

Special Supplement on China Crisis

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THE MILITANT

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LBJ's Message: Soak the Poor

By Ed Smith

Lyndon Johnson's 1967 State of the Union message can be boiled down to nine words: more cops, continued inflation, more war and higher taxes. The president did not even give rhetorical support to the Negro struggle for civil rights. On the contrary, he promised measures to strengthen city and state police forces.

Johnson offered no program whatsoever for improving labor conditions. He did not even mention repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act's section 14b which labor supporters of the Democratic Party had been promised in the 1964 elections. By comparison with the unkept promises of last year's State of the Union message, Johnson's perspective for 1967 is a good deal grimmer for the vast majority of the American people.

The longest section of the speech dealing with domestic matters concerned Johnson's proposal for a "Crime Control Act of 1967." This, the president stated, "will enable us to assist those states and cities that try to make their streets and their homes safer and their police

forces better and their correction systems more effective and their courts more effective."

This language will be entirely familiar to residents of New York City. It was the language used by the New York police force, the Conservative Party, and the John Birch Society to defeat the city's civilian review board. And that is precisely the language Johnson was talking — unadulterated racism. More club-swinging cops into the nation's ghettos and not one cent more for the improvement of the slums, or for the education, health and welfare of the ghetto residents.

The "War on Poverty" inevitably found its way into Johnson's message. Here, the best that can be said is that Johnson's demagogic promises were slightly to the left of the congress he was addressing. It is virtually a foregone conclusion that the House of Representatives will slash whatever token welfare legislation the Johnson administration offers.

Even so, it is also virtually guaranteed that the welfare legislation Johnson does offer will pale in comparison with the heightened war budget now in the final stages of White House preparation. For fiscal year 1967 ending June 30, the war budget will run close to \$67 billion and for fiscal year 1968, near \$77 billion — meaning expenses on the Vietnam war alone of \$24-30 billion in 1967.

On this question, the 90th Congress is 100 percent guaranteed to raise federal spending. One way the American workers are going to pay for this increased war spending — and the brunt of the costs are going to be borne by the workers — is through higher taxes. Johnson proposed a six percent hike in taxes. On the question of inflation, Johnson said "Now we have been greatly concerned because consumer prices rose 4½ percent over the 18 months since we decided to send troops to Viet-

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Ellender Applauds LBJ Message

Johnson's State of the Union message received warm praise from Senator Allen Ellender, Louisiana Democrat. A leading spokesman for the rabidly racist bloc in Congress, Ellender pointed out that Johnson had devoted some 40 words to the issue of civil rights.

"This no doubt made the nation rest easier," the hate-monger opined.

We don't know what Ellender was nervous about, unless he was silly enough to take LBJ's last message ("We shall overcome") seriously.

U.S. Forces Wipe Out Villages in S. Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

The savage character of the Pentagon's war plans for south Vietnam is being vividly revealed in a series of *New York Times* dispatches on "Operation Cedar Falls," the most massive U.S. campaign in the history of the war. "Operation Cedar Falls" began Jan. 8 and it involves over 16,000 combat troops, mainly from the First Infantry Division.

In essence, the campaign is designed to demolish every single hut, including four villages, in a 60 square mile area 30 miles northwest of Saigon known as the "Iron Triangle." The area has been a "sanctuary" for the "enemy" for "more than 20(!) years," according to the Jan. 13 *New York Times*.

In order to do this, the area has first been bombed by an undisclosed number of B-52s for a considerable period of time; it is daily bombed by aircraft supporting the ground troops; and it is saturation shelled in addition by ground artillery. Following massive bombing and shelling, troops have moved into the villages, murdered most of the men, removed the women and children to refugee concentration camps, and finally burned the villages to the ground.

Bulldozer Operation

This process was described for the first of the villages, Bensusan, in Jan. 11 *New York Times*. "Within two weeks the more than 3,800 residents of Bensusan will be living in a new refugee settlement 20 miles to the southeast and it is likely that the tattered huts and small shops here will be flattened by bulldozers."

The first attack on Bensusan was carried out by 60 helicopters; when the U.S. troops landed they broadcast the following "message": "Attention people of Bensusan. You are surrounded by Republic of South Vietnam forces. Do not run



HOMELESS. South Vietnamese child waiting to be "resettled" in concentration camp. His village in "iron triangle" area is being destroyed by U.S. forces to hamper guerrillas who enjoy support of villagers.

away or you will be shot as V.C. Stay in your homes and wait for further instructions from the air and on the ground."

Then the residents of the village

were ordered to go to the schoolhouse. "Most of the residents, considered to be passive Vietcong, followed the instructions. Forty-one did not and during the day they were tracked down and killed.

"There was little question that the men fleeing on bicycles, crawling through rice paddies and thrashing in the murky river were Vietcong," the *New York Times* commented. Then it describes what happened to the men who do not flee from their American saviors:

"One hundred males 15 to 45 years old, unable to prove their identity, were taken away as Vietcong suspects. Eleven men were judged on the spot to be Vietcong." The fate of these 11 captured men, however, apparently does not come under the category of what the *New York Times* editors consider "all the news fit to print."

Ancestors' Graves

"Allied officials in Bensusan," the *New York Times* dispatch also commented, "acknowledged that the residents might be reluctant to leave their property and the revered graves of their ancestors, but they said that new land would be given to them along with frame, tin roofed homes that will be a lot better than what they have now."

However in its news coverage of the actual refugee camps where the Bensusan residents were moved, along with the women and chil-

Camejo Campaigners Map Berkeley Race

By Roger J. Filene

BERKELEY, Calif. — An initial working meeting of supporters of the Socialist Workers ticket, headed by Peter Camejo for mayor, was held here Jan. 9.

Some 60 supporters of the ticket,

including a good number of independents, heard a discussion of campaign perspectives by Camejo and a report by Carl Frank of the Vietnam Day Committee on the drive to put an antiwar referendum on the Berkeley and Oakland ballots.

Following the reports, the gathering broke up into smaller meetings of several committees that were set up to carry on the campaign.

The campaign has already won unusually wide publicity in the Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco press, as well as radio and TV coverage. The publicity has not been free of red-baiting but it has made the fact of the campaign and the referendum effort widely known. The local anti-establishment weekly, the *Berkeley Barb*, published an article by Camejo discussing the Community for New Politics.

The proposal to hold a referen-

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Photo by Hermes

CAMPAIGN MEETING. Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers nominee for mayor of Berkeley, addresses Jan. 8 meeting of campaign workers.

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Gulf Oil has signed a two-year contract with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union covering 3,100 workers at its refinery in Port Arthur, Texas. Top union officials say they consider the agreement a pattern-setter for contracts throughout the industry which are being negotiated on a company-by-company and plant-by-plant basis. All told around 60,000 workers are involved at 40 oil companies at which union contracts expired Jan. 1.

The Gulf settlement provides an immediate wage increase averaging about 15 cents an hour, retroactive to Jan. 1, and an additional hike of 15 cents an hour on Jan. 1, 1968. On job security, which the OCAW has made a paramount issue, Gulf has agreed to cancel the contract if it lays off any regular employees, leaving it up to the union to strike over the layoff question. Premium pay is provided for night work and there are some improvements in fringe benefits.

New contracts have subsequently been signed at a scattering of refineries operated by about a half-dozen other companies. Wage terms appear to be similar to those negotiated at the Gulf plant. As yet there has been no report of provisions in these contracts on job security. The latter question is of vital concern to oil workers because, since 1960, an average of 5,000 a year have been laid off nationally due primarily to automation.

Strikes have been called by the OCAW at two Standard Oil refineries in Ohio and at a Texaco refinery in Port Arthur. A local union spokesman in Lima, Ohio said, "We want guarantees if we're laid off and the company doesn't want to give them."

Pay differentials between men and women are increasing every day. According to Mary Manning of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, the wage spread between the sexes has widened from 59 percent in 1959 to 65 percent this year.

"There are 28 million women working full time in the United States," she said. "Of this number more than one-third earn less than \$3,000 a year."

Women's rights to equal pay for equal work have been upheld in the first court test of the 1963 equal pay amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act. The decision by a federal district court involved two women laboratory analysts employed in Gabbs, Nev., by Basic, Inc., a manufacturer of refractory materials.

The company claimed that a male analyst was entitled to a 42-cent-an-hour wage differential because of greater experience and responsibility. The judge ruled that work performed by all three analysts was essentially the same and enjoined the company from paying lower wages to the two

women. They will get back pay of \$1,700.

Organized labor has been an unusually frequent loser in the U.S. Supreme Court lately and its prospects for 1967 look no better. In recent months unions have sustained setbacks that permitted broader use of antitrust and libel laws against them.

The high court has now tossed a new road block in the path of union organizing through a ruling that federal laws do not bar state courts from awarding libel judgments for statements made during organizing drives. The decision allows employers to seek punitive damages against a union and its officers.

New blows are expected when a ruling is handed down on three disputed points of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act that prohibit "hot cargo" clauses in union contracts. The restrictions are intended to weaken unions by outlawing secondary boycotts as a labor weapon.

The Supreme Court has also agreed to consider a case involving the right of a union to fine its members for crossing a picket line during a strike. The United Auto Workers union is appealing to the high courts an adverse decision handed down by a federal Court of Appeals, which held that such fines violate the Taft-Hartley Act.

The case grew out of UAW strikes in 1959 and 1962 at Allis-Chalmers plants in Wisconsin. All of the workers were required to belong to the union by a union shop clause, and those who crossed the picket lines were fined \$20 to \$100.

A couple of years ago newspaper unions struck the *Baltimore Sun*, whereupon the local Hearst paper locked out its employees. The unions then filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board that the lockout was an unfair labor practice.

A finding has at last been made by the NLRB. It ruled that a company engaged in multi-employer bargaining may lock out a union that refuses to work for another employer in the group.

Big manufacturers have opened a campaign to outlaw coordinated bargaining by unions dealing with the same corporation. Corporation lawyers are drafting legislation to prohibit more than one union from negotiating with a company at the same bargaining table. Plans are afoot to slip through the prohibition on coalition bargaining as a rider to new anti-strike laws expected in the present Congress.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers convention in Tucson, Arizona, voted on Jan. 17 to become part of the United Steelworkers of America, ALF-CIO. Officials of Mine-Mill will become international representatives for the Steelworkers.

Nine Freedom Fighters Face Death in S. Africa

By Barney Desai

According to the South African *Rand Daily Mail* (Dec. 15, 1966), nine members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] of Azania were sentenced to death in the Cape Supreme Court for their part in the death of a shopkeeper in 1962. This is confirmed by a report in the Dec. 15 *London Times*.

All but one of the condemned men, it is reported, were already serving sentences ranging from six to twenty years for their part in the 1963 Paarl revolt.

The PAC headquarters in Maseru, Lesotho, in an urgent report states that one of the condemned men, Wellington Mzimase Tyhobeka, had disappeared on Aug. 29, 1966, under mysterious circumstances from Maseru, capital of the then Basutoland, a British colony. Although his disappearance had been reported to the Basutoland mounted police, his whereabouts could not be traced.

This once again raises the question whether Tyhobeka had in fact been kidnapped from Basutoland by the South African police. It brings to mind the recent kidnapping from Basutoland of the Pan Africanist Congress Acting National Secretary John Nyati Pokela, who has now been traced to a South African jail in East London, South Africa, where he is awaiting trial.

In view of the fact that a South African refugee, last seen in Brit-

ish territory, has now been sentenced to death, the case of Pokela assumes alarming proportions as well.

The violation by the South African police of British territory in order to kidnap and then sentence to death people who had been given sanctuary in Basutoland (now Lesotho) needs a thorough investigation immediately, so that every effort can be made to save both Tyhobeka and Pokela from the gallows.

Dellinger to Speak At Forum in N.Y.

NEW YORK — Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine, and recently returned from north Vietnam, will speak at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday evening, Jan. 28. The meeting will be held at the forum hall, 873 Broadway, at 18th St.

A leading antiwar figure, Dellinger visited Moscow, Peking and various areas of Southeast Asia, while en route to Vietnam. In his speech he will discuss his conversations in these world capitals.

Dellinger will also discuss the Harrison Salisbury reports in the *New York Times* on the basis of his own observations in north Vietnam and his interviews with Ho Chi Minh and Premier Pham Van Dong.

The American Way of Life

Bigger Than the Log Cabin

A friend brought in an article from the Jan. 3 *New York Times* which had apparently been dropped from our edition. He suggested we might want to write an American Way of Life column about it. But frankly, after reading it, we were at a loss for comment.

It was a special dispatch to the *Times* from Washington reporting that the Smithsonian Institute is planning to move a slum to the museum and bring the museum to the slums.

The following are extracts. "On the theory that neither the rich nor the poor know enough about how the other side lives, Smithsonian officials intend to go down into the slums of Washington, find a suitably dilapidated building and move it — dingy hallways, bare light bulbs, rats, odor and all — into one of the several museum buildings . . .

"At the same time, Smithsonian officials will be looking about the slums for a suitable substantial building in which to move periodic displays of some of the museum's priceless treasures . . .

"A few blocks south of Capitol Hill, a slum sprawls out in all directions, with one of the worst areas lying only a dozen blocks or so from the Smithsonian's main buildings. Mr. Blitzer [one of the museum officials who dreamed up the idea] is convinced that most of the people in the slums have never visited the museum.

"It's not a geographical problem," he said, "It's a spiritual thing."

"Likewise, he reasons, there are thousands of people living in the exclusive Georgetown area who have been to the Smithsonian but who have never been inside one of the thousands of dingy tenements near their own plush homes.

"Mr. Blitzer believes the slum has played a major role in Amer-

ican life, perhaps a more important role than even the log cabin. He reasons that a visitor to the Smithsonian has not seen a true cross-section of America so long as there is no slum display in the museum.

"Smithsonian officials foresee no difficulties in finding a slum building to move to one of the institution's display halls.

"But the institution is having some difficulty finding a suitable building in the slums that can be turned into a museum.

"Part of the project will involve the use of chemicals to reproduce slum odors in the slum-in-a-museum. As for the transfer of rats, Mr. Blitzer said, "That one is easy. We'll keep them in cages."

—Herman Chauka

Too Much Union Democracy?

"The federal government, which passed a law less than a decade ago to insure more democracy in unions, is beginning to worry now about too much democracy in unions . . . Prof. John T. Dunlop of Harvard . . . told the American Assembly last October that he thought it was time to give up 'some of the exaggerated views of union democracy expressed in the spirit of the Landrum-Griffin Act.' He specifically proposed that the international union heads be empowered, as a matter of public policy, to sign contracts without ratification by the workers."

—A. H. Raskin in the *New York Times*.

... Berkeley

(Continued from Page 1)

dum on the war was originally introduced before the Berkeley City Council by Camejo. A similar proposal was introduced before the Oakland City Council by Paul Montauk, SWP candidate for mayor there.

The proposal was flatly rejected by the Oakland Council. In Berkeley the council members have indicated willingness to consider the proposition and established a subcommittee to weigh the wording of a possible referendum.

A committee of Berkeley citizens has been established to press for the referendum including many prominent student and antiwar activists.

Following the action by the City Council, the citizen's committee decided it would proceed with plans to secure 3,500 signatures needed to place a referendum on the ballot. This decision was made to cover the eventuality that the Council might not act favorably on the proposal.

In Oakland a drive will be conducted to secure the 9,500 signatures needed on petitions to put the proposition on the ballot in that city.

The Berkeley campaign headquarters will be open daily from one to six p.m. Campaign buttons, posters and bumper stickers will be available.

In addition to Camejo, the SWP has endorsed Jaime Allen, Ove Aspoy and Brian Shannon for city council, and Ernest Erlbeck for the board of education.

Angry Arts Week Against Viet War Slated in New York

NEW YORK — The week of Jan. 29-Feb. 5 has been slated for a unique antiwar project — ANGRY ARTS Against the War in Vietnam.

There will be protests against the war by members of all the arts — music, painting, theater, poetry, dance, film and combined forms.

The participating artists have slated a multitude of activity to express their revulsion for this war. Among the programs scheduled are four evenings of theater, two dance concerts, a folk music concert and five film showings.

In addition, caravans of poets and musicians will present 20-minute performances on street corners throughout the city. Other street protests will take the form of "play-ins" in lobbies of public buildings and dramatic presentations in supermarkets and laundromats.

5 of War Crimes Group Make Visit to Cambodia

Five members of the War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell arrived in Pnompenh, Cambodia, Jan. 12. They were scheduled to stay ten days collecting evidence for the hearings of the tribunal. The five were Ralph Schoenman, the American secretary to Bertrand Russell; Dr. Gustave Tolentino of Toronto; Carol Brightman of New York; Abraham Bejar of France; and Lawrence Daly of Scotland.

It was reported that upon arriving in Paris from London en route to Hanoi, Ralph Schoenman was detained overnight by the French authorities. They held him at the hotel at Orly Airport. No official explanation was given and he was permitted to proceed by Air France the next morning.

The U.S. State Department has been seeking in various ways to block the War Crimes Tribunal and if possible prevent it from holding hearings. One of its recent steps was to invalidate Schoenman's passport.

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Monday, January 23, 1967

New York Welfare Workers Strike for Decent Contract

By Howard Shepp

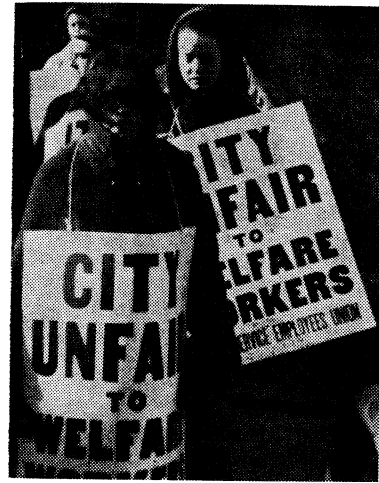
NEW YORK, Jan. 16 — Some 7,500 members of the Social Service Employees Union, which includes caseworkers, children's counselors and homemakers in the city's welfare department, went out on strike today. The strike action was decided by an almost unanimous membership vote at a jammed meeting at the Diplomat Hotel four days earlier.

Morale on the picket line is high, with an estimated 90 percent of caseworkers staying away from work at most of the centers. One of the chants used on my picket line refers to Welfare Commissioner Ginsberg: "Hey, Hey Ginsberg — How Many Kids Did You Starve Today?"

The major demands of the strikers are: job protection, a salary increase to meet the responsibility of the job as well as the rising cost of living, meaningful promotion opportunities, grievance and transfer procedures to provide protection for the workers, and guarantees on workload maximums.

The strike comes two years after the 28-day strike in January 1965, which established collective bargaining in the welfare department, and won salary increases of \$600 for the caseworkers. Since that time, the department has constantly been making inroads into the contract, and violating it in whatever ways it could.

Although caseload maximums were set at 60, a limit which even



—Photo by Peter Siedman

then makes it almost impossible for the caseworkers to provide for the needs of those he is responsible for, the department has maintained caseloads well above 70 in many welfare centers throughout the period of the two-year contract. A consistent effort has not been made to hire new caseworkers at the rate necessary to ensure that welfare recipients receive the clothing, furniture and other essential items they need.

Another issue in the dispute is the working conditions at the welfare centers. A ceiling collapsed at one center several months ago, and boilers are frequently breaking down. In spite of promises, the department has done virtually no-

thing to change the situation. The union is also determined to give employees something to look forward to in the department, and reduce the 40 percent yearly turnover of caseworkers. The SSEU is demanding a starting salary of \$6,800, an increase to \$8,000 after one year's service, and \$8,500 after two years. The department has offered to raise the starting salary from \$5,750 to \$6,650, but this figure would remain unchanged even after the caseworker has been employed for a year, and would still be only \$250 above the \$6,400 which a caseworker now receives after one year. For someone trying to raise a family, the increase is meaningless.

The most important demand of the union is job security. According to Judith Mage, president of the SSEU, the city has shown indications of trying to abolish the position of caseworker in the department by hiring "case aides." Ostensibly hired to aid the caseworker in handling the voluminous paperwork, the city's real design is to substitute these people for the caseworkers. If they can't hang onto the college graduates, they will hire high school graduates as case aides, pay them less, and give them higher caseloads. The city has refused to explain what the assistant caseworkers would do, whether they aid the caseworker or replace him, and whether this is just a system meant to save the department money, at the expense of providing further assistance to the clients.

Commissioner Ginsberg has stated publicly that no caseworkers would be laid off. However, the commissioner could just allow the high turnover in the department to continue, and replace caseworkers with assistant caseworkers whose salaries would be two-thirds that of the caseworkers.

During the last month, the SSEU has been mobilizing support for the strike. On Dec. 21, 1,500 caseworkers demonstrated in front of the welfare headquarters at 250 Church street, and on Jan. 11, 2,000 caseworkers and welfare recipients demonstrated together outside the headquarters of the state department of welfare, which controls the funds for many welfare projects. The sanitation workers union has promised support to the strike, and the United Federation of Teachers in New York, has sent the city a telegram expressing support of the SSEU's demands. In addition, a number of community organizations composed of welfare recipients have indicated their support of the strike and 300 of them participated in the union's picket line Jan. 11.

This show of solidarity is marred by the behavior of Local 371, AFL-CIO, State County & Municipal Employees, which bargains for the supervisors in the department. They have attacked the SSEU a number of times, and have not clearly stated whether they would support the strike or cross SSEU picket lines.

High Court Travel-Ban Ruling

The Jan. 10 Supreme Court ruling that people cannot be jailed for defying the State Department's travel ban is a step in the right direction, but only a step. Thus far, the department still has the right to revoke the passports of those who visit, without official permission from Washington, the countries on the *verboden* list. The countries declared off limits by Washington are Cuba, China, Albania, North Korea and North Vietnam.

The right of the State Department to cancel passports in reprisal for visiting these countries is now being tested in the courts by Staughton Lynd whose passport was revoked for making an unauthorized trip to North Vietnam in 1965.

The present high court ruling came in two cases. The first was of Helen Travis of Los Angeles who had been convicted of going to Cuba twice without a passport. The other case involved Levi Laub and eight others convicted of organizing a 1963 group trip to Cuba.

The right of freedom to travel has been considered a basic democratic liberty since the days of the Magna Carta. Today it is no mere abstract right. There is good reason, from the government's viewpoint, for such curbs on travel. They don't want people to have the opportunity to find out for themselves what is really happening in these countries. Harrison Salisbury's recent exposé from Hanoi is but one example of the kind of thing they are trying to cover up.

...Destroy S. Viet Villages

(Continued from Page 1)

dren of the three other villages, which by Jan. 15 had "ceased to exist," the *New York Times* failed to find "tin roofed homes." "In canvas-topped sheds thrown up on a wasteland," *New York Times* correspondent Tom Buckley wrote from Phucong, "6,000 Vietnamese, all but a handful of them women, children and old people, were trying today to put together the pieces of suddenly shattered lives."

Out of the 6,000 refugees, according to Buckley, there were "only 100 or so men in the camp between the age of 18 and 50." Buckley had a somewhat different version of the fate of the others: "American and Vietnamese officials believe the other men have fled into the jungle with their Vietcong units."

Buckley talked to one of the women: "She squatted over a pot of rice that was beginning to bubble on a tiny wood fire between three rocks. Into the pot she dropped pieces of dried salt fish. 'This kind of food is no good,' she said.

"It was American rice, distributed by the Office of Civil Operations, which is assisting the Vietnamese Government in the resettlement. To the Vietnamese taste,

it is flavorless and far too sticky."

He talked to another young woman, Le Thi Tau, 24, who was pregnant with her second child: "I wanted to stay. Last week the fish-shaped planes flew over our fields. My husband didn't know what they were. He stood up and they shot him down and killed him. I wish I had stayed and got killed, too," she said, crying. "But I was afraid I would only be wounded and that there would be no one to take care of me."

One *New York Times* dispatch attributed the extensive bombing and record-making air support of "Operation Cedar Falls" to the personal foibles of Maj. Gen. William E. DePuy, the commander of the First Infantry Division. (On Jan. 14, the U.S. reached a new high of 549 single-plane attacks in south Vietnam, 82 in connection with the "Cedar Falls" campaign.)

"Eight American soldiers were killed," according to this dispatch, Jan. 13, "and 34 wounded when artillery shells from a nearby unit landed among them this afternoon. Both the casualties and the artillerymen, who mistakenly fired about 10 155-mm. shells, were members of the First Infantry Division. . . . At least three similar artillery accidents have occurred in the First Infantry Division."

Social Workers Union Wins Cleveland Strike

By Rachel Towne

CLEVELAND — Welfare workers ended their 15-day strike here on Jan. 5, having won substantial gains. This was the first strike by public employees in Cleveland in many years.

Approximately 500 out of 1,500 welfare workers belong to the union, Local 1746 of the American Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, which includes clerical, service and supervisory staff as well as social workers.

The most basic gain was the county's recognition of the union as the representative and collective bargaining agent for its members. The county can no longer refuse to discuss worker demands on the pretext that they have no legitimate representative. The union has attempted to discuss the demands put forward during the strike for the last year but the county has consistently refused to discuss them in good faith. A breakdown in negotiations was the immediate cause for the strike.

Gains won by the workers include the elimination of the first two salary steps for all worker classifications. This provides monthly raises of \$20 to \$50 for approximately 600 workers as well as similar raises in starting pay. Thus a social worker with a college degree now starts at \$460 per month instead of \$420 as before the strike. A clerk-typist now begins at \$240 instead of \$220.

One step increases have been won for all other workers. All pay raises are effective Jan. 1. Agreement on a grievance procedure and the agreement of the welfare department not to harass union members or to discourage new employees from joining were additional gains.

Also, the county pledged to reduce case loads, improve physical facilities, and to investigate employee reclassification and monthly meetings to work these and other

problems out.

The strike received the support of the Cleveland Federation of Labor as well as many union locals who contributed meeting space, money to the strike fund, food and moral support. Members of other unions would not cross the picket lines which were maintained in front of all five welfare offices throughout the strike. This meant that there were no deliveries and no custodial services, among other things, according to Bill McNulty, president of the Local. Support from the labor movement was unexpected by many welfare workers, said McNulty, but it served to convince many that they are a part of the working class and not an elite "professional" group.

Two groups composed of relief recipients, the Citizens for Adequate Welfare and the Welfare Grievance Committee, and the National Association of Social Workers, a nationwide organization of social workers with Masters degrees, also gave support to the strike.

Union membership grew substantially during and immediately after the strike. While the strike was in progress 190 workers at the county nursing home voted to join the union. They were to go on strike Jan. 6 if a settlement was not reached.

Socialist Directory

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

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

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

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

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

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

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

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

Ave., Hall 24th, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

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

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

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

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

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Black Power and the Democrats

By Barry Sheppard

What next for the black power movement? A recent conference of the staff of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee began to grapple with this question, according to a report by Andrew Kopkind in the Jan. 7 *New Republic*. Kopkind has been one of the relatively few writers in the liberal press to give perceptive and generally sympathetic coverage of the black power movement.

Kopkind says that "the conference came to a number of tentative conclusions that establish a direction for black radical energies over the next years.

"First of all, focus of new activities will definitely swing to Northern urban areas from the rural South. As SNCC sees it, the failure of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (the 'Black Panther Party') and the Mississippi Freedom Democrats to take power is not so much a function of bad organizing as it is of isolation. 'The place that really has the power is the North,' Carmichael said . . .

"In Northern cities (and perhaps some urbanized areas of the South, which behave like Northern ghettos), SNCC wants to start 'Freedom Organizations,' with their own political, educational, economic, and cultural components. That may mean third political parties, co-op businesses, freedom schools, and 'Afro' cultural centers."

SNCC helped to organize the Lowndes County Freedom Party, as it is now called, which ran a slate of candidates for local offices in Lowndes County, Ala. in the November elections. The new, independent, black-led party received 41 percent of the vote, which was enough to establish the organization as a legal party but, of course, fell short of winning the election and taking over the county.

Background of Election

Negroes are a majority in Lowndes. Why didn't they win? A full report on the election was printed in *The Militant* of Nov. 21, but briefly, this is the background:

Two years ago, there were only a handful of Negroes registered in Lowndes. The county was known for violence against Negroes and civil rights workers (Mrs. Liuzzo was murdered there during the Selma-Montgomery march in 1965). White control of the county, in spite of the fact that whites were a 20 percent minority, was ensured by white control of the Democratic Party and the county government.

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization got its start in 1965, with help from Stokely Carmichael and others from SNCC. In spite of the fact that Lowndes is mostly rural with a scattered population, and the Negroes there are very poor, not even possessing telephones, a strong organization with a strong local leadership was constructed. Successfully overcoming fear and old habits of thought, the LCFO helped register something over 2,600 Negroes by September of last year.

During the primary elections last May, the new party nominat-

ed its own candidates at a mass meeting of 900 Negroes. To do this, it had to educate the newly-registered black people of Lowndes about the need for an independent party of their own. They could not both vote in the Democratic primary and vote to nominate the Black Panther candidates. During the primary electioneering, Rev. Martin Luther King campaigned in Alabama for Negroes to vote for Attorney General Flowers, as against Mrs. Wallace in the Democratic primary, placing an additional hurdle in the path of the new party.

By the time of the November elections, the LCFO was able to increase its support to 1,600, the number of votes its main candidate received. It did this in spite of the fact that it represented a pioneering effort, without significant support from similar parties elsewhere in the country. It had to contend with threats of violence and some actual violence at the polls. Some white plantation owners were able to intimidate Negroes working on their land into voting Democratic. There were instances of white fraud at the polls.

Significant Step

Against all these obstacles, the fact that the new party won 41 percent of the vote and established itself as a legal party is a tremendous achievement and represents an important victory. Whether the new party will be able to continue in the face of all the forces arrayed against it remains to be seen. If their past record is any indication, the Negroes of Lowndes will be seriously challenging the Democratic Party in the 1968 elections. In any case, the Black Panther has already provided an example for the whole Negro struggle.

The Black Panther Party has certainly been no "failure." Its major problem, as is indicated by the SNCC discussion, is its isolation. The idea of organizing in the big city ghettos, which Kopkind reports is SNCC's orientation, points the way out of that isolation.

But there still remains a lack of clarity in SNCC and in the black power movement generally about exactly what kind of organizing should be done in the ghettos. This lack of clarity revolves around the question of the Democratic Party.

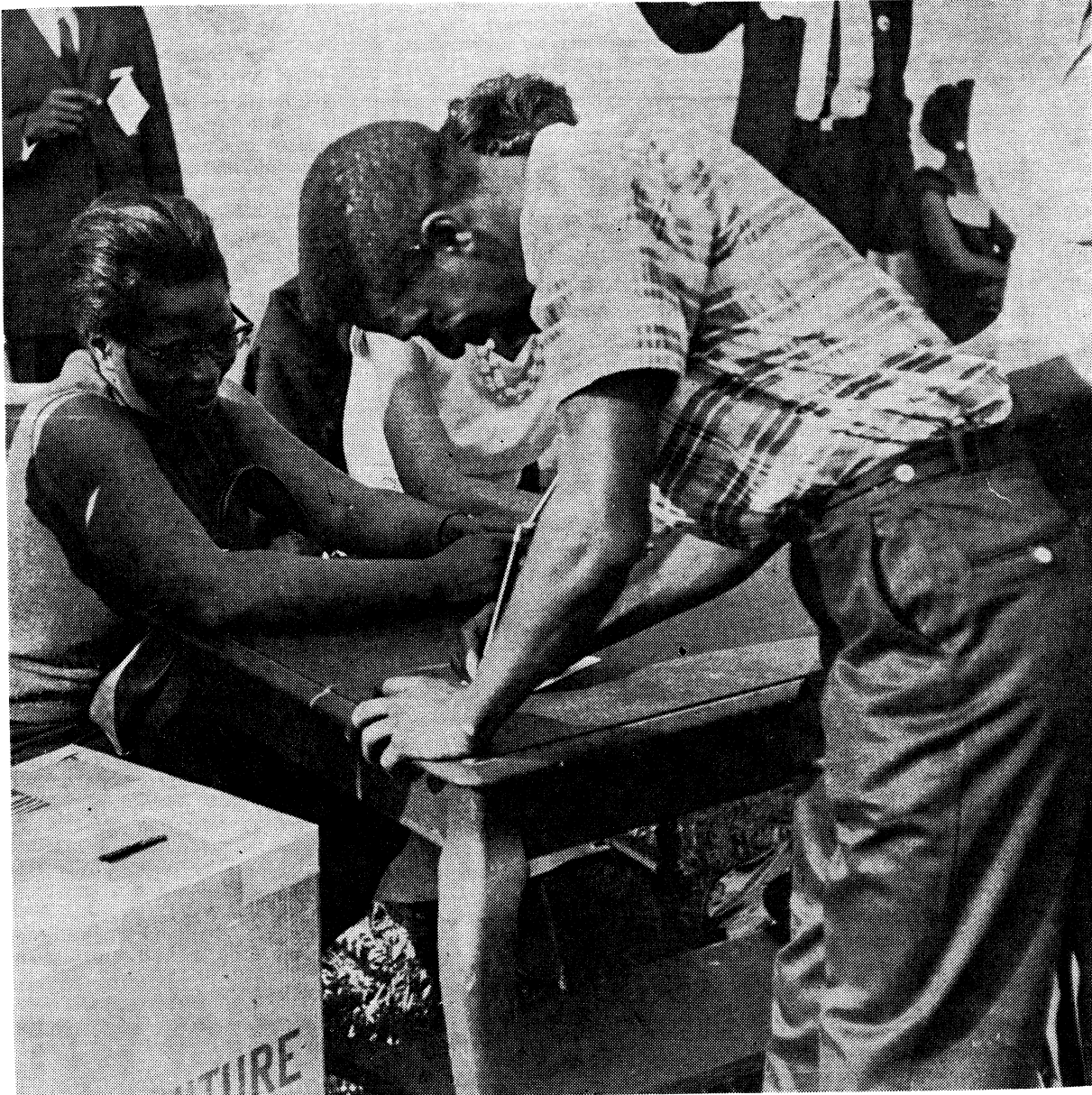
MFDP Position

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, for example, put up independent candidates in the last election against Mississippi Democrats. But the MFDP considers itself part of the national Democratic Party. At least, that is how it defined itself in 1964, when it supported Johnson — and it has never publicly modified that stand.

In 1964, the MFDP's position was that the main enemy is the Southern racists in the Democratic Party, and not the national Democratic Party. This is an important issue, bearing directly upon the kind of political action SNCC intends to try to carry out in the ghettos. Should independent parties, or a national single independent black party, be built, or should the policy of supporting the Democratic Party or one wing of it be maintained?

The answer to this question can be found not only in analyzing the nature of the Democratic Party, but also in the concrete results of coalitionism to date. For the past 30 years or so, Negro leaders have generally supported the democratic Party, and Negroes have voted Democratic in their majority. What are the results of this policy?

The facts of the matter are that Negroes are worse off in relation to whites now than they were



BUILDING BLACK PARTY. Last May, black people in Lowndes County, Ala., participated in a mass meeting to nominate a slate of independent candidates. Like this man, they voted in their own primary to select their nominees for the new party.

10 years ago. The gap between white and black has increased. Those gains which have been won, have not come as a result of supporting the Democrats, but as a result of independent action such as street demonstrations. Thirty years of supporting the Democrats has not brought the end of the oppression of the Negro people any closer.

The facts of life in Harlem, Watts, Chicago's West Side, etc. are eloquent testimony to the failure of the policy of coalitionism with the Democratic Party.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are dedicated to preserving the racist capitalist system at home and abroad. They are run by capitalist politicians whose first loyalty is to the rich who profit from racism. These politicians will pay lip service to equality when they think it will get them votes, but will never make the fundamental changes necessary to change the system and end racism.

These capitalist parties are not controlled by the black people, or by most of the whites in spite of the fact that most people vote for them. They are political instruments designed to keep black people and other working people in their place, and promote the interests of the rich.

To make any real gains, black people are going to have to win some power, black political power. This can't be done by electing individual black Democrats or Republicans, because those individuals do not represent the black community but are beholden to the political machines controlled by the white capitalist rulers. Real black power, a fair share of political power for Negroes, can only be won through independent black political action against the racist parties of big business. Black people have to have their own

political instrument, their own political party controlled by them, to win any measure of black power.

Is the proposal to organize an independent black party on a national scale feasible?

The strategic basis for such a party already exists. It was created by the capitalist system of segregation, which has herded millions of black people together in the ghettos of the biggest cities of the North and South. As whites continue to flee from the big cities to the suburbs, the relative weight of the blacks becomes ever greater. Right now, if the black people were united in a party of their own, they are so situated that they could sweep the elections in dozens of congressional districts and Southern counties where they are a majority. A black party could elect a bloc of candidates that could even hold the legislative balance of power in Washington and several big industrial states, and therefore be able to force some serious concessions from the capitalist parties.

Wide Impact

Because Negroes are only 10 or 11 percent of the population, a black party could not expect to win national power by itself. But the creation of a black party would have a profound impact on the whole political structure of the nation, not just in the ghettos.

The withdrawal of Negroes into a party of their own would signal the doom of the Democratic Party as a major national party. Deprived of the black vote, the Democrats would be unable to win elections in the key Northern states.

That's not all. A break of the Negroes from the capitalist parties, which today means a break from the Democratic Party, would provoke an acute crisis in the labor movement, whose leaders

now serve as junior partners of the Democrats. With Negroes abandoning the party, with the relative weight of the Dixiecrats increasing inside the party, and with the Democrats unable to win national elections, the union movement's coalition with the Democrats would be plainly seen by everybody for what it actually is — bankrupt as well as stupid.

Dissatisfaction with being a tail to the Democratic donkey, which already exists in labor's ranks, would accelerate tremendously. Sentiment for an independent labor party, already being generated by other factors, would come to a boil. The decline of the Democratic Party would hasten the formation of a labor party.

Right from the start a labor party would be compelled, in everything it did and said, to take the existence of a Negro party into account. It would most likely seek an alliance between the two parties, which could only be done by adopting the just demands of the Negro people. On their side, the Negroes, when assured that an alliance would not subordinate their interests or sidetrack the struggle for equality, would probably welcome the cooperation with a labor party. The result would eventually be either a merger of the two parties or their close collaboration in a struggle for political power. What began as the independent action of a minority could end as the reconstruction of society by a majority.

Organizing an independent black political party is not easy, North or South. There are many difficulties to be overcome, the chief of which is the relentless opposition of most of the Negro leaders, who are wedded to coalitionism with the Democrats. But the example of Lowndes shows that this, too, can be overcome with the proper leadership.

*America's Road
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The Upheaval in China —An Analysis of the Contending Forces

By George Novack and Joseph Hansen



PEKING SCENE. Members of Chinese Red Guards parade through street bearing banner with portrait of Chairman Mao.

The editors of *Monthly Review* have, after some delay, set forth their position on China's "Cultural Revolution" in the January 1967 issue. Their interpretation of this important development seems to us mistaken from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

Nevertheless, they have made a useful contribution to the debate. Unlike the parroters of the Kremlin line or the ultra-fanatical devotees of Mao's thought in this country, Huberman and Sweezy, with the admittedly inadequate data at their disposal, seek to analyze the crisis in China through independent critical thought. They have raised for consideration most of the principal theoretical and political issues posed by these perplexing events. This is commendable, even if their conclusions go wide of the mark.

Huberman and Sweezy pay justifiable tribute to the achievements of the social revolution and the People's Republic of China over the first 17 years of its existence. The economic and social progress registered by Communist China stands out in sharp contrast to conditions in the other big countries of Asia, notably India and Indonesia.

Recognition of China's successes is the indispensable foundation for appraising the totality of its revolutionary processes, and especially in criticizing its regime and the deficiencies of its leadership.

This sympathy and solidarity with the new China is particularly obligatory for socialists living in the U.S., the citadel of world imperialism, at a moment when the American military machine is widening the war in Southeast Asia and threatening the People's Republic of China.

Take Issue with Schurmann and Deutscher

What has prompted the Cultural Revolution? Do international or domestic factors take priority in its emergence at this time? The *Monthly Review* editors reject the approach of such politically diverse commentators as Professor Franz Schurmann of Berkeley and the noted historian Isaac Deutscher that the Cultural Revolution is primarily and predominantly motivated by external pressures as the peculiarly Maoist way of reorganizing China and preparing the people for the anticipated invasion by the U.S.

While they acknowledge a "large element of truth" in this conception, they feel that there are "aspects of the Cultural Revolution which are difficult to reconcile with the external-pressure theory."

"If the main objective were to prepare the country for a long war," they contend, "one would expect that ideological and propaganda themes would de-emphasize internal conflicts and glorify all that is best in China's history and traditions. This was in fact what happened during the war of resistance against Japan, and it is also what happened in the Soviet Union during the Second World War. But it is not what is happening in China now."

The analogy they draw with the Soviet Union is of special importance; we will return to it in the second part of this article.

To back their argument, they cite the "sweeping attack on old customs and habits" and point to the fact that "the whole Red Guard movement has exacerbated rather than ameliorated internal conflicts." This shows, they believe, that, "Pretty clearly, the Chinese leadership, while it is no doubt preparing to fight a war if necessary, is also pursuing domestic goals which it considers to be at least equally important."

As their main piece of evidence, they point to the "Sixteen Points," the document adopted by the 11th plenum of the Central Committee last Aug. 8 and published in the *Peking Review* of Aug. 12, 1966. "There is not a single word in this document relating to the international situation," they note, "not even a denunciation of American aggression in Vietnam."

It is strange that the editors of *Monthly Review* consider this to be a positive feature of the document. Does the exclusion of international considerations show that the authors of the "Sixteen Points" think like Marxists; i.e., political leaders who begin with an international proletarian outlook? Doesn't it betray instead a narrow nationalist and therefore non-Marxist outlook?

Actually the authors of the "Sixteen Points" do not exclude the international scene, as can easily be shown. The *Monthly Review* misjudgment on what the Central Committee had in mind results from taking the "Sixteen Points," which is a political platform, as a definition of the true nature and aims of the Cultural Revolution and an accurate reflection of the causes that set it in motion.

Four days after adopting the "Sixteen Points," the Central Committee adopted a "Communiqué" (published in the Aug. 19, 1966, *Peking Review*) summarizing their deliberations. In the English translation, 25 inches appear under the heading "Domestic," 23½ inches under "International."

In addition, under "Domestic" are two topics that directly relate to the "International" subdivision: (1) "On the strategic principle of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people..." (2) "On the call for the whole Party to grasp military affairs and for everybody to be a soldier."

Thus, while it is true that in the "Sixteen Points" there is "not a single word relating to the international situation," not even a "denunciation of American aggression in Vietnam"; this is decidedly not true of the "Communiqué" and it is perfectly clear that the Central Committee did concern itself with international questions and therefore foreign policy.

In our opinion, domestic considerations, even considerations primarily involving the prestige, power and special privileges of the bureaucracy, are involved in the Cultural Revolution. Within this context, however, grave turns in the international situation operated to precipitate the political crisis in China as foreign policy issues became intermeshed with long-standing differences over domestic questions.

The fields of foreign and domestic policy are closely interlocked in China. To see this it is sufficient to consider the effect on domestic policies of a decision to undertake the production of nuclear weapons, a decision directly related to the international situation. To mobilize for such a goal put heavy strains on China's limited industrial resources and required decisions as to allocations of man-power, raw materials and other resources of much greater import to the national economy than is the case of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The necessity to prepare in other ways to meet the war threat imposed by such a colossal military power as American imperialism added to the strain imposed by the effort in the nuclear field.

Finally, a foreign policy that was at least in part responsible for the very bad relations with the Soviet Union, the limitation of aid to Vietnam and the loss of such a country as Indonesia to the camp of reaction had immediate palpable internal consequences.

How could foreign policy not have been a key issue in the deliberations? The consummation of the Sino-Soviet split on both the state and party levels; the series of setbacks suffered by Peking in the colonial areas, above all through the bloody suppression of the Indonesian Communists; the growing isolation of the Chinese in the Communist world, dramatized by the estrangement of north Vietnam, Cuba and the Japanese Communist Party; and, over all, the sharpening danger of American military attack have provoked acute concern and serious questions among broad layers of the Chinese government about the wisdom of Mao's course in foreign policy.

The bitterest dispute has arisen over Peking's sectarian and suicidal refusal to consider any joint action with the Soviet Union or other Communist parties in the defense of Vietnam against U.S. aggression which jeopardizes the security of China itself.

The "Sixteen Points"

The *Monthly Review* editors hinge their case upon the official manifesto, the "Sixteen Points," adopted by the Central Committee at its August 1966 plenum.

They characterize this as "a rational, radical and humane document with which it is hard to see how any genuine revolutionary can find serious fault."

They know, of course, what a gap can exist between fine words and good deeds. But they accept all the sections as good coin and count on the regime carrying out all its promises.

The Soviet experience should advise a bit more caution. Stalin's 1936 Constitution contained equally democratic and humane provisions which were hailed at the time in the world Communist press and by many credulous radicals as the flowering of socialist democracy.

After it, and under it, came the tightening of the terror; its drafter, Bukharin, was shot in 1938.

The realities of Soviet life were very

different from the formal safeguards of legality, liberty and democracy in that Constitution.

Khrushchev's Communist Party adopted a new program in 1961 which proclaimed that "the entire life of Soviet society is based on the principle of broad democracy... and makes it really possible for the people to exercise them. Soviet society insures the real liberty of the individual."

Huberman and Sweezy would not take this as an accurate representation of Soviet reality; it is indeed bureaucratic demagoguery. However, they have more faith in the professions of Mao and his colleagues. Is this confidence justified?

Let us examine some of the 16 "sections" put forward "as a guide for action in the great proletarian revolution" to see how closely the promises conform to what is known of the present situation.

Section 6 deals with the "Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People." It says in part:

"The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views."

"When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force."

These admirable injunctions, have, to say the least, not been scrupulously observed during the Cultural Revolution. Since the early part of 1966, hundreds of cultural leaders and party propaganda officials have been deposed, subjected to serious accusations and disgraced.

They were not permitted "to argue their case" and there is no direct testimony of their true opinions. An abject recantation of errors and admissions of criminal failure to follow Mao's thought are not acceptable as the outcome of persuasion through reasoning.

Wu Han, the noted historian and deputy mayor of Peking; Teng To, former editor of the foremost Communist newspaper; and a third leader of "the anti-party three-village gang" were the first targets of attack in the Cultural Revolution.

They were called criminal conspirators for writing articles and plays which satirized the regime in the veiled form of parables and historical parallels in which conclusions were left up to the imagination of the readers. What led such highly placed personages to rely upon such subtle methods to convey their criticisms to the public? And what led them to believe that they would be perfectly well understood by the public? Aren't they now entitled to a forthright statement of their minority views? Where is it to be found?

Liu Shao-chi, who replaced Mao as president of the republic in 1958, has just been accused at a mass meeting in Peking of being the "Khrushchev of China" and the "boss of the capitalist class." Will he

Is Mao Combatting Bu

be permitted to present his side of the case to the people, or even to the party, so that a reasonable debate on these and related matters can take place?

Among the items in the "Sixteen Points" which the editors of *Monthly Review* find especially attractive is the promise in Section 9 about general elections "like that of the Paris Commune."

Taken at face value this would seem to involve a genuine effort at practicing "extensive democracy" as part of the struggle against bureaucratism. "It is in this connection that the attempt to institutionalize the Cultural Revolution on the lines of the Paris Commune takes on special significance," they write. "It seems clear that the committees and congresses of the Cultural Revolution have the potential to become organs of popular pressure and control like the original Soviets of 1905 and 1917."

It ought to be added that the potential has no very auspicious precedents for realization. The Paris Commune lasted from March 18 to May 28, 1871 — a total of 72 days. The Chiang Kai-shek regime was overthrown and the new government headed by Mao Tse-tung was inaugurated on Oct. 1, 1949. In the 17 years since then has there been a single period of 72 days of such democracy as marked the Paris Commune?

The Differences

The Red Guard movement itself was initiated in a way that scarcely fits in with fulfillment of the promise about following the precedent set by the Paris Commune.

Schools were shut down and millions of youth turned loose. They were then offered a special privilege that would be attractive even in a wealthy capitalist country; namely, taking a trip at government expense to Peking. Transportation, free lodging and free meals were provided to a large proportion of these prospective candidates for the new organization.

The policy was to line up these youth on the side of one of the contending factions by such means and inveigle them into adopting its factional platform without being informed of what was intended, without giving the opposition currents an opportunity to present their views in a fair debate, and, in fact with the opposition smeared and branded from the beginning without a hearing as disloyal and even counterrevolutionary, a "miserable handful" of monsters, demons and ghosts.

This conclusion received confirmation in a Jan. 15 editorial in *Hung Chi*, a Central Committee organ, which defined the major political purpose of the Cultural Revolution as follows: "The principal aim of the proletarian revolution is for the proletarian forces to seize power from a handful of officials within the party who are following the capitalist road."

Much of the limited available evidence, in short, already shows how little Mao can be depended on to abide by the admonition in Section 6 of the "Sixteen Points": "The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. . . . The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority."

"Mao's Thought"

The capstone of the manifesto is its last section which asserts "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Guide for Action in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." This is more than an injunction to study Mao's works, as the *Monthly Review* editors imply.

It gives reinforcement to the cult of the omniscient and omnipotent individual which is central to the culture and politics of the current upheaval and which Huberman and Sweezy list among "the negative sides" of the revolution in the final pages of their article.

Thirty million copies of the short collection of Mao's thought have been printed as a first edition. Finger-held between its red plastic covers at Mao's colored portrait or at one of its some 300 pages to show that reading has just been interrupted, the book is carried and brandished like a prayer book, the holy writ, principal weapon and fetish of the Red Guards.

On every page and in almost every paragraph and sometimes every sentence, the entire Chinese press, including material sent abroad in all languages, hails Mao Tse-tung with sickening and unrestrained adulation. A principal topic is the miracles achieved through the wonder-working powers of the words and ideas of this liv-

ing god which are invested with the properties of a magic talisman.

This surpassing of the worship of Stalin is a desecration of the spirit and method of scientific socialism. It stands in polar opposition to the egalitarian spirit of proletarian democracy.

If Mao's thought is the supreme guide, why has Mao dispensed so little of it since the Cultural Revolution began?

While he has appeared on numerous occasions to review and salute the marching Red Guards, he has not once addressed them or the country. His uncommunicativeness stands in sharp contrast with Castro's conduct at critical junctures of the revolution.

From Mao's writings the masses can learn some of the elementary ideas of socialism — but certainly not the elementary idea that Marxism is not a set of dogmas issuing from an incontrovertible source of revelation.

Mao's role in the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s is construed by the *Monthly Review* editors in the same way that a previous generation of radicals esteemed Stalin's role in the 1930s, although many later changed their minds about this. According to them, Mao is engaged in constructing socialism in a thoroughly progressive and revolutionary manner in accord with the criteria of Marxism.

It is more in consonance with the available facts and historic analogies, in our opinion, to conclude that as a result of mounting criticism, Mao was in danger of being pushed aside, losing control of the party and being placed in a minority.

In such a situation, involving issues of life-and-death concern to the revolution, Lenin would have turned to the ranks of the party, submitted the views and proposals of the different tendencies for a thorough discussion, and then held a national congress to decide the disputed issues and elect a dependable leadership to implement the adopted line. However, the Chinese Communist Party, in violation of its own statutes, has held no national congress since 1958.

Instead, Mao went outside the party and the Communist League of Youth and hastily called into being a new force of an extralegal character, the Red Guards. He hurled them against those sections of the party apparatus which he considered to be oppositional and therefore unreliable.

Wouldn't it have been more democratic to have first tried to convince the party ranks of the correctness of his ideas and the need for an imperative cleansing of the party apparatus under the direct control of the ranks? Why didn't Mao do that if he is primarily concerned with extending democracy?

The fact that Mao decided to go over the head of the party, to appeal to "the masses" against the party is a startling fact that demands explanation. Is Mao in a minority? Does he refuse to abide by majority rule? Has the party become the tool of the rising bureaucracy?

If a "handful" of counterrevolutionary procapitalist "monsters" and "ghosts" have actually succeeded in capturing the party and reducing it to a counterrevolutionary instrument, how is this to be explained? What does it reveal about Mao's leadership in the 17 years in which he has wielded such power that he now feels it imperative to disregard the party and even set out, at all costs, to build organizations directed against it?

Lenin's greatest contribution to the revolutionary movement was the conception and organization of the democratically centralized proletarian party based upon Marxist principles and consistent class struggle. Mao's major contribution to Marxism-Leninism, besides his "thought," is the Red Guard, his supporters now claim.

What is the theoretical justification for this movement improvised to do a specific job for the Mao-Lin faction in a struggle for supremacy? The Red Guard movement is an alternative to the party and for the time being is apparently superior to it. This amorphous assemblage is hailed as the embodiment of mass democracy.

A few questions are in order. How was the Red Guard organized? Who was chosen and elected to lead it? What is its program and aims? Who summons it into action and demobilizes it? Is it a self-governing and permanent body? Who decides what it shall do and whom it shall assail?

Is it an autonomous and free-acting

body, or does it actually receive guidance and directives from agents of the Mao-Lin faction so that, for all its divisions and deviations, it remains under the control, supervision and restraint of Lin Piao's armed forces?

It would seem that the squads of youth are not so much an instrument of spontaneous, direct and elementary democracy as a tool in the hands of its initiators and directors who select the objects of attack.

The enforced kowtowing before Mao's infallibility is aimed at containing and, if possible, rolling back the very real doubts and questioning about his foreign and domestic policies. The discontent from below, which may be most acute in sectors of the bureaucracy itself, has broken out at the top in sharp differences among the leading figures, touching off the current tense struggle.

A dramatic level was reached in the conflict when repentance was voiced in October by the chief opposition leaders, Liu Shao-chi, China's chief of state, and Teng Hsia-ping, secretary general of the Communist Party, who were condemned as "bourgeois reactionaries" by speakers at a vast Red Guard rally on Dec. 27.

The official version of the derelictions of these and other notables is that they "are taking the capitalist road." If we credit what spokesmen for Mao and Lin Piao say, a sizeable number, possibly even a majority, of the most prestigious figures who directed the party, fought the civil war for almost two decades, overthrew Chiang, created the People's Republic of China, indoctrinated the masses, and staffed its highest offices for 17 years have suddenly turned out to be "bourgeois elements," who wormed their way from within to work for the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism.

We doubt that the American capitalists believe this preposterous charge or would use it as a basis for their strategic calculations — and it would be no less stupid for Marxists to take the official position at face value.

Right of Reply

We would first like to know what the accused have to say for themselves in an atmosphere free of threats and suffocating pressures and learn what their criticisms are and what they propose should be done. Thus far we have nothing but ignominious confessions extorted from them in such manner as to cast every doubt on their credibility.

Liu's wife, for example, has confessed that she worked, presumably in connivance with her husband, to promote the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, suppress democracy, create a reign of terror, and repress the masses.

We do not doubt that this sector of the political bureaucracy, along with others, has committed unjust, repressive actions against the masses and that this has given rise to dissatisfaction, resentment and anger. But what have they done or proposed which would bring back the rule of the bourgeoisie?

Mao's regime has, under close control, permitted a number of capitalists to continue their management and to draw dividends from the enterprises they owned. However, these industrialists wield little economic and social weight or political influence in Chinese society today. As yet they have not been singled out as targets in the Cultural Revolution. If anything, reassurances have been addressed to them.

The real "crime" of the accused leaders is not that they have been plotting to bring back capitalism but that they have serious differences with the Mao-Lin faction. Their views are falsified to discredit them in the eyes of the masses and to destroy them politically, if not physically.

These are polemical methods which Mao and his men learned in the school of Stalinism, first applied against the Trotskyists, later against the Khrushchevists and their allies, and now invoked against some of their oldest comrades-in-arms. There are no innovations in the pattern beyond peculiarities of style in applying it and even these are not very novel.

Huberman and Sweezy correctly write that in any power struggle Marxists "have to try to determine what its social basis is and what policies and programs the contending groups seek to promote. Armed with this knowledge, they can make meaningful judgments about the importance of the struggle and the implications of its outcome."



It is quite possible that some proposals and positions of Liu, Teng and their co-thinkers are Khrushchevist in orientation and run parallel to certain lines adopted by the Soviet leaders and other Communist parties.

They may represent sectors of the bureaucracy seeking a greater share of political power and a more influential position in determining policies the better to secure or extend their special privileges in relation to other sectors of the bureaucracy. But reliable information about such things is not to be obtained from the Chinese press.

One can guess from allusions to disputed points and problems in the distorted polemics what some of the differences may be. But this is not substantial enough for anyone inside or outside China to base any informed judgment on.

Is not this obscurantist state of affairs, in which so much remains hidden, itself sufficient to make Marxists and other critical-minded thinkers wary of what the pro-Mao media say about the ideas of the critics in high or low places?

The Nature of the Opposition

The *Monthly Review* editors do not swallow the crude and incredible picture of the differences handed out by the propaganda services. Nevertheless, they hold that in essence Mao's position is correct and well-founded.

They argue that the same trends toward bureaucratism, privilege, inequality and bourgeoisification that have been gathering strength in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have also been operating in China, as they must in any postcapitalist country on a low economic and cultural

mbatting Bureaucratic F

body, or does it actually receive guidance and directives from agents of the Mao-Lin faction so that, for all its divisions and deviations, it remains under the control, supervision and restraint of Lin Piao's armed forces?

It would seem that the squads of youth are not so much an instrument of spontaneous, direct and elementary democracy as a tool in the hands of its initiators and directors who select the objects of attack.

The enforced kowtowing before Mao's infallibility is aimed at containing and, if possible, rolling back the very real doubts and questioning about his foreign and domestic policies. The discontent from below, which may be most acute in sectors of the bureaucracy itself, has broken out at the top in sharp differences among the leading figures, touching off the current tense struggle.

A dramatic level was reached in the conflict when repentance was voiced in October by the chief opposition leaders, Liu Shao-chi, China's chief of state, and Teng Hsia-ping, secretary general of the Communist Party, who were condemned as "bourgeois reactionaries" by speakers at a vast Red Guard rally on Dec. 27.

The official version of the derelictions of these and other notables is that they "are taking the capitalist road." If we credit what spokesmen for Mao and Lin Piao say, a sizeable number, possibly even a majority, of the most prestigious figures who directed the party, fought the civil war for almost two decades, overthrew Chiang, created the People's Republic of China, indoctrinated the masses, and staffed its highest offices for 17 years have suddenly turned out to be "bourgeois elements," who wormed their way from within to work for the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism.

We doubt that the American capitalists believe this preposterous charge or would use it as a basis for their strategic calculations — and it would be no less stupid for Marxists to take the official position at face value.

Right of Reply

We would first like to know what the accused have to say for themselves in an atmosphere free of threats and suffocating pressures and learn what their criticisms are and what they propose should be done. Thus far we have nothing but ignominious confessions extorted from them in such manner as to cast every doubt on their credibility.

Liu's wife, for example, has confessed that she worked, presumably in connivance with her husband, to promote the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, suppress democracy, create a reign of terror, and repress the masses.

We do not doubt that this sector of the



talism, Chairman Mao and the methods and training of his movement are placed in serious question.

Another very weak point in the analysis offered by Huberman and Sweezy is that they take it for granted, in consonance with the official version, that only two tendencies are locked in conflict: the Maoist defenders of revolutionary democracy on the one side and the corrupt defaulters on the other. The field of action is not that clear and simple.

Leaving aside the authentic but marginal procapitalist and counterrevolutionary forces lurking to the extreme right, three different groupings can be discerned among the major contending figures holding the center of the stage. To characterize these as "right," "left" and "center" is probably misleading; rather than political tendencies they appear to represent vying sectors of the bureaucracy ranging from the army to the unions.

There have been allusions to the presence of critical elements to the left. Such currents were discernible among the student youth and workers during the abortive "hundred flowers" episode in 1957 and are very likely active in the current ferment.

Perhaps the *Monthly Review* editors have not considered these possibilities simply because in the prevailing blackout, it is virtually impossible to tell who stands for what and to distinguish the views of one opposition tendency from another.

In the political logic of the situation, however, Mao's course and measures can be criticized by Chinese Communists from very different standpoints and outlooks.

For example, on the urgent issue of collaboration with the Soviet Union, Peking's refusal to participate in any form of united action with the other Communist countries against American aggression can be condemned out of inclination toward the Kremlin's policies, out of practical military concern for China's own national security, or out of Leninist considerations of the necessity to close ranks and unite all anti-imperialist and socialist forces against the class enemy.

The really revolutionary forces, including the Trotskyists inside and outside of Mao's prisons, would strive toward the maximum of solidarity in action against U.S. imperialism and for the maximum of democracy for the masses.

The Dispute over Economic Policy

All those who are designated as "Khrushchevists" may not be wrong, or all wrong, in their proposals for economic reform; nor need their proposals inevitably lead toward the revival of capitalist tendencies.

Bureaucratic Formation?



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The third Five-Year Plan, which will chart the course of economic development for the next period, appears to have been launched in 1966 but without fanfare. Many knotty problems are connected with the priorities of the plan which must take care of aid for Vietnam, vast sums for nuclear development, allocations for military and civilian needs, etc. There is bound to be wide disagreement over these priorities and the recommendations connected with them.

It is not clear what the controversies over the direction of economic policy have been. The economist, Sun Yeh-feng, has been assailed for "Liberianism." Technocratic solutions along the lines promulgated by the Soviet economist Liberman, who advocates running plants on a "profitability" basis in the workers states, are inadvisable because they tend to strengthen different special layers of the bureaucracy and accentuate social inequalities. The best way to insure balanced economic growth in China is by instituting workers' management and applying the methods of centralized coordination and planning under democratic control of the workers.

However, the role played by small private enterprises in agriculture, in light goods or service sectors is not an open-and-shut proposition. Moreover, the reverses suffered as a result of the Great Leap Forward have demonstrated that many of Mao's policies in the economic field are subject to criticism and correction.

The trouble is that alternative plans and policies are not openly presented, freely and fully discussed, and democratically adopted. Not even the necessary statistical information is available, still less the in-

stitutions of workers democracy to carry on the discussion in the most productive way.

The Struggle Against Bureaucratism

We return to a point in our first article, the contention of Huberman and Sweezy that the Cultural Revolution is unrelated to preparations to meet an attack by American imperialism. Their argument, in an unexpected way, takes us deep into the problem of the struggle against bureaucratism and special privileges in a workers state.

They note that "the whole Red Guard movement has exacerbated rather than ameliorated internal conflict." In view of this, they maintain, if "the main objective were to prepare the country for a long



Stalin

war, one would expect that ideological and propaganda themes would de-emphasize internal conflicts and glorify all that is best in China's history and traditions."

To strengthen this argument, they cite what happened during the war of resistance against Japan and also what happened in the Soviet Union during the Second World War.

For the analogies to hold at all, reference should have been made to what happened on the eve of the Second World War.

The most important analogy, of course, in view of the source of the key policies of the Chinese Communist Party during the war of resistance and before it, is the analogy with the Soviet Union. It speaks completely against the arguments advanced by the editors of *Monthly Review*.

Stalin's way of preparing the Soviet Union for World War II was to purge every potential opposition. The eve of the war was the period of the monstrous frame-up trials, the mass deportations, the herding of hundreds of thousands and even millions into forced labor camps, the period of decapitation of the entire top staff of the Red Army and a good deal of the officer corps.

All this was coupled with continual effort to gain a "peace pact" with Hitler, an effort that eventually succeeded as is well known.

It was only after the assault by German imperialism that Stalin climaxed his suicidal way of preparing for war by appealing to the grossest kind of national sentiments, virtually dropping references to socialism, even the socialism that was his unique contribution — "socialism in one country."

How is to be explained that the editors of *Monthly Review* who write much that is perspicacious and valuable, could have advanced an analogy that is so destructive to their case for Mao Tse-tung?

Their reasons, it would seem, are related to their general views on the problem of bureaucratism in a workers state and how to cope with it and particularly the conclusions they draw on the development of bureaucratism in the Soviet Union and in the People's Republic of China.

In their general position, they are opposed to bureaucratism; or, more accurately, bureaucratic excesses.

On this we can easily find common ground with Huberman and Sweezy. When we come to the methods to be used in opposing the growth of bureaucratism, however, clear differences emerge.

"A Marxist theory dealing with the question can hardly be said to exist," they declare, "perhaps because the existing socialist societies (including China) have all had ideological needs which conflict with a full and honest analysis of their own structure and dynamics. Be that as it may, this is an area which has yet to be scientifically explored, and hence what we have to say must be regarded as more in the nature of hypotheses than conclusions."

The struggle against the causes of inequality and privilege and the wide range of their manifestations and beneficiaries is a central problem in China as well as every other country that has overthrown capitalism and started on the road to socialism under adverse conditions.

It is not a new problem for Marxist theory. The young Marx himself alluded to it when he stated that without an adequate development of productive power "all the old crap would be revived."

Lenin, too, was concerned with this problem but primarily from the administrative and political standpoints in the earliest years of the Soviet Republic.

The Bolshevik Left Opposition to Stalinist bureaucratism, out of which the world Trotskyist movement has grown, put forward both a theory to explain this phenomenon and a program to combat it.

Trotsky devoted the latter years of his life to a serious and systematic analysis of the "growth of a privileged stratum in command of society's political-economic apparatus" after it emerged in full fledged form under Stalin's dictatorship. In his classical work *The Revolution Betrayed* he explained the peculiar nature and dual function of the bureaucratic caste in a workers state and the processes by which it is enabled to usurp power from the toiling masses.

The ripe conclusions of his thinking on these questions were incorporated in the Transitional Program of the Fourth International which has subsequently been enriched and extended by lessons drawn from the experiences of the de-Stalinization process and the Polish and Hungarian revolts of 1956. The essence of this program is the necessity for a political revolution, for the working masses by their own direct and conscious collective action to abolish bureaucratic rule in order to secure democratic control over the economy and the state.

When the *Monthly Review* editors assert that it is up to "those, both in the leadership and in the rank and file, who made the revolution and remain uncorrupted by the temptations of actual and potential privilege . . . to lead the struggle and enlist as much support as possible from the ranks of the unprivileged and uncorrupted," they are paying homage, whether they know it or not, to the Left Oppositionists in the Soviet Union, headed by Trotsky, who were the first to shoulder this task against the scourge of Stalinism. They were the pioneering advocates and exemplars of principled resistance against the corrupters of the revolution in defense of the welfare and rights of the workers.

The subject could be developed at some length; suffice it to point to Trotsky's main programmatic conclusion — which is strictly in line with the whole body of Marxist political theory — that control of the bureaucracy (insofar as a bureaucracy is necessary in the opening stages of the transition from capitalism to socialism) can be accomplished only through widening and extending workers democracy concomitant with widening and extending the proletarian revolution, increasing the level of productivity and achieving a huge rise in the material wealth of society.

With the development of these inter-related processes, the bureaucracy — still a reflection, in the last analysis, of the lack of abundance — gives way to mere administration. The whole process is summed up in the abstract formula: *withering away of the state*.

And when Huberman and Sweezy state that a Marxist theory dealing with the question of opposing bureaucratism can hardly be said to exist, they are really saying that a Marxist theory concerning the withering away of the state after a temporary dictatorship of the proletariat following a revolution can hardly be said to exist.

With this, we come to the heart of the differences. The editors of *Monthly Review* do offer a theory or at least a hypothesis

Where Monthly Review Goes Wrong

in which they place considerable confidence. They maintain that during the Stalin period the privileged stratum in the Soviet Union "was unable to consolidate its position as an emerging ruling class."

This is true if Huberman and Sweezy mean by "ruling class" a capitalist class; but decidedly not true if the privileged stratum is viewed as a ruling caste — which is not a mere terminological matter but a question of decisive importance not only in the question of sociological analysis but also in the question of political attitudes.

The "emerging ruling class" could not consolidate its position, continue Huberman and Sweezy, "only because of the terror which Stalin, through the instrumentality of the secret police, directed particularly against the 'bureaucrats' in the Party and the state apparatus."

As against this positive achievement, the negative results of Stalin's policies are noted: "He failed to acquire a real organized mass base to counterbalance the privileged stratum. And he trained up no new generation of genuine revolutionaries to lead and carry on the struggle against the restoration of class rule. After his death, the discontinuation of the terror simply meant that the privileged stratum was released from constraints and was free to move to the front and center of the national stage. It seems to be making the most of its opportunities."

The conclusion would seem to be that either capitalism was restored to the Soviet Union under Khrushchev and his heirs or that a new kind of ruling class, hitherto unknown in history has appeared in the Soviet Union.

Are Huberman and Sweezy prepared to develop this hypothesis? This is not clear. If they do, a number of variants are open — "state capitalism," "managerial society," etc. — all of which the Trotskyist movement has argued against for many decades. Whether they will advance down this road or retreat from it remains to be seen.

Still advancing by way of analogy in continuing their analysis of what is happening in China, the editors of *Monthly Review* argue that Mao, like Stalin, is opposing the growth of bureaucratism but by preferable means; i.e., "not by means of terror but through a series of education and rectification campaigns which began soon after the seizure of power and have been continuing ever since. In our view the Cultural Revolution should be seen as the latest and biggest and most ambitious of these campaigns."

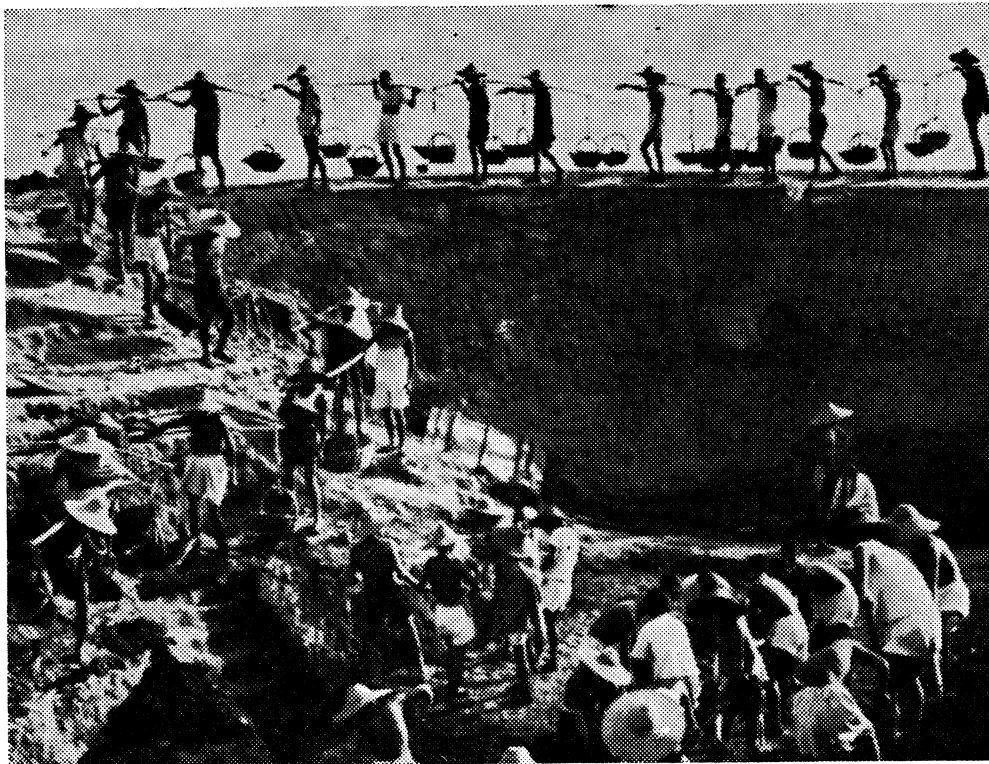
In brief, by way of a pro-Stalin position, Huberman and Sweezy have moved to a pro-Mao position. What they see in Mao is another Stalin — one in which there is more of the positive and less of the negative qualities.

It is remarkable how the "Russian question" which stood at the heart of all the main differences within the Communist movement (as well as in wider circles in the socialist and labor movement and beyond) in the twenties, thirties and succeeding decades, is again seen to lie at the bottom of the *Monthly Review* position on the Cultural Revolution in China. The key question still remains the problem of Stalinism.

Huberman and Sweezy, far from offering any fresh thought or fresh insights in this area, still cling to the view that Stalin's terror was directed against the enemies of the revolution. Some progress has been made in that these enemies are no longer called "fascist mad dogs," "agents of Hitler and the Mikado," "plotters against the life of Stalin," "counterrevolutionaries seeking the restoration of capitalism." The term used by the editors of *Monthly Review* is "bureaucrats."

But Stalin's real targets, whatever the epithets used, were the Bolshevik Party, the soviets and all forms of proletarian democracy that hampered the monstrous proliferation of the bureaucracy and the extension of its special privileges. The main victims were those who had collaborated most closely with Lenin in preparing for and carrying out the October Revolution along with all those in the younger generation who looked like potential political opponents that might carry on the fight for Lenin's program.

The argument that Stalin directed his blows in the main against the bureaucrats but failed to consolidate his victory by training up a new generation of revolutionaries is particularly inept. It is destroyed by one simple fact. Stalin did train up a new generation (how could he have



KEY PROBLEM. Chinese workers are forced to substitute sheer mass of numbers for badly lacking machinery as seen in this shot of dam construction. Lack of advanced technology and scarcity feeds development of privilege-seeking bureaucratic strata.

done otherwise?) and they succeeded him as his chosen (very carefully chosen) heirs. Moreover, they continued the main line of his policies with but one broad difference: they made concessions to the masses by ameliorating the arbitrary police rule, ending the harshest features of the antilabor legislation, easing the atmosphere and granting some improvements in the standard of living of the masses.

Despite the reforms, as true heirs of Stalin, they are maintaining the bureaucratic caste's monopoly of political power established in the twenties.

Proletarian democracy is not merely a moral issue; nor does it concern simply domestic problems such as achieving optimum economic growth, the swiftest possible rise in the standard of living, and the most effective defense against imperialism. Proletarian democracy is directly related to the progress of the socialist revolution, particularly in the industrially advanced countries.

One of the main obstacles to the growth of the revolutionary socialist movement in these countries has been the impression created by Stalinism and, in fact, deliberately cultivated by the Russian bureaucracy and its spokesmen in other countries, that Stalin's system constitutes the model and prototype of socialism.

Workers tend to prefer the present evils they suffer from rather than bring upon themselves such evils as they are well aware existed in the Soviet Union under Stalin and which still exist there, if in modified form, as is quite apparent from the rule of a one-party system that bans freedom of thought and political opposition.

The workers are mistaken in their judgment since the establishment of planned economy in countries like the United States, Britain, Germany, Japan, etc., would quickly make possible such abundance as to destroy the material foundation for a parasitic bureaucracy. But it has proved to be no easy task to advance a correct understanding of the situation in face of the example set by Stalin and his heirs and disciples and the use made of this by reactionaries everywhere.

The very unfavorable image of socialism presented by Stalin's rule has not been rectified by the Mao regime. In fact Mao's rehabilitation of Stalin and elevation of this sinister figure into one of the major heroes of his regime did more damage to the Chinese Revolution than probably any other single "error" committed by the Mao team.

And it should be added that when the editors of *Monthly Review* — at this late date! — still express the view that the positive outweighed the negative in the terror utilized by Stalin to maintain his personal dictatorship, they perform no service to the cause of socialism in the United States, or anywhere else for that matter.

In contrast to the positive role which Huberman and Sweezy still consider the

terror under Stalin to have played, Trotsky's analysis of what happened remains convincing. According to this analysis, Stalin became the representative of *nationalist* political retrogression in the Soviet Union even before the death of Lenin.

Stalin's theory about "building socialism in one country," advanced in 1924, was a qualitative theoretical concession to this *nationalist* tendency, a view which was in complete contradiction to the international socialist outlook that stands at the heart of Marxism.

Stalin's foreign policy was consistently based on narrow *national* considerations just as his domestic policies were based on strengthening the power and privileges of the bureaucracy which he epitomized.

Among the factors that facilitated Stalin's usurpation of power was the backwardness of the country, an inheritance of the Czarist past, and the exhaustion and destruction of the vanguard during the civil war that followed the successful uprising (Huberman and Sweezy note this).

In addition, however, was the international situation. The setbacks suffered by the revolution in other countries, particularly Germany, the tight blockade mounted by the Allied powers which isolated the young workers state, the support of the counterrevolutionary armies and the invasions, including even American expeditionary forces, all served to weaken the Bolsheviks and to strengthen the reactionary tendencies represented above all by Stalin.

Stalin's narrow national outlook was the counterpart, the domestic reflection, of the unfavorable international situation, the defeats abroad.

The bureaucratic grip on political power was further strengthened in the thirties by the defeats dealt the revolution in a number of countries, Germany and Spain being outstanding instances.

If we are to argue by analogy — and this is what the case presented by Huberman and Sweezy boils down to, since they do not offer any concrete analysis of the social forces in conflict in China and their reflection in the political structure — then we are forced to conclude from their own arguments that Mao's policies, like Stalin's, represent a *national* bureaucratic tendency with very special features that has been reinforced by a series of setbacks suffered by the socialist revolution in the past several years, Indonesia being an outstanding instance.

In Conclusion

The *Monthly Review* editors are by no means certain that Mao and his colleagues will succeed in forestalling the growth of a privileged stratum, but they argue that they "have seen more clearly than anyone else [on] both sides of this vast and complicated problem and are making the only kind of efforts to solve it which seem to have any chance of success."

We are skeptical. Workers democracy cannot be protected or promoted by Mao's

methods. The first prerequisite for proletarian democracy is the right of free expression. That does not prevail in China.

The second prerequisite is freedom of criticism, the right to disagree with Mao and not be compelled to deify him as part of a grotesque leader cult.

The workers will have to get rid of bureaucratic domination in order to institute the widest internal democracy in the party, the unions, the mass organizations, the activities of the state and its administration at all levels.

Huberman and Sweezy rightly dismiss the condemnations of the Cultural Revolution coming from the Soviet, Yugoslav and other Communist leaders who side with them in the Sino-Soviet dispute. These forces have their own opportunistic axes to grind in discrediting whatever the Mao regime does or says in China nowadays.

But there are other critics besides these. Not a single Communist country has praise for the Cultural Revolution and even the Albanians have been lukewarm toward it. Especially significant have been the reactions of the North Korean and Cuban Communists. Have these governments which have been so sympathetic to China become so blinded by hatred and prejudice that they cannot recognize the worth of Mao's Cultural Revolution? Why do they recoil from it?

Their disagreements with Mao's foreign and domestic policies over the past year must have some political weight and require an accounting in making a judgment of the present situation and its prospects.

There are also critics, capable of thinking for themselves, who remain unattached to any government power. Among the various tendencies, the Fourth International is particularly important, representing, as it does, a widespread international tendency.

The *Monthly Review* editors themselves do not give blanket endorsement to everything in the Cultural Revolution. They itemize and criticize the ugly features and negative sides they observe in their summary.

Nonetheless, in the best of cases their appraisal would attribute to Mao the same two successive roles played by Trotsky — that of leading a revolution and then at a subsequent stage opposing its bureaucratic degeneration. Such an analogy does not hold at all, in our opinion.

However, Huberman and Sweezy draw the parallel between Mao and Stalin rather than between Mao and Trotsky. But Stalin did not oppose the bureaucratic degeneration that occurred in the Soviet Union; he was its engineer. Insofar as the analogy holds it speaks completely against Mao and thereby invalidates the estimate offered by *Monthly Review* of the key issues at stake in the political crisis now shaking China.



Trotsky

Chicago Cops Harass Black Power Nominee

By Herman Porter

CHICAGO — Police harassment has succeeded in keeping a black power candidate off the ballot in the fourth ward aldermanic election that will be held here Feb. 28. Although the Citizens' Committee to Elect Carl Tunstall had been collecting election petition signatures, Tunstall did not file by the deadline of Jan. 9.

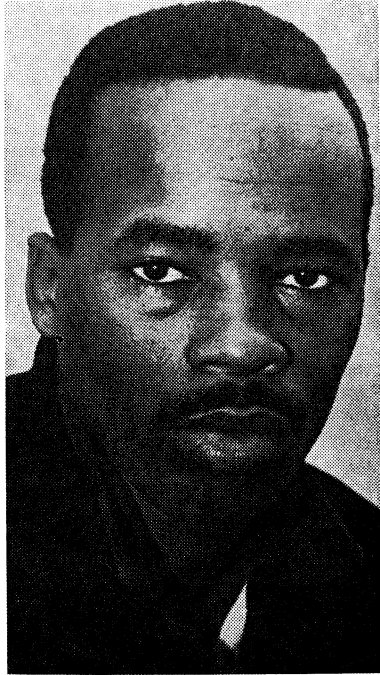
Tunstall, 25, married and the father of three small children, has lived most of his life in the fourth ward of Chicago's Southside ghetto. Some eight or nine months ago he, along with others, formed Protectorights, an organization of young people in the neighborhood, most of them in their twenties.

They approached Claude Holman, a Negro who has been alderman of the ward for 12 years, about stopping police harassment of people on the streets and providing recreational facilities for young people in the neighborhood. After Holman failed to act they decided to run Tunstall as an independent black power candidate for the office. The Chicago Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which maintains a headquarters in the ward, gave Tunstall active support.

The most serious act of police intimidation occurred just after midnight at a New Year's Eve party held at Tunstall's apartment. Police broke in without a warrant, and arrested 51 people. Most of them were charged with disorderly conduct or being an inmate of a disorderly house. A photographer who took pictures of the raid was beaten by the cops.

Tunstall had very serious charges placed against him of being the keeper of a disorderly house, selling liquor without a license, contributing to the delinquency of minors, and possession of narcotics.

The raid and trumped-up



Carl Tunstall

charges were not the only efforts to stop Tunstall's campaign. One petitioner was arrested, beaten, and charged with possession of a weapon. This charge was later dropped.

There have been other raids recently against local black power groups. On Dec. 3 the cops raided the SNCC office at 4165 S. Ellis Ave. without a warrant, and charged Mrs. Carol Redmond, the secretary, with a phony "possession of narcotics" charge. Not long before, the police raided the West Side office ACT and arrested a number of people there.

Because of the large amounts of money needed to provide bail in such cases, SNCC has set up a revolving bail fund. Those who would like to contribute to the fund or lend money to it should write to: SNCC Bail Fund, 4165 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Chicago College Teachers Win Their Strike in One Day

By Jack Katz

The biggest college teachers' strike in the nation's history ended in a smashing victory on Jan. 7 for the 684 teachers in the Chicago City College eight-campus system.

They were out one day. Carrying their own home-made signs in freezing weather, they shut down eight schools in a solid strike called by Local 1600, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. It was their second strike in six weeks.

The strike occurred on the eve of a threatened strike by Chicago elementary and high school teachers and was credited with helping to win a first contract for the 22,000 public school teachers. Both contracts were settled in mediation with Chicago's mayor, within hours of each other.

The major gain won by the college teachers in their first contract was a reduction of the class load from 15 to 12 hours. The school board will hire 125 additional teachers because of this reduction. Class size was limited to 25 for English and 35 for other classes; the school term was reduced from 40 to 38 weeks; the teachers won a \$400 a year pay raise; health, hospitalization and term insurance will be instituted for the teachers for the first time; and the board promised to consult with the union if additional monies are obtained from the state legislature.

"Militancy Pays" was the headline in a Chicago newspaper after the strike settlement. Teachers' trade unionism is now solid in Chicago and has set an example that is sure to be duplicated on campuses elsewhere.

Last summer, the Chicago junior college teachers voted for their union, 532 to 55. After negotia-

tions started, the school board president said the board could not enter into a traditional collective bargaining arrangement. They would not even talk to the teachers while the threat of a strike or any kind of coercion was present. And they said they were going to "file a law suit to determine our respective rights and obligations."

In the face of these threats the union called the first strike, on Nov. 30. The school board quickly obtained an injunction ordering the strikers back to work. The teachers ignored it and Norman Swenson, president of the union, said he would go to jail if it came to that.

The most audacious plan of the teachers was to offer their students continued instruction in churches, Y's, union halls and so on. Dozens of halls were promised. This strategy once instituted would have protected the students and would have helped win public opinion for the strikers. Also, every group that gave space for instruction was identifying with the strikers' side.

The first strike ended with the teachers' union president accepting the resumption of collective bargaining, with the school administration this time agreeing that a contract could be entered into. Previously, board negotiators said they would not sign a written agreement with the union. The board also promised that they would ask for a lifting of the injunction against the strike, and that there would be no reprisals.

This agreement between the union president and the president of the school board was widely criticized within the union at the time because it provided that there would be no strike threat during the course of the new negotiations and because it did not spell out the issues to be negotiated that most concerned the teachers such as reduced course loads and smaller classes. Instead it confined the issues, to money and insurance fringe benefits.

The negotiations that resumed were a farce. The board would not budge beyond the academic willingness to negotiate.

Meanwhile, the 22,000 elementary and high school teachers in Local 1, AFT, that had been negotiating for the last two years without success, voted to strike.

When the college teachers returned from Christmas holidays and discovered that they were exactly nowhere, they met, decided on a minimum program of demands and voted to strike if the board did not make a quick

offer on each of the issues that the teachers had raised: class load, class size, reduced school year, and a wage hike.

When the board remained intransigent, offering nothing but money which was the last of the four things the teachers wanted, the second strike was called which brought the final contract and victory.

Despite the agreement to quash the injunction the teachers still face a court threat for contempt. Although the school board requested it be lifted, Judge D. A. Covelli of Circuit Court refused to do so saying, "if the order was violated it must not go unchallenged." He asked the school board's attorney to make a case against the strikers for contempt. The school board's attorney declined. The judge then asked the district attorney's office to do the same. Again, the judge was met with refusal. The judge then appointed a lawyer to study the case and bring in a report.

N. Y. Teachers Press Demands

The United Federation of Teachers, representing 53,000 teachers in New York City's school system, is negotiating for renewal of its contract with the Board of Education which expires June 30. One demand is for a new salary schedule ranging from \$7,500 to \$15,000 in place of the present range from \$5,400 to \$11,950.

The UFT wants a decrease in class size so that each individual pupil can keep up with the learning process. It also asks a reduction in classroom teaching time to give teachers a better opportunity to prepare their classes and once in a while simply to "take a breather."

School Superintendent Donovan has rejected the demands. On the latter two, he contends that schools would have to be placed on extended sessions thereby reducing instructional time for students. In rebuttal the UFT has called for more classroom space and for the hiring of more teachers.

Another issue is a UFT proposal that a current "more-effective-schools" project be extended to 300 slum-area schools. Protest is made about the use of substitute teachers in ghetto schools and an overall increase in substitutes from 7,000 in 1952 to 20,000 today.

The union calls for abolition of the substitute-teacher category, terming them the "second-class citizens of the school system." If a teacher is good enough to teach, it is argued, he ought to be certified as a regular teacher. Most substitutes are behind the demand for doing away with the dual licensing system for teachers. Some substitutes threaten to pull out of the UFT unless something is done to improve their lot and absorb them into the regular teaching system.

Apart from the formal union demands, a UFT leader has raised the question of teachers electing school principals. This, he said, would put the naming of their bosses up to the rank-and-file employees who ought to know who is best for them as an employer and educational leader. A newspaper survey of reactions to the proposal reported that "by and large, younger, more rebellious teachers were all for it."

A principal was reported to have given a mocking reply that next, teachers would want to vote on the curriculum and on the text books they would use. Some teachers no doubt feel that it would be a good idea.

...LBJ's State-of-Union Message

(Continued from Page 1)

nam. This was more than we had expected and the Government tried to do everything that we knew how to do to hold it down. Yet we were not as successful as we wished to be."

While thus admitting that war causes inflation, Johnson pretended that he is striving to hold down prices. His policies will, however, do just the opposite. Johnson proposed to continue the war, deficit spending to raise war funds, and increase taxes — all of which will result in speeding up the inflation and cutting down on consumer purchasing power.

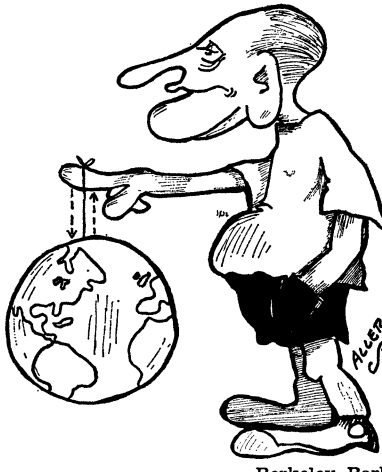
SEATO Pact

On the vital question of Vietnam itself, the president offered this rationalization for the mutilation of American boys and the napalm bombing of Vietnamese peasants: "We are in Vietnam because the United States of America and our allies are committed by the SEATO Treaty to 'act to meet the common danger of aggression in Southeast Asia.'"

The SEATO alliance was manufactured by John Foster Dulles, in direct violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements, in order to justify the U.S. military support to Saigon playboy-emperor Bao-Dai. And that cynical piece of complicity with a royal stooge is now Johnson's "Treaty" justifying the slaughter of tens of thousands of Americans and Vietnamese. It is worth pondering.

Many observers have noted the "somber tone" of Lyndon Johnson's 1967 State of the Union Message in comparison with the extravagant promises of only one

year ago. But the difference does not lie in any change in Johnson's outlook. It lies in the deepening contradictions of American capitalism, caused first and foremost by the escalation of the Vietnam war.



Berkeley Barb

Johnson sounds somber in 1967 because he has to make palatable a domestic program of inflation and reaction in order to support an escalated and horrible war which millions and millions of Americans oppose. This program has already been hammered out in the ruling circles of the capitalist class; the details Johnson left out will no doubt further widen the credibility gap.

Imperialist war is inevitably accompanied by inflation because the masses must pay for the war. Higher prices and higher taxes are the dual routes which channel money from the consumers' poc-

ketbooks into the war industry's profits. All that is necessary, so far as the capitalists are concerned, is a government well-prepared to make the inflationary war program stick.

Among other things Johnson left out of the State of the Union message, is mention of the anti-labor legislation already in preparation in various congressional and executive committees. It is no secret at all that the Johnson administration is maneuvering to have the 90th Congress enact new and stronger strike-breaking laws.

American workers, over three million of whom will be negotiating their wage contracts in 1967, will be fighting for increases to catch up with the inflationary price levels. And Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic and Republican politicians down the line, will be exercising their loyal duties to their capitalist masters in fighting these catch-up wage demands. Strike-breaking is the main order of the day for the 90th Congress — and the White House.

"Our country's laws," Johnson stated in discussing the 'Crime Control Act,' "must be respected. Order must be maintained and I will support with all the constitutional powers the President possesses our nation's law enforcement officials in their attempt to control the crime and the violence that tear the fabric of our communities."

Maintaining capitalist law and order — that is Johnson's central promise for 1967 — and he said so in almost so many words. That is the ruling class' answer to the struggle for black power, peace and labor's rights.

LBJ Faces Tough Situation

"Here's a political nightmare for President Johnson:

"The 1968 elections are only a few months away. The war in Vietnam drags on inconclusively. The long boom has ended and the economy is in a recession. And prices, far from levelling off, continue to rise sharply.

"Maybe Mr. Johnson won't ever have to face this triple threat — war, recession and inflation, all at the same time.

"But maybe he will. It's possible, even probable, in the view of many experienced business analysts." The quotation is from a front page article in the Jan. 16 Wall Street Journal by Alfred L. Malabre, Jr.

In the article, Malabre makes a key point often overlooked: There is no contradiction between rising prices and recessions. In four out of the five U.S. recessions since 1945, prices went up.

Cuba Since the Tricontinental

By Harry Ring

A year ago this month, the first Tricontinental Conference of the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America convened in Havana. The conference proved to be a very complex political event. The year that has passed since the conference, however, has served to put it into clearer perspective.

The question was posed at the conference of which political line would dominate, that of Moscow, Peking or Havana.

The resolutions adopted by the conference indicated that the Cuban line had prevailed against the sectarianism of the Peking and the class-collaborationist "peaceful co-existence" policy of Moscow. The resolutions generally expressed the line of the need for a revolutionary, armed struggle against imperialism and its colonial puppets by the anti-imperialist forces.

What raised a big question mark over the whole conference, however, were two speeches by Fidel Castro.

On the eve of the conference, speaking at the Jan. 2 revolutionary anniversary celebration, Fidel disclosed that, contrary to a previous agreement, the Chinese government had unilaterally decided to cut its 1966 trade with Cuba in half. This meant a sharp cut in rice rations for the Cubans. Fidel charged the Chinese with a breach of revolutionary solidarity and a display of big-power arrogance against a small country.

Attacked Trotskyism

Fidel's second bombshell came at the close of the Tricontinental Conference. In a Jan. 15 speech he launched a slanderous attack on Trotskyism, branding it a "vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction."

Ultra-left critics of the Cuban regime seized on the attack on the Chinese and the Trotskyists as proof that Fidel had become a conscious agent of the Kremlin and an advocate of its reformist "co-existence" line.

Assessing the conference in *The Militant*, we said this was an oversimplification and, at best, premature. We said the conference should be viewed as contradictory in character and that it remained to be determined which of the contradictory aspects was the dominant one. That is, if the attack upon Trotskyism signaled abandoning the revolutionary perspective and the adoption of the class-collaborationist "peaceful co-existence" line of the Kremlin; or if the line of the adopted resolutions would prevail, insofar as the Cubans were concerned.

The year that has passed since the conference has greatly clarified the meaning of the Tricontinental.

The record throughout the year since the Tricontinental shows that for the Cubans the resolutions were no mere scraps of paper. They have made serious efforts to implement them and to encourage others to do likewise.

This has been most readily apparent in the Cuban stand on the Vietnam war. Throughout, Fidel Castro and other leading spokesmen have returned again and again to the theme of the absolute necessity for a united, militant de-

fense of Vietnam against U.S. aggression.

In several major speeches, Fidel declared that U.S. escalation in Vietnam could be stopped only by a serious confrontation on the part of the socialist bloc — regardless of the risk involved. He has called for all necessary military aid to Vietnam, and for a united front of all governments and parties in the bloc to make such aid effective.

The seriousness with which the Cubans take this position was most dramatically indicated last March 30 when Armando Hart, organization secretary of the new, united Communist Party of Cuba, addressed the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Hart told the Soviet gathering: "Within the present situation of the Vietnam war, appropriate tactics at this moment would be to employ military force expressly

cracies in the workers' states in its efforts to maintain an accommodation with U.S. imperialism and its satellites, the Yugoslavs were hostile to the call for armed struggle in Latin America. They suggested that such a course served to isolate revolutionaries from "progressive allies" in Latin America. They even echoed the capitalist propaganda about the Tricontinental representing a program of "subversion" for Latin America.

Several editorials in *Granma*, voice of the Cuban party, subjected the Yugoslav view to harsh criticism, pointing out that the "progressive allies" they spoke of were the puppets of the U.S. The *Granma* articles demonstrated that the road to social progress in Latin America was necessarily the road to revolution.

Of equal interest has been the public debate between Castro and

also sought to oppose those who would curb the process of deepening the revolution.

A dramatic example of this was Fidel's appearance Aug. 29 before the Congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions. At this congress the delegates had ousted Lazaro Peña from his post of general secretary and replaced him with Miguel Martin, 29.

A long-time member of the old Cuban Popular Socialist (Communist) Party, Peña had earned widespread rank-and-file criticism for his bureaucratic practices.

In his speech, Castro replied to those who had apparently charged that Peña's ouster was the result of a "sectarian" move by the *Fidelistas*. He also dealt with those who he said had characterized him as a "petty bourgeois adventurer."

Rejecting the charge of sectar-

to abolish all rents by 1970 and said there had been opposition to his decision. He then went on to say in part:

"We have spoken in the name of socialism, we have spoken in the name of communism, but we will never create socialist consciousness and much less communist consciousness with a storekeeper's mentality.

"And if we ask ourselves the reason for the attitude of the people in all parts of the country . . . the reason for their firmness in support of the revolution, it is because the revolution has created confidence and a sense of security among the people . . . It is not because the revolution has filled all the material needs of the people. No. But a great part of the moral needs of the people have been filled.

"Many people wonder why there's such enthusiasm among the masses . . . And there's something that can't be calculated mathematically . . . and that's the moral benefits the revolution has meant for the people.

Selfish Viewpoint

"Of course it is easier," he continued, "to appeal to the selfish interests of men than to appeal to their feeling of solidarity . . . But those who wish to solve problems by appealing to personal selfishness, by appealing to individual effort, forgetful of society, are acting in a reactionary manner, conspiring, although inspired by the best intentions in the world, against the possibility of creating a truly socialist spirit, a truly communist spirit in the people."

In his Jan. 2 speech of this year, Fidel hammered further at this theme and declared that the great overriding gain of the revolution was that during this difficult eight-year period the revolutionary consciousness of the people had been maintained and deepened.

All of these developments, and many more that could be cited, substantiate that despite the setback represented by Fidel's baseless attack on the revolutionary Marxist tendency, Trotskyism, the general course of the Cuban leadership has continued in a revolutionary direction.

This is not intended, obviously, to suggest that all is perfect in Cuba. In the course of the year we have pointed to and stated our exception to what we consider as defects (Fidel's lack of a correct perspective in relation to revolutionary prospects in the U.S. as indicated in his *Playboy* interview; the rather naive acceptance of numerous Stalinist inventions as "Marxism," and the continuing lag in the development of a structured workers' democracy in Cuba.)

Nevertheless, the main thrust has been in the right direction and this should be a source of great satisfaction to revolutionaries everywhere.



COOPERATIVE MEETING. Members of the "Amado Cuellar" cooperative in Cárdenas hold a business meeting.

for the purpose of paralyzing the bombardment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. That is, to put the Yankee planes which bomb the country out of combat. To defeat imperialism in Vietnam, it is of transcendental importance that the criminal aggression which the bombardment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam represents be liquidated by whatever means, and at all necessary risk.

Defense of Vietnam

"It is indispensable to make definite efforts and to offer decisive aid in order to convert the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam into 'a cemetery of Yankee planes.' It is indispensable to 'sever the hand of imperialism in Vietnam.' [The quotes are from a previous speech by Castro.] It is necessary, if the circumstances so require, to be prepared to fight in Vietnam in defense of the integrity and life of this fellow socialist country. The struggle in Vietnam involves an essential question of principle for the entire Communist movement and especially for the socialist camp."

The Cuban defense of the line of the Tricontinental has also been expressed in its vigorous polemics against the Yugoslavs who took a dim view of the Conference and attacked it sharply several times in *Borba*, official voice of the League of Yugoslav Communists.

The crassest of all the bureau-

Chilean President Frei. If the Cubans were actually developing a tendency to abandon the revolutionary course and to seek alliances with "progressive" sectors of the Latin American ruling circles, Chile would undoubtedly be the most tempting opening for such an opportunist course. Yet the Cubans have been the sharpest in relation to Frei.

In his speech of last March 13, Fidel told the Cuban people of a talk he made to a visiting group from the Chilean parliament. Recapitulating that talk, Fidel said: "We had discussed with these deputies and we had explained that to make a revolution it is first necessary to confront imperialism; that to make a revolution, although it may not be a socialist but a bourgeois democratic revolution, a nationalist revolution, they had to confront imperialism and they had to confront the national oligarchy.

Socialist Revolution

"I told them also," he continued "that I did not think conditions in Chile permitted a revolution of that type and that in the conditions of Chile, if a revolution was desired, it would necessarily have to be a socialist revolution and I explained why."

This advice to the Chilean deputies is hardly that of one who has gone over to a reformist line.

On the domestic front, Fidel and those associated with him, have

ianism, Fidel declared: ". . . there are some who try to hide behind this accusation in order to cover up their shortcomings, their incompetence."

He said that the masses will not permit "the incompetent, the overly ambitious and those who abuse their power" to lead a union.

Rebutting the "adventurer" charge, he said: "We do not forget we are a part of this world, that our fate is the fate of this world, that our victory is the victory of this world against imperialism and that the defeat of that world would be our defeat and our slavery . . . The other alternative is to be like ostriches, stick our head in the sand.

"And I don't think," he declared, "that our people will ever listen to those who preach the cowardly, unworthy and infamous policy of the ostrich . . . Our line, of course, is one of full solidarity with the revolutionary movement . . ."

In a speech on Sept. 28, Fidel took a public position on an issue that has divided the Cuban leadership. That issue has been whether they should rely primarily on moral or on material incentives as a means of increasing production. It had previously been reported that Blas Roca of the old PSP had championed the material incentive approach and Che Guevara that of moral incentives.

In his Sept. 28 speech, Fidel announced a government decision

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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.]

Kids Take Over AMC

New York, N.Y.
The *New York Times* had a story in the financial section Jan. 11 about a big management reshuffle at American Motors. What made news was that in making the changes, the company put heavy stress on what they call "managerial youth."

The new chairman of the board is but 52 and the new president a mere 56.

It made me think of Cuba where Fidel Castro, who turned 40 last summer, has been talking about how old revolutionaries like himself should begin making way for the youth.

H.C.

Double-Think

San Diego, Calif.
During Pope Paul's visit to the United States and United Nations in 1965 he gave his private blessings to U.S. efforts to defend south Vietnam during his New York meeting with President Johnson.

Francis Cardinal Spellman, while spending last Christmas in Vietnam, called for total allied victory in Vietnam, ruling out a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war.

The American Roman Catholic Bishops backed the U.S. war effort in Vietnam according to the Nov. 22, 1966, *San Diego Union*.

Pope Paul, Cardinal Spellman and the bishops speak out of both sides of their mouths. They are supposed to be for "peace" but they are "in sympathy" with the U.S. effort in Vietnam.

It cannot be denied that Christians and Christianity and Christian institutions have exhibited a remarkable fondness for violence — a violence manifested through the centuries in innumerable "holy wars," pogroms, witchhunts and inquisitions.

That such a situation has been able to prevail in a church founded by one who, out of love for his human brothers, let himself be "led as a lamb to slaughter," must remain one of the mysteries of that peculiarly theological double-think.

Thomas Zellner

Pham Van Dong Statement

New York, N.Y.
It is an ironic comment on the history of our times that the American people should be given the most astute analysis of a war they stake their lives in, not by the government, not by the major press, but by the supposed enemy. I am referring to north Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong's statement to *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury.

E.S.

A Critic

Chicago, Ill.
After reading your publication for a short time I am firmly convinced of the lack of relevance of your program and of the childishness of your ideology. I think I understand better now the execu-

tion of Trotskyites in socialist countries.

Thank you.

P.B.

Seconds Malcolm

Indianapolis, Ind.
I agree with Malcolm X, your paper is excellent.

Mrs. B.J.

Turn On With SWP?

New York, N.Y.
The "art world" has, in the last year or so, shown a great deal of interest in surrealism. Fringe elements of the young middle class bohemian subculture have also been looking into this movement, seeing an essential similarity between its content and the content of the "psychedelic movement."

An interesting problem is thus posed to those who consider themselves Trotskyists, for, while visiting Mexico in the mid-30s, Andre Breton, surrealism's founder, secured from Trotsky an endorsement of the movement's viewpoint and direction. To follow Trotsky's ideas exactly, one would have to consider very seriously Breton's "mind-expanding" project. LSD and the SWP — curious combination.

B. Wilkie

Minnesota Union Pacts

Minneapolis, Minn.
Here is a local contribution to the round up in the National Picket Line on working agreements expiring this year.

Before 1967 is over, union contracts will have expired at such major Minnesota firms as Honey-

Thought for the Week

"Belief in and dependence on God is absolutely essential. It will be an integral part of our public life as long as I am Governor. No one could think of carrying on with our problems without the help of God." — Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

well Inc., Geol A. Hormel & Co., Northern States Power Co. and the Northern Ordance Division of FMC Corp.

Some of the nationally negotiated contracts — especially trucking and meat packing — will involve large numbers of Upper Midwest workers.

Gordon Conklin, St. Paul, an international vice-president of the Teamsters Union, said the nationwide trucking talks would take in firms employing some 10,000 to 12,000 Teamster members in Minnesota. Conklin is a participant in the national talks between the union and 110 over-the-road trucking firms.

The contract year will begin with talks this month between Teamsters Local 1145 and Honeywell Inc. The contract reopener date is Feb. 1 at the plant, which is Minneapolis' largest employer with some 11,000 union members.

Some 50 trucking firms operating in the Twin Cities are among the 110 involved in the nationwide contract talks with the 1.7 million member Teamsters. The current master contract expires March 31.

On March 1, the Building Service Employees contracts with many city office buildings expires and also the expiration of Teamsters

contracts with local cartage and commercial warehouses in Minneapolis will be in March.

Machinists Union contracts with 25 Twin Cities trucking lines end April 1 and also in April will be the expiration of several of the Minneapolis building trades contracts (lathers, plasterers, and sign painters, etc.).

Many Teamsters contracts in the city run out during May, including those covering warehouse employes at such large firms as Gamble-Skogmo, Coast-to-Coast Stores, and Our Own Hardware. Drivers for Dayton's, a group of wholesale paper firms, and several drug wholesalers will also be seeking to improve wage agreements in May.

Wholesale grocers' and wholesale liquor dealers contracts with Teamsters locals will expire May 31 also.

The one-year contract of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers with the Northern States Power Co., covering 6,000 Upper Midwest employes, ends Aug. 31.

Twin Cities bus drivers end agreement on Oct. 31 for some 1,200 drivers. The Teamsters Union's petroleum drivers agreements end Oct. 31.

Joe Johnson

Weekly Calendar of Events

CHICAGO
MIDWEST SOCIALIST CONFERENCE THE CANADIAN LABOR PARTY AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR AMERICAN SOCIALISTS. Speaker: John Riddell, editor Young Socialist Forum, Fri., Jan. 27, 8 p.m.

THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS IN TIME OF WAR. Speaker: Frank Lovell, Mich. Chairman Socialist Workers Party, Sat., Jan. 28, 4 p.m.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK POWER. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, national committee Young Socialist Alliance, Sat., Jan. 28, 8 p.m.

PARTY! ENTERTAINMENT! Sat., Jan. 28, 10:30 p.m. \$1.

THE IMPACT OF THE VIETNAM WAR ON AMERICAN POLITICS. Speaker: Jack Barnes, N.Y. organizer Socialist Workers Party, Sun. Jan. 29, 11 a.m.

REGISTRATION FOR WEEKEND \$2.00 for all four lectures or 75c.

per session. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. WE 9-5044. A usp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK

DAVE DELLINGER, editor of Liberation, will report on his recent conversations in HANOI, MOSCOW, AND PEKING. He will also discuss the Harrison Salisbury articles on the basis of his own experiences in north Vietnam and interviews with Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong. Fri., Jan. 27, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO
AMERICAN LABOR, 1942-1950. Part 3 of a class on American Labor. Speaker: Asher Harer, Fri., Jan. 27, 8 p.m. 1733 Waller St. A usp. Young Socialist Alliance.

It Was Reported in the Press

Hot Idea — The U.S. Patent Office has issued a patent for radioactive vending machine tokens designed to cope with the problem of slugs. The token will emit carbon 14 particles. Even a radioactive slug is not the answer, since a geiger counter would automatically shut the vending machine off if the coin didn't give out the right amount of radioactivity. The idea should also improve business since people might not want to hold onto the tokens for very long.

Better By Day? — When the Rolling Stones appeared on the Ed Sullivan Show, that sterling guardian of American morals made them change the words of their hit song from Let's spend the night together to Let's spend some time together.

Deep Thinker — Gov. Reagan of California thinks it would be good for the mental attitude of University of California students if they started paying tuition. Besides, he added, those "who come to agitate" might start studying if they had to pay for it. But on the other hand they might start thinking they're not getting their money's worth and really start agitating.

Force Brandy Down Their Throats — Opponents of Britain's socialized medicine plan may have had a real issue handed to them. The national health authority ruled that brandy isn't a medicine and ordered a doctor who prescribed six bottles for a patient to foot the bill himself.

Progressive Jazz — San Francisco *Examiner* columnist John J. Miller reports that Beatle John Lennon is supporting and appearing at rallies against the Vietnam war.

Against Red Propaganda — Mrs. Pauline Maas, of Mountain Lakes, N.J., an upper class town, has been getting irate phone calls from neighbors because during the Christmas season she stenciled a

14-foot message in luminous gold paint above her front door. The subversive message stated "Peace on Earth."

It Wowed 'Em in Punkin Center — Ernest Jones, a Madison Avenue executive, is conducting a drive to make advertising more creative and more exciting. As a starter, he gave a talk to the Oakland Medical Association entitled, "An Adman Examines the Doctor or Some Germs of Wisdom from Medicine Avenue." A regular gut-buster.

Good Question — Columnist Fletcher Knebel asks why the government gets excited when the price of steel goes up \$5 a ton, but doesn't blink when bacon goes up \$500 a ton.

The Great Society — Alateen, an organization associated with Alcoholics Anonymous, seeks to

help teen-agers cope with the problem of alcoholic parents. Formed in 1957, the group has some 320 chapters here and abroad. There are now an estimated 6.5 million alcoholics in the U.S., an increase of 1.5 million since 1957.

Padded Patio — If American rug salesmen have their way, it will be fence-to-fence carpeting, not wall-to-wall. Participants in a Chicago sales exhibit say outdoor carpeting, "from pool to patio" is catching on fast. Many varieties of outdoor carpeting are offered including one that looks almost like grass.

Correspondent X — A Park Avenue doctor unsuccessfully sued his wife for adultery on grounds that she became pregnant by artificial insemination without his knowledge or consent.

—Harry Ring

Malcolm X On Afro-American History

On the occasion of Negro History Week the International Socialist Review devotes a special issue to the hitherto unpublished speech by Malcolm X on Afro-American history.

The speech has been transcribed from a tape recording made on January 24, 1965 at the Audubon Ballroom just a few weeks before Malcolm was assassinated.

The Malcolm X speech is published with an introduction by George Breitman, editor of the book, MALCOLM X SPEAKS and author of the new work, THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X: THE EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY.

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Democrats Set Up Powell Lynching

JAN. 18 — Anger in the black communities over the congressional lynching of Adam Clayton Powell continues. Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, said that as a result of the anger in the black community, CORE was calling a national conference on Feb. 18-19 to discuss a "new political apparatus" for Negroes.

Meanwhile, Robert Kennedy, apparently becoming a little nervous over the possibility that Negroes would begin drawing the conclusion that the Democratic Party does not represent their interests, expressed "concern" over the refusal to seat Powell. This "concern" was expressed a little late — after Kennedy's own party had met in caucus and made the first step in Powell's lynching by removing him from the chairmanship of the House Education and Welfare Committee, and opened way for his being unseated.

The facts of the matter are, the Northern liberal Democrats were in on the racist attack on Powell from the beginning — it was their idea to remove him from his committee chairmanship. In so doing, they paved the way for the further action taken in the House. Now, they want to have it both ways: Powell is lynched with the liberals' aid, but the liberals want to pretend to the black community that it was all the fault of Republicans and Southern Democrats.

Community Sentiment

The sentiment in the Negro community is running high, as was reflected at the mass demonstration of over 1,000 Negroes in Washington the day Powell was unseated. "We want an integrated congress," one demonstrator was heard to shout. "Like we got an integrated Vietnam."

A group of 10 youths publicly burnt their draft cards during the demonstration. "This is for LBJ and his Ku Klux Klan," one of them bitterly said as he stomped on the ashes of his card.

"We'll never fight another war for you, LBJ," another cried.

Powell later appeared at the demonstration. "This building

Establish Defense For a Victimized Peace Candidate

A committee has been formed to defend Martin Watkins, professor at Monmouth College in Redbank, New Jersey, who ran for Congress on the Peace-Equal Rights Party ticket last November.

Watkins was fined \$250 in Rumson Municipal Court last month for being "disorderly" while trying to join a forum of the candidates at the regional high school. Watkins was forcibly kept from speaking and manhandled by the police.

He has also been fired from his job as professor of English at Monmouth College despite his impressive academic record.

Watkins' attorney has already appealed the case to the Monmouth County Court. The Martin Watkins Defense Committee will raise funds to help pay for the appeal.

In its press release, the committee declared that Prof. Watkins' "crime was attempting to air his political views as a Congressional candidate at a debate to which the other Congressional candidates were invited."

After the incident at the high school the two other candidates who ran against Watkins agreed not to debate in public unless Watkins was invited to participate.



Floyd McKissick

houses the biggest bunch of elected hypocrites in the world," he told the throng.

Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of SNCC, said that the "main cat to focus on is Lyndon Baines Johnson." A SNCC statement blamed the Democratic Party for the attack on Powell. "These attacks," it said, "are consistent with the high-handed manner that the Democratic Party has always used towards Afro-Americans in this country."

The lynching of Adam Clayton Powell is one more demonstration that the black people in the United States need their own political party to fight for their rights.

Phila. Transit Workers Win Strike

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 16 — Only 27 hours after this city's public transportation ground to a halt, local 234 of the Transport Workers Union has won a 51 cent per hour increase from the Philadelphia Transportation Company. Until two days before strike deadline, the PTC, which owns all the buses, subways and trolleys here, had refused to negotiate at all. The union's initial 77 cent per hour demand for a one-year contract was countered by a company offer of zero cents for a three-year contract; i.e., a three-year wage freeze. The initial union demand of 77 cents would have brought Philadelphia bus drivers the same wages as New York City transit workers.

Three days ago, Mayor James Tate's "Board of Inquiry," a three-man mediation team, called a public hearing on the impending strike. The PTC refused to show up at the hearing, but the TWU's case was outlined by John F. O'Donnell, union general counsel, and union president Matthew Guinan. O'Donnell pointed out that the average wage of \$2.96 per hour for Philadelphia's bus drivers was 55 cents lower than the composite average for bus drivers in Baltimore, Washington, New York and Pittsburgh. It was 57 cents lower than the average for truck drivers in Philadelphia. O'Donnell said that, "After adjustments for living costs, the Philadelphia bus driver makes over \$1,100 less each year than the drivers in Pittsburgh, New York, Washington and Baltimore. Mr. Lyons [the president of PTC] never likes to hear about New York, maybe because he made only \$25,000 a year when he

Salisbury Stands by Report On U.S. 'Lazy Dog' Bombs

By Alex Harte

JAN. 18 — Harrison Salisbury today concluded a new series of eight articles summarizing the findings of his two-week tour of north Vietnam. The articles were written in Hong Kong and published in the *New York Times* beginning Jan. 11. Salisbury did not retract his contention that Washington has been bombing north Vietnamese civilians.

On the contrary, in the first and third articles of the series, Salisbury makes this point over again and in stronger language. In the Jan. 11 article, he writes: "Visible evidence of damage caused by bombing is apparent to outsiders who walk down the streets of Namdinh or who try to reconstruct in their mind what the village of Phuly may have looked like before bombs virtually obliterated it.

"It is against these impressions of human suffering and devastation that air strategists' arguments concerning military objectives will have to be placed." Salisbury then quotes the observation of a fellow visitor, one of the members of the seven-man War Crimes Tribunal investigating team:

"Leveled Villages"

"... the fact remains that, whatever the reason, bombs actually have leveled villages, killed large numbers of civilians and destroyed a very great deal that cannot be considered military by any stretch of the imagination."

In this article Salisbury reports that Hanoi's new policy of inviting correspondents from all nations to investigate the bombings had

Saigon Desertions Top Last Year's

"Despite stiff new penalties imposed on deserters from the South Vietnamese military forces," U.S. News and World Report stated Jan. 16, "the 1966 total is expected to run ahead of 1965. According to military sources, the number of desertions reported for the first 11 months of 1966 came to more than 109,000.

"The 1965 total was 113,462. The December figures, when reported, are likely to push 1966 ahead." According to the same magazine, total American casualties in 1966 were higher than total South Vietnamese casualties: 35,101 as compared to 33,260.

been greeted by many more requests than Hanoi can handle: "... the applications made a stack of cables nearly half a foot high and numbered in the hundreds from all countries of the world, but particularly from the United States ...

"To an American who is constantly taken to see houses blasted by American rockets; hospitals where men, women and children hurt in the bombing are being treated; who hears survivors tell how wives, husbands or children were killed, or who hears provincial authorities proudly announce the number of American planes shot down or describe the

capture of an American pilot, there is a nightmarish quality that is hard to avoid."

In the Jan. 13 article, Salisbury takes up the question of specific air ordnance: "The weight of the bombs dropped in the north has been estimated by the Pentagon at more than 300,000 tons, a high figure in relation to the kinds of targets attacked. [In World War II, the total U.S. tonnage used in the Pacific was 656,400; in Korea the total was 448,366—A.H.]

"North Vietnam is not a built-up industrialized nation. It is essentially a peasant country. Most of its people are peasants and they live in poor villages ... It is apparent that most American bombs are falling in mud and wattle villages, on dirt roads, on rice fields or around gun sites that are more often set in fields than in towns...

"A particularly destructive weapon against light Vietnamese structures is rocket fire from planes. A rocket can knock down or damage a whole block of houses on both sides of a narrow street... Two terms often on north Vietnamese lips are 'Bullpup' and 'Lazy Dog,' expressions not yet in the vocabulary of most Americans ...

"Anti-Personnel"

"The Lazy Dog is an advanced anti-personnel weapon introduced last spring. It consists of a mother bomb made of light metal that bursts over a target at low altitude or on the ground. Within the mother bomb are 300 metal balls about the size of a baseball that roll out across the ground.

"They have a delicate time fuse that enables them to scatter over a widespread area and then explode, sending a rain of murderous steel splinters in all directions. One Lazy Dog is supposed to cover an area of 300 square yards with lethal fragments ...

"A considerable number of Lazy Dogs have not exploded for one reason or another and the north Vietnamese now possess a collection of them which they display to visitors before taking them to hospitals to see children wounded by Lazy Dog fragments."

In his concluding Jan. 18 article, Salisbury notes that the Vietnam war may be an important turning point. It is well-known that Cuba, China, and other socialist countries have volunteered to send men to Vietnam whenever Hanoi requests them. The north Vietnamese, Salisbury writes, "give the impression that if ... the United States takes another important step to increase the level of the war the call will almost certainly go out ... The decision probably remains to be made. But the weight of probability appears to be on the side of acceptance of volunteers."

Visitors to Hanoi On Open End Show

NEW YORK — Grace Mora Newman and Patricia Griffith, recently returned from Hanoi, will appear on the David Suskind Open End show on Channel 5 on Sunday, April 29 at 9 p.m. The show will be broadcast in other cities at various different dates. Mrs. Newman is the sister of Dennis Mora of the Fort Hood Three Case. Pat Griffith was administrative secretary of the Nov. 8 antiwar mobilization.

worked there. Here his salary is \$47,500."

O'Donnell pointed out the discrepancy between Lyons' 50 percent retirement salary of \$23,750 a year for the rest of his life and the 24 per cent of \$2.96 per hour received by bus drivers as pensions. In the new contract, monthly pensions will be increased nearly 50 per cent over their present level of \$125 per month.

Conditions and Benefits

At issue in the strike, in addition to wages and pensions, were working conditions, vacations, holidays and sick benefits, all of which have been poorer in Philadelphia than in other cities and poorer for transit workers than for workers on similar jobs in other industries. In the old contract, a worker was docked a day's pay if he stayed home because his wife died. He was docked two days' pay if he did not call in by a certain hour. One grievance case involved an employe who was docked two days' pay because, as O'Donnell put it, "his wife didn't die in time." Another example of the viciousness of this company was its policy of holding the bus or trolley operator responsible if he was held up by a gunman; "to describe this as medieval," O'Donnell said, "would be an insult to the Middle Ages."

As the strike deadline approached and the company refused to meet at a negotiating table, the mood of the trolley operators to whom I talked was bitter. The strike was a foregone conclusion, and it was expected to be a long one.

When the subway, bus and trolley operators walked off their jobs at 12:05 a.m. Sunday morn-

ing, the PTC and local 234 were still an unprecedented 56 cents apart on hourly wages.

I visited the city's biggest bus and trolley barn at 12th and Lucerne Streets in North Phila., to find about fifty jovial pickets as hundreds of buses and trolleys pulled in shortly after midnight. They marched around a barrel full of burning wood, which gave the illusion of taking the chill out of the night air. "How long do you think we'll be here?" yelled a driver as he parked his bus. "Until Septa buys out the PTC," came an answer from somewhere on the picket line. Workers stood around talking to their wives, joking with reporters and cheering as the last streetcars rolled into the barn and their operators joined the picket line. They were in good spirits for the long haul ahead.

When Philadelphia awoke to begin the trek to work via foot and carpool this morning, the trolleys, buses and subways were again in operation. A settlement was reached at 3:30 this morning after the city and state had hinted that they would permit an immediate fare rise, and Mayor Tate hinted that a deal with Septa may have been involved in the company's sudden about face from its previous intransigence.

The workers have won a wage increase of 42 cents over the next two years and additional fringe benefits of 9 cents. The new contract includes one additional paid holiday for a total of eight; sick benefits increased from \$70 to \$75 a week and the waiting period decreased from eight to three days; five weeks vacation after 25 years service, an increase from four. More complete details are not available at this hour.