which will be required.'

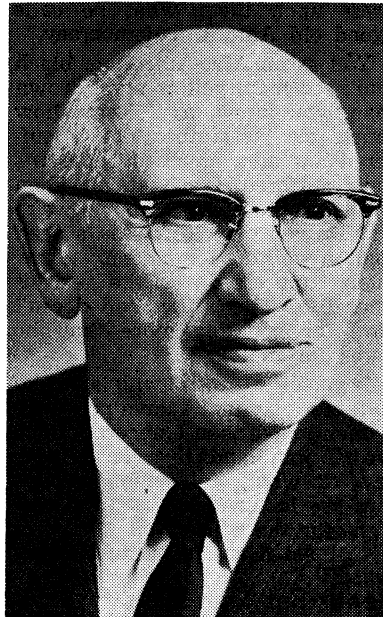
Labor Movement

"This possibility is of the greatest importance to the American labor movement, which has always prided itself on its heritage of independence, forthrightness and moral leadership to the nation in times of stress.

"We believe the moment is long past due for a thoroughgoing examination of the impact of American foreign policy on our lives today.

—on our economy
—on our social development
—on the culture of our times."

For further information, write: Assembly Headquarters, Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 333 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 60607.



Frank Rosenblum

"Worker" Suffers a Rebuff For Its Hatchet Job on Poet

By George Saunders

That poem in *The Worker* attacking Soviet poet Andrei Voznesensky, which was reprinted in the Soviet paper *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, has apparently boomeranged. This is indicated by no less a source than *The Worker* itself. In its Sept. 12 issue Moscow correspondent Harry Yaris acknowledged that a significant section of Soviet opinion "deems" the attack "a grave injustice to Voznesensky."

"Reprinting of the poem from *The Worker*," reports Yaris, "has aroused a discussion, which as far as I can see, is taking three channels."

The first viewpoint, presented quite sympathetically by Yaris, is that of the editors of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. (These are the same literary bureaucrats whom Voznesensky denounced for their deceitful and arbitrary methods in dealing with Soviet writers. It was that denunciation, in a letter to *Pravda* June 22, that set off the current controversy.)

Holders of this view seem to be on the defensive, to judge by Yaris' account. They "do not impugn the loyalty of Voznesensky to the Soviet Union [which *The Worker* poem did] nor his considerable talents as a poet," said Yaris, apologizing for them. "They do charge him with political immaturity, and consider that the poem published in *The Worker* correctly makes this point."

The Worker poem attacked Voznesensky for his stand against cen-

sorship with such doggerel as: "The CIA loves you," and "In reading you, I smell the reek of Svetlana." (For more details, see last week's *Militant*.)

The second view, says Yaris, agrees with the first but feels *The Worker* went too far in referring to the CIA and Svetlana. He hastily adds that people of this view still supported publication of *The Worker* poem in the Soviet paper.

"A third viewpoint not only considers those references uncalled for but deems the entire letter a grave injustice to Voznesensky."

Perhaps most revealing is Yaris' observation that he can't tell "which view is the most widely held." The very fact that this source feels obliged to mention the "third view" at all (and he does it with obvious reluctance and embarrassment) is a good indication that the resentment against *The Worker* poem is quite widespread. No wonder, it was fully in the spirit of the most diehard, retrograde old Stalinist hacks.

Yaris concluded his curious dispatch with a half-hearted apology for *The Worker's* blunder. While "politically immature poets shouldn't meddle in political affairs," he commented, "newspapers should be careful in publishing political views in the form of poetry." We might add that so-called American Communists who meddle in the struggle of Soviet intellectuals against censorship and for socialist democracy deserve to be rebuffed.

Federal Court Voids Ky. Seditious Statute

LEXINGTON, Ky., Sept. 15 — A special U.S. court has killed the Kentucky seditious law in a historic case involving five civil-rights and poverty workers. Yesterday the judges on the court ruled, 2 to 1, that the law violates the U.S. Constitution.

The court ordered the release of Carl and Anne Braden from the jail at Pikeville, Ky. The Bradens are executive directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), an interracial group working to end racial discrimination, poverty, and other injustices in the South.

The ruling also stopped further prosecution of the Bradens; Alan and Margaret McSurely, mountain organizers for SCEF; and Joseph Mulloy, an organizer for the Appalachian Volunteers.

The five had been indicted for sedition after Thomas Ratliff, the state's attorney in Pikeville, accused them of "trying to overthrow the government of Pike County." Ratliff is candidate for lieutenant governor of Kentucky on the Republican ticket.

The law had been declared invalid in 1956 after the Bradens were arrested under it. At that time they were accused of trying to "overthrow the government" by selling a house in an all-white neighborhood to a black family. Braden served eight months of a 15-year prison sentence.

In the latest case, Ratliff accused them and the others of trying to "overthrow the government" by organizing what he called "our poor."

Mulloy and his wife, Karen, had been especially active in organizing opposition to the stripping of mountain land to obtain coal. Prosecutor Ratliff founded and is former president of the Independent Coal Operators Association (ICOA), a national group which has its headquarters in Pikeville.

The McSurelys work on SCEF's Southern Mountain Project. This is designed to organize black and white citizens for joint action to solve their political and economic problems.