

# THE MILITANT

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## An Editor's Journey Through Cuba's Oriente

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# Auto Unionists, Teachers Fight For Decent Wages and Conditions

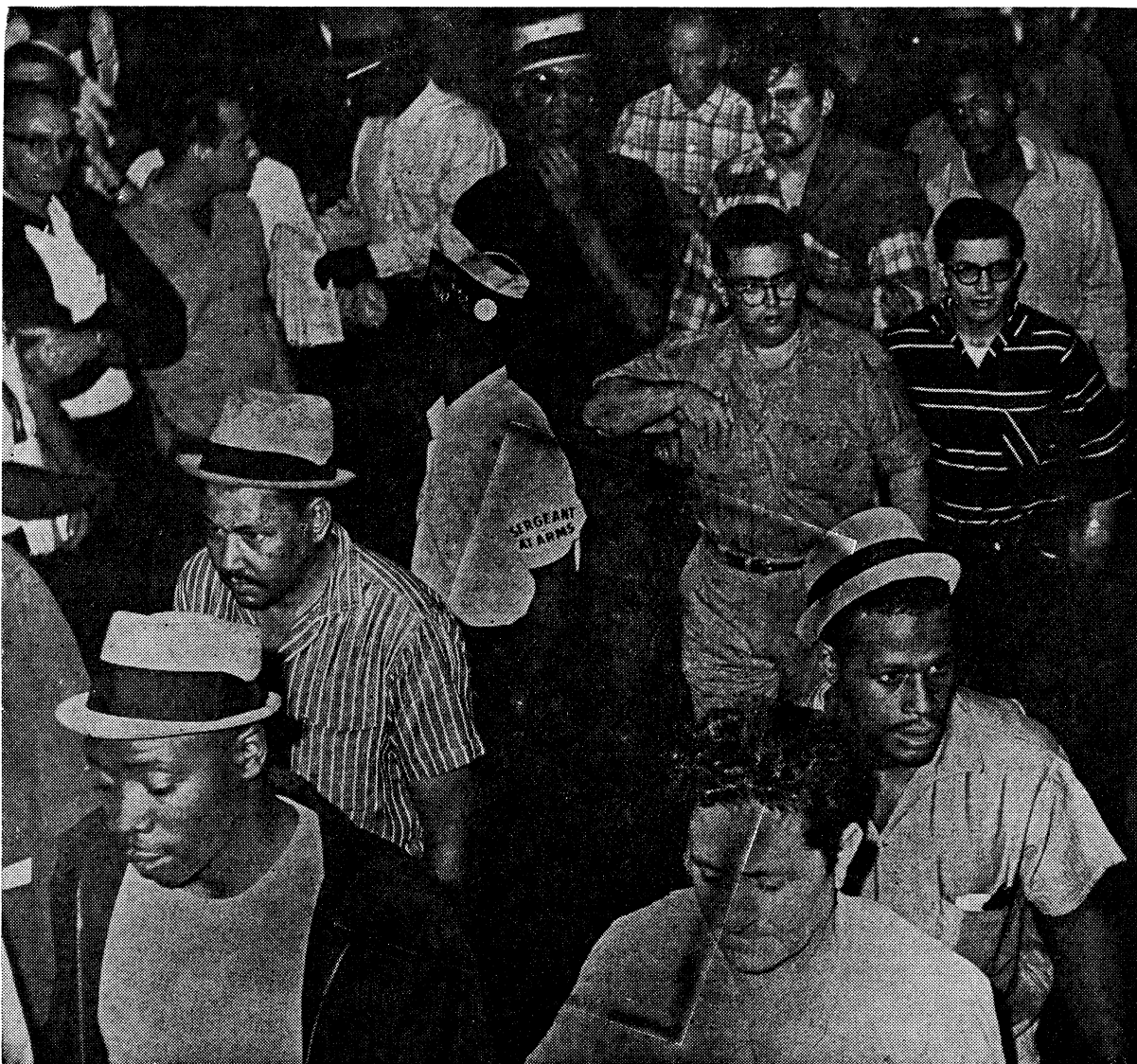
## Teachers Militancy At Peak

By Jeff Miller

NEW YORK, Sept. 12 — New York City's 900 public schools have been virtually shut down as a result of the mass resignations of more than 40,000 teachers belonging to the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. Out of 1,030,900 registered students, only 597,000 attended classes yesterday, and classes were dismissed early in almost every school. The union is asking the city to close the schools until the resolution of the dispute, and Mrs. Betty Ostroff of the Association of Assistant Principals charged the board of education with attempting to "mask the fact that little or no instruction" could be given in most schools.

The resignations came in the face of a determined and vicious union-busting campaign by Mayor Lindsay, as open and blatant as his union-busting attempts during the recent welfare dispute in New York. Lindsay issued a special appeal to college students to replace teachers in the classes. The city has threatened to turn over to draft boards the names of teachers who resign, maintaining they would no longer be eligible to keep their occupational deferments, and the board has said that new teachers who refuse to work

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ONE MINUTE TO MIDNIGHT. Promptly at 11:59 p.m. on Sept. 7, workers at the giant Ford River Rouge plant in Dearborn, Mich. walked off the job.

## Ford Strike Centers on New Pact

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Sept. 11 — It came as no surprise when the United Automobile Workers strike of 160,000 Ford Motor Company workers was announced just after midnight last Thursday morning, Sept. 7. Walter Reuther charged negotiations broke down when the company stood firm on the offer of the automotive industry, dictated by the giant General Motors Corporation, to grant a meager increase in wages of only one cent an hour to UAW members.

The final proposal by Reuther to submit the matter of wages to binding arbitration was rejected out of hand by Malcolm L. Denise, Ford spokesman. He explained that if the company accepted the union's arbitration proposal it would mean opening Ford's books, which none of the Big Three auto corporations will submit to at this time.

### Bloated Profits

It is known that from 1964 through 1966, in this two year period alone, these auto corporations posted profits of \$15.3 billion — \$10.6 billion for General Motors, \$3.5 billion for Ford, and \$1.2 billion for Chrysler. Corporation executives receive huge salaries and bonuses. Last year Henry Ford, as president of the company, got over half a million dollars (\$615,000) in salary and bonus. In view of these huge corporate profits and the loot taken by the men in charge it is no wonder that they refuse to open their books to more careful examination.

The industry's offer to the UAW was so meager that it amounted in practice to a refusal to negotiate the differences. In an analysis of the position of the corporations the UAW executive board made the following charges: "The Big Three proposal falls so far short of giving the workers their full equity that it can hardly have been advanced seriously.

"Coupled with the delay in presenting it, the inequitable content of the offer raises a question as to whether the Big Three are seeking a settlement or a strike."

The union executive board found that the wage offer was only one cent more an hour for the average worker over the cost-of-living and annual improvement factor provisions of the expired contract, and that the proposed new contract undermined the protection against rising living costs which the UAW has had for the past 19 years.

In addition, no increase was proposed in the annual improvement factor wage increase. All other benefits, such as pensions, (Continued on Page 3)

# Tribunal Finds Detroit Cops Guilty

By Judy Watts

DETROIT — In a new display of unity engendered by the Detroit uprising, the Black People's Tribunal, sponsored by the legal committee of the Citywide Citizens Action Committee, conducted a people's trial of a national guardsmen, Theodore Thomas; two Detroit policemen, Ronald August and Robert Paille; and a Negro private guard, Melvin Dismukes. The four were found guilty by the Tribunal of conspiracy to maliciously murder three unarmed black youths in the Algiers Motel during the July rebellion here.

### White Landlord

Over 2,000 black people attended the Tribunal, held on Aug. 30, and an equal number were turned away because of lack of room. Originally scheduled to be held in the Dexter Theater, the location had to be changed to the Central United Church because the white landlord of the theater refused to allow the use of his premises. Pressure on the landlord was probably exerted by the cops after the theater was used a

week before for an H. Rap Brown rally.

Richard Henry, one of the founders of the Malcolm X Society, declared that the Tribunal was being held so that "people all over the world would know that justice is dead" in Detroit.

The integrated jury included the well-known black writer, John O. Killens, and Rosa Parks, whose courageous stand against discrimination on buses led to the 1955-56 Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott.

Prosecuting attorneys were Milton Henry and Andrew Perdue. Defense attorneys were Russell Brown and Sol Plafkin, who volunteered for the sake of making the Tribunal a fair one after no one could be found to stand up for the defendants. Although the defendants were subpoenaed to appear, none of them showed up.

The witnesses at the Tribunal included the families of the victims and people who were in the motel the night of the shooting. Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalen refused to use these witnesses in an inquiry into the case because he considered their tes-

timony "irrelevant." The witnesses appeared in spite of police harassment.

Earlier, Judge Robert E. Demascio refused to hear evidence in the form of a signed confession written by Officer Paille admitting that he had killed Fred Temple. Patrolman August, free on \$5,000 bond, faces trial for the murder of Aubrey Pollard, whom he said he killed in "self-defense." No one has been charged with the murder of Carl Cooper, the third victim of the night of police terror in the Algiers Motel.

Four black youths, all in their late teens, testified at the Tribunal. They described their harrowing encounter with the cops and national guard the night of July 25. The testimony revealed that the police and national guard, which included all four defendants, began firing rounds of ammunition into the motel.

They described doors being kicked open, followed by indiscriminate firing into the rooms. One witness, Lee Forsythe, 19, told how Paille had shot into his room even after he had called out that

he was inside. Paille then pointed his gun at him, pulled the trigger, but the gun didn't go off. While he was directed to go down to the first floor, Forsythe saw Cooper lying on the floor. Officer August said, "Bastard, what are looking at. You don't see a dead man, do you?" August then went on to say that he had "killed one already."

Forsythe was then made to line up with the other occupants of the motel. They were then beaten with rifles, pistols, and kicked, while the cops constantly asked for the alleged gun that was supposed to have been fired from the motel. (This was the pretext for the police and national guard attack.) There were no guns in the motel except for those in the hands of cops and guardsmen.

To show the state of mind of the accused and the animosity they demonstrated towards the victims and the other occupants of the motel, Milton Henry introduced evidence that two white 17-year-old girls — motel guests from Columbus, Ohio — were stripped (Continued on Page 3)

# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Labor struggles this week range the whole spectrum of the rainbow, involving hundreds of thousands of the bluest blue collar through the whitest of white collar workers, in all shades and variations. Elsewhere in this issue you will find special articles on both the mammoth UAW strike against Ford Motor and the mass resignations tendered the New York Board of Education by 45,000 teachers on the first day of school, Sept. 10.

This week marks the ninth in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and United Steel Workers Union strike against the five major copper producing corporations in five Mountain states. Despite pressure from the Labor Department, the governors of Utah, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming and Nevada and from a Senate resolution demanding the use of a Taft-Hartley injunction, the strikers have hung tough.

Major demands by the 37,000 striking hard-rock miners and their affiliated workers in the smelters and mills, include an immediate wage increase of 6.4 percent and an escalator clause to keep wages abreast of rising living costs. The companies have offered 25 cents an hour with an additional 5 cents during the life of the contract.

The 6.4 percent wage increase demand represents the exact amount living costs have jumped since the last contract was signed.

On Aug. 28 Utah's Republican Senator Bennett introduced a resolution into the Senate demanding that President Johnson invoke a Taft-Hartley injunction against the strikers. Bennett claims that stockpiles of both the government and companies are dwindling fast, that the economies of the five states are suffering both from increased relief rolls and decreased tax collections. His speech before the Senate was a vicious diatribe against the strikers and their unions with only one concession to prove his "impartiality." He said, "No one will dispute the important labor right to strike . . . However . . ."

Instead of using Taft-Hartley at present Johnson instructed his labor department to call negotiators for both sides into Washington for round-the-clock negotiations. These "negotiations" are still at a stalemate. Apparently the profits of Kennicott Copper, Anaconda, Phelps-Dodge and American Smelting and Refining are still rolling in.



Photo by Matt Herron

**TOASTING MARSHMELLOWS.** Students and workers burn their Levi pants in demonstration during strike of Levi Strauss Company.

As long as this rake-off is unaffected, the companies can afford to remain adamant. Hoping, of course, that they can starve the workers into submission.

New York City has just signed a new contract with Local 333 of the National Maritime Workers Union, representing ferry boat workers, which establishes a 30 hour work week with no reduction in pay.

Another benefit will result from the new contract. Sixteen ferry boat workers fired under terms of the Condon-Wadlin Act after a strike in 1965, will be rehired. The Condon-Wadlin Act, (which has been replaced by the vicious RAT law (see April 10 *Militant*) prohibited strikes by government employees. During its life-time it was used only once — against the 1965 ferry strikers.

On Sept. 8 the New York City Transit Authority announced it was curtailing off-hour service on the Staten Island ferries — "due to increased labor costs."

The Transport Workers Union has strongly denounced Johnson's "anti-riot" bill. International President Matthew Guinan, in a telegram to all senators said, "In behalf of the 150,000 members of the Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, we most strongly condemn the provisions of the anti-riot law passed by the House of Representatives. This measure is so dangerously worded as to pose a threat to every organization in the country. The bill's definitions are so vague, its coverage so broad and its penalties so severe that all our time-honored freedoms are gravely endangered."

On Labor Day 200 people gathered in New Orleans' City Park to sing union songs and watch 15 workers and students pull off their levis and burn them.

The demonstration, the second of its kind, was jointly sponsored by the Southern Labor Action Movement (SLAM) and the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society (NOMDS) in support of a year-long wildcat strike of 460 women employes at the Levi Strauss plant in Blue Ridge, Ga. The women went on strike against impossible working conditions imposed on them by a sweetheart contract signed between the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Levi Strauss Company.

—Marvel Scholl

# ...New York Teachers Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

would be required to take their licensing examinations again.

The union has ignored, as not applicable, a temporary restraining order issued by Justice Samuel Gold of the State Supreme Court. The order declared the mass resignations constitute a strike, and made both the union and individual teachers subject to the Taylor Law.

This strikebreaking law which became effective Sept. 1, forbids strikes by public employes, provides for their dismissal, loss of dues checkoff for striking unions, \$10,000 per day fines for such unions, and places other serious restrictions on collective bargaining. Union President Albert Shanker, and other UFT officials, have also been threatened with a show-cause order to explain why they shouldn't go to jail under the Taylor Law.

In the face of these tactics, the ranks of the union are solid, and it has received powerful labor support. The New York Central Labor Council publicly announced its support of the teachers last week, and has instructed all AFL-CIO affiliates to respect their picket lines. On Sept. 11, George Meany, speaking for the AFL-CIO executive council supported the teachers, and denounced legislation which restricts the right of public employes to strike.

### Bureaucrats at Fault

Serious frictions have developed in the strike between the UFT and the black and Puerto Rican communities, due to the hostile attitude the UFT bureaucracy has taken to a series of struggles waged by black and Puerto Rican parents for better education for their children, and due to a racist attitude on the part of UFT bureaucrats towards black and Puerto Rican children. (Last year, for example, the UFT opposed a boycott organized by black and Puerto Rican parents at a school in Harlem. The parents were demanding community control over the school, I.S. 201. The UFT helped break the boycott.)

There is an urgent need for the union leadership to swiftly reverse this stand and immediately seek out the representatives of the black and Puerto Rican communities, discuss the issues involved, support the demands of the parents and coordinate these demands with the union's fight.

The union demands include a salary scale of \$7,200 to \$15,000; a workday for attendance teachers, psychologists and school social workers as short as that of the teachers; expansion of the More Effective Schools program (a union-initiated project which provides for small class sizes and in-



Photo by Jeff Miller

**TEACHERS' RALLY.** Mass meeting of New York teachers at Singer Bowl in Flushing Meadow Park voted overwhelmingly to support mass resignation tactic.

tensive pupil services at 21 schools); and a reduction of class sizes.

The board of education has offered a starting salary of \$6,200 effective Sept. 1, 1967, to be raised to \$6,600 on September 1, 1968, an increase which barely covers the increase in the cost of living. The city claims, as it has done in other recent work actions by public employes unions, that issues such as the More Effective Schools program are not properly within the scope of collective bargaining. The city is also attempting to eliminate one day of sick leave a year for teachers, and is claiming that a reduction of class sizes is not administratively feasible at this time.

In the face of the government threats and injunctions, the determination and militancy of the union was clear at a rally at city hall Sept. 11, where 20,000 teachers demonstrated against Mayor Lindsay, and called upon him to stop stalling, and negotiate with the union to end the school crisis.

The UFT's mass resignation campaign constitutes the first test for the Taylor Law. This law has been opposed by the AFL-CIO nationally, as well as by the Teamsters and other independent unions. A victory for the teachers in New York will be an inspiration for the entire labor movement, and constitute a powerful offensive against all government strikebreaking legislation.

Teachers in 18 Michigan school districts, involving 400,000 pupils, are currently involved in labor

disputes, in the fact of statewide legislation prohibiting strikes by public employes. Detroit's 330 schools, with 11,000 teachers and 300,000 pupils, are remaining closed until further notice.

The teachers, currently receiving a starting salary of \$5,800, one of the lowest rates in the country, are asking for an across-the-board raise of \$1,200. The board of education has offered only \$600.

The union is also demanding 500 additional teachers during the next two years, 150 new classrooms this year, and extensive modernization of buildings. According to Norman Drachler, school superintendent, the granting of these demands would break a "moral commitment" for school modernization made last year to Detroit voters.

The city is claiming that it does not have the money to grant teacher demands, and Gov. George Romney has stated that "there is no possibility that the teachers will get more money through state action, no matter how long they stay out."

## Socialist Scholars Join in Move to Aid Latin Prisoners

NEW YORK, Sept. 12 — Hundreds of participants at the Socialist Scholars Conference held in New York City on Sept. 9 and 10, signed petitions in behalf of political prisoners in Bolivia and Mexico.

The petition, addressed to the President of Mexico, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, expressed shock at "the accelerating repression of political dissenters in Mexico today," since the student strike at the University of Mexico in the spring of 1966. At that time the Argentinian journalist Adolfo Gilly and others were arrested, followed in August by the jailing of Victor Rico Galán, writer for *Siempre*, and 13 others. This summer another 14 persons were jailed, denied bail, and, like those arrested earlier, are as yet to be brought to trial.

The petition addressed to President René Barrientos Ortuño of Bolivia asked for justice for Régis Debray, noted French journalist, and his companions, and also protested against the incarceration of dozens of political prisoners in primitive jungle camps where living conditions have caused many to become critically ill.

The petitions were delivered today to the Mexican Consulate and the Bolivian Consulate General.

## Myths About Malcolm X: Two Views

The September-October Issue of the *International Socialist Review* features two articles on Malcolm X: by Rev. Albert Cleage, the chairman of the Detroit Inner City Organizing Committee, and by George Breitman, the editor of *MALCOLM X SPEAKS* and author of *THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X: THE EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY*.

In addition, it contains a discussion of guerrilla warfare in relation to Latin-American revolution by Livio Maitan, a leading member of the Fourth International. Maitan takes issue with Régis Debray's widely discussed *REVOLUTION IN THE REVOLUTION?*

Also: "The Vanguard Party and the World Revolution." A new article by James P. Cannon, founding leader of the Communist Party and national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

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# ... Detroit Tribunal

(Continued from Page 1)

naked, beaten and called vile names. They were asked if they wanted to die first.

August, while trying to get Aubrey Pollard to pick up a knife, broke his shotgun over Pollard's head, after which he continued the beating.

Michael Clark told how he was forced into a room and made to lie down and be quiet. He then heard a shotgun go off in the room. The other witnesses stated that at the time they believed Clark was dead.

Forsythe related how August took Pollard into the next room, where he could hear him pleading, "Please don't kill me, I haven't done anything wrong." There was a shot and Pollard's voice was never heard again. After the shooting, the cops told the witnesses to leave the motel, in spite of the fact that their lives were in danger because it was after curfew and they were liable to be shot if seen by the trigger-happy national guardsmen.

The Detroit papers summed up



Rev. Albert B. Cleage

the whole horrible scene by quoting a national guardsman who thought it was all a game!

After the testimony, the defense and prosecuting attorneys were asked by the Tribunal judge, Ken Cockrel, a young black lawyer, to proceed to give their summaries.

Milton Henry began by defining murder as the unlawful killing of a human being with malice; that it is of the first degree when premeditated. Henry stated that all the police and soldiers who entered the motel that night were guilty. Although none of the witnesses saw the victims shot, the circumstantial evidence was conclusive.

### All Culpable

Referring to August, he pointed out that people do not ordinarily say, "I just killed someone." All the officers were culpable because they did nothing to stop the killings. Henry then went on to ask for equal enforcement of the law, whether the person be just a plain citizen or a citizen with a blue uniform.

After Henry finished, Brown, one of the defense attorneys, took the floor and stated that the testimony revealed the abuse, assaults, and intimidation inflicted by the cops, and that the only guns in the motel were brought in by law officers. However, Brown reasoned, the racist system was responsible for the killing of the three youths. Therefore, the verdict of guilty should be brought in against the system, not the four officers.

### Higher Justice

Plafkin, the other defense attorney, then explained that circumstantial evidence was not enough, that in the end, it boils down to emotional evidence. He said that a higher justice should be used than that of white society, and concluded that the defendants should be found not guilty. Plafkin is a white left-liberal lawyer.

In reply, Andrew Perdew, the other prosecuting attorney, stated that it was an incontrovertible fact that the three were alive be-



John O. Killens

fore the police entered, and that the only shooting was done by the cops. He said that it was a conspiracy on the part of the police officers that resulted in the death of the three youths. Perdew ended by saying that both the system and the cops should be found guilty. The jury then went into a room for deliberation.

Rev. Albert B. Cleage, co-chairman of CCAC, proceeded to give a speech which ended in a fund appeal. In the speech, he outlined the significance of the Tribunal, future plans for CCAC, and the fact that black people cannot live in Detroit if they don't have justice.

### No Longer Afraid

He pointed out that the Tribunal was a momentous event, because it signified that black people were no longer afraid. The fact that the witnesses testified was proof in itself. He asserted that the Man was not playing around, and that black people cannot afford to play around with him. After insisting on the need for black unity, he exclaimed that

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY  
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people attended this meeting because they were upset, but that we must stay upset.

In trying to achieve this unity, Cleage said that the CCAC is going to try to reach the brothers and sisters on the street by having a series of car mobilizations which will pass out literature, and a series of street rallies.

He then made an appeal for funds to bail out the 22-year-old black youth who was arrested by the cops for "starting" the Detroit uprising. The response of the crowd was to dig deep into pockets and pocketbooks. While the collection was being taken, the sponsors of the Tribunal were listed, and a special point was made to honor the initiators of the Tribunal, Dan Alridge and Lonnie

Peek, two young black law students.

Then, the jury was called back. John O. Killens delivered the verdict. All four were found guilty as charged of first degree murder. He also indicted the system which was responsible for the actions of the cops. The jury was polled and concurred unanimously with the verdict.

After that, the audience demanded that the judge pass sentence. The judge responded by saying that it will be the people who pass sentence. The Tribunal ended with Killens beseeching the crowd that these youths and others killed in the rebellion not die in vain, and that July 23, the day the Detroit uprising began, should be an international holiday.

## The American Way of Life

### HOLY CHRIST!

We are indebted to Homer Bigart of the *New York Times* for a marvelous portrait of a man who many might consider a truly typical American.

While Bigart doesn't say so, one gets the impression that this man is of humble origins. At any rate he now occupies a respected position in his community — no doubt achieved through grit and pluck. He lives in a comfortable, Spanish-style home in the comfortable section of a comfortable midwestern city. He says he "paid a lot" for it but enjoys sitting quietly on the front porch with his retriever, Holly, looking out on the lawn and reading a good book.

A few weeks ago, Bigart sat on the front porch and chatted with this eminently American gentleman. His name is, so help us, Christ — Christ Seraphim. He's a county judge in Milwaukee. At the time of Bigart's visit, the scene was not as tranquil as the judge would have preferred. A thousand black people were marching by demonstrating against what they deem to be bias in housing. They apparently made a point of going by the judge's home. Somehow they've gotten the notion that he's not completely free of prejudice. They point to such things as his past presidency of the Eagles, a white-only fraternity, and his stiff sentences against antibias demonstrators.

All that talk about the Eagles is, of course, nonsense. The white-only clause was merely adopted, the judge explains, to keep out "the Mongols," the Orientals who were arriving on the West Coast in large numbers at the time the Eagles were founded. Personally, of course, he has always favored "human rights for all people across the board."

Nevertheless the good judge doesn't permit his warm personal feelings toward humanity to get in the way of precise legal judgments. For example, he's quite firm in his judgment of Rev. James E. Groppi, the white priest who's been leading the black demonstrators. "He's a criminal," Christ advised, "a convicted criminal, convicted twice by a ju-

ry...!" Convicted of what? "Disorderly conduct."

However, the judge's judgments aren't simply abstracted from the books. He goes by what he sees right in front of him. As the marchers went by, he pointed out to Bigart: "I think they are disturbing the peace, don't you? They are loud and boisterous, are they not? I can't enjoy the peace and tranquility of my home, a home I paid a lot for."

But that's not really what bothers the judge. It's a concern on his part that the people who are trying to get rid of bad housing and discrimination are "widening the gap" between the races: "I don't mind it," he explained tolerantly, "but guess what my neighbors are saying? There, someone just stepped on a lawn."

The judge is grieved by some of the things the demonstrators have been saying. Like Father Groppi's charges of police brutality. "The answer to that is a loud, resounding 'BALONEY'" (For the benefit of the unsophisticated, he requested that Bigart put the last word in capital letters.)

The judge added: "A policeman is a man's best friend."

While Judge Seraphim may have a somewhat unorthodox view on whether dog or cop is man's best friend, he does apparently share a rather prevalent attitude on friendship with Jewish people. While he does not specifically state that some of his best friends are Jews, he does make very clear that he has a very special regard, even admiration, for Jews. In fact he feels they offer a valuable example to the misled and misguided black demonstrators who so impatiently want to change things "overnight."

When Bigart interviewed Judge Seraphim he was in the midst of reading Abraham Sacher's book, *A History of the Jews*.

The judge put the book aside and observed appreciatively:

"These people were baked in ovens. But they maintained their dignity to the end. They didn't do much marching. They are the most law-abiding people in the world."

—Herman Chauka

## ... Ford UAW Strikes for New Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

supplementary unemployment benefits, holidays and vacations, hospital-medical-surgical insurance, and curbs on the abusive use of overtime work by the corporations, were to be reduced or remain unchanged.

The UAW executive board concluded that the Big Three proposal would deny workers their "equity" of increased productivity and profitability of the auto industry.

On the picket lines here at the River Rouge plant strikers carry signs demanding "Justice," "Better Representation," "Annual Income," "Equity." — nothing more specific. These are the general demands raised by the UAW leadership during the course of negotiations.

An out-of-town visitor here who questioned pickets about exactly what they wanted found that most were unable to spell it out because specific demands have not been discussed in union meetings. He learned, however, that the pickets wanted more money to meet the rising cost of living, and protection in the new contract from the killing pace of the assembly lines.

It is admitted on both sides that the present strike is likely to continue for at least a month. Observers on the employers' side are speculating in the pages of the *Detroit News* that the strike may have been a necessary development to test the mettle of the workers. They express the hope that "younger workers, paying for homes, cars and televisions, will want to get back on the payroll

after meager strike benefits."

They also like to think that "older employees who want higher pensions likewise will feel the pinch of today and probably worry less about tomorrow.

"Then, [so goes this logic] after the companies do offer more, it may be that Reuther will find it easier to bring the feuding factions together.

"This is the kind of soul cleansing that is being talked about," they say. But most of this talk is among the employers and their propagandists, and some of it may have spilled over into the groups of chair warmers at Solidarity House.

The strikers, on their side, are taking a much more serious look at their present situation and the future. There will be a special convention of the UAW, called in Detroit at Cobo Hall Oct. 8. Delegates to the convention will be asked to vote a special dues assessment to bolster the union's \$67 million strike fund. As matters now stand the strikers are entitled to benefits of \$30 a week for family men and \$20 a week for single men after two weeks of the strike. These are pitifully small benefits for the powerful UAW to be paying out. Smaller unions with hardly any strike treasury, such as the International Typographical Union, pay strike benefits as high as \$90 a week.

The idea of Reuther's one-at-a-time strike strategy is that the majority of workers will remain on the job and can thus help support those who are striking. In

the auto industry with 160,000 Ford workers out it is not thought that each striker could be paid more than half his regular weekly wages, and even this would require a substantial weekly contribution from those who remain on the job.

If the strike drags on for two or three months, it is very likely that the auto workers will then consider striking the entire industry in order to force a settlement. In such an event it is a foregone conclusion that the Johnson administration would enter the struggle on the side of the corporations, but it is also likely that the corporations would not come away unscathed. A firm stand on the part of the UAW could force them to open their books without submitting any question in dispute to arbitration, as was suggested at the outset by Reuther.

Surely, as the strike continues, the strikers will begin to clarify their demands and make them more specific. The skilled workers have already entered the demand of \$1-an-hour-now, and such an increase in wages is more urgently needed by the production workers. This is only the first few days of the strike, and the strikers haven't yet marched into the decision-making bodies of the UAW. But they are marching now on the picket lines, and they are thinking, and they are talking. It is very possible that they will make their demands known and that they will find ways to win them.

# A Journey to Oriente Province

[The following is a copy of an article mailed from Cuba on the eve of the Latin-American Solidarity Conference by our editor. It, along with other material, went astray in the U.S. Post Office.]

By Joseph Hansen

HAVANA, Cuba, July 30 — Despite difficulties of all kinds arising from the intensive efforts of the Johnson administration to hamper and limit the effectiveness of the first conference of the Latin-American Organization of Solidarity [OLAS] hundreds of delegates and observers have assembled here for a gathering that gives every indication of being of historic importance in the development of the revolutionary socialist struggle for the emancipation of the Americas and, indeed, of all mankind.

The bulk of the delegates come from the front lines of the struggle in Latin America itself. They represent a rich collective experience in confronting the colossus of American imperialism and its satellite regimes which could not exist a day without the economic, financial, military and diplomatic support of Washington. They are joined by delegations from many countries, primarily the colonial and semicolonial world, Vietnam in the first place.

The mere fact that such a conference could take place, where lessons in the struggle can be shared, differences can be discussed and worked out, and the best possible lines of common practical action can be projected, testifies to the progress registered by the Latin-American revolution as a whole despite such bitter setbacks as the one in Brazil in 1964 when the "gorillas" seized power in a U.S.-backed coup d'état.

## Internationalism

Cuba's capacity to serve as host for the conference indicates the solidity of the revolutionary gains in that country and the keen appreciation which the Cuban leaders have of the international significance of the struggle they are engaged in.

The State Department has shown from its side, too, that it recognizes the seriousness of this conference and what it can mean in heartening and inspiring revolutionary fighters everywhere — not least of all in the United States. Hence the announcement by the U.S. authorities that Stokely Carmichael's passport is to be revoked because he dared to go to Cuba to see for himself what is being accomplished there and to listen to the deliberations of delegates whose first problem is to get the U.S. white capitalist power structure off their necks.

Careful preparations were clearly made to set the tone of the conference well in advance of the first session. A good indication was Comandante Raúl Castro's speech July 23 at the graduation exercises of the General Máximo Gomez military training school. The theme of this important address was Cuba's intention to continue to follow an independent revolutionary line, to stand up against American imperialism despite its persistent and increasingly ominous threat to launch another attack, and to pursue the course advocated by Che Guevara in his recent message. The second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba declared, in particular, the determination of the Cuban people and their government to fight to the finish if attacked.

The major theme of Raúl Castro's speech was developed further by Fidel Castro at Santiago on July 26, one of his notable declarations being that if Cuba is attacked there will be "no cease-fire." This was received instantly with a roar of approval from the huge throng, the applause being second only to that accorded the

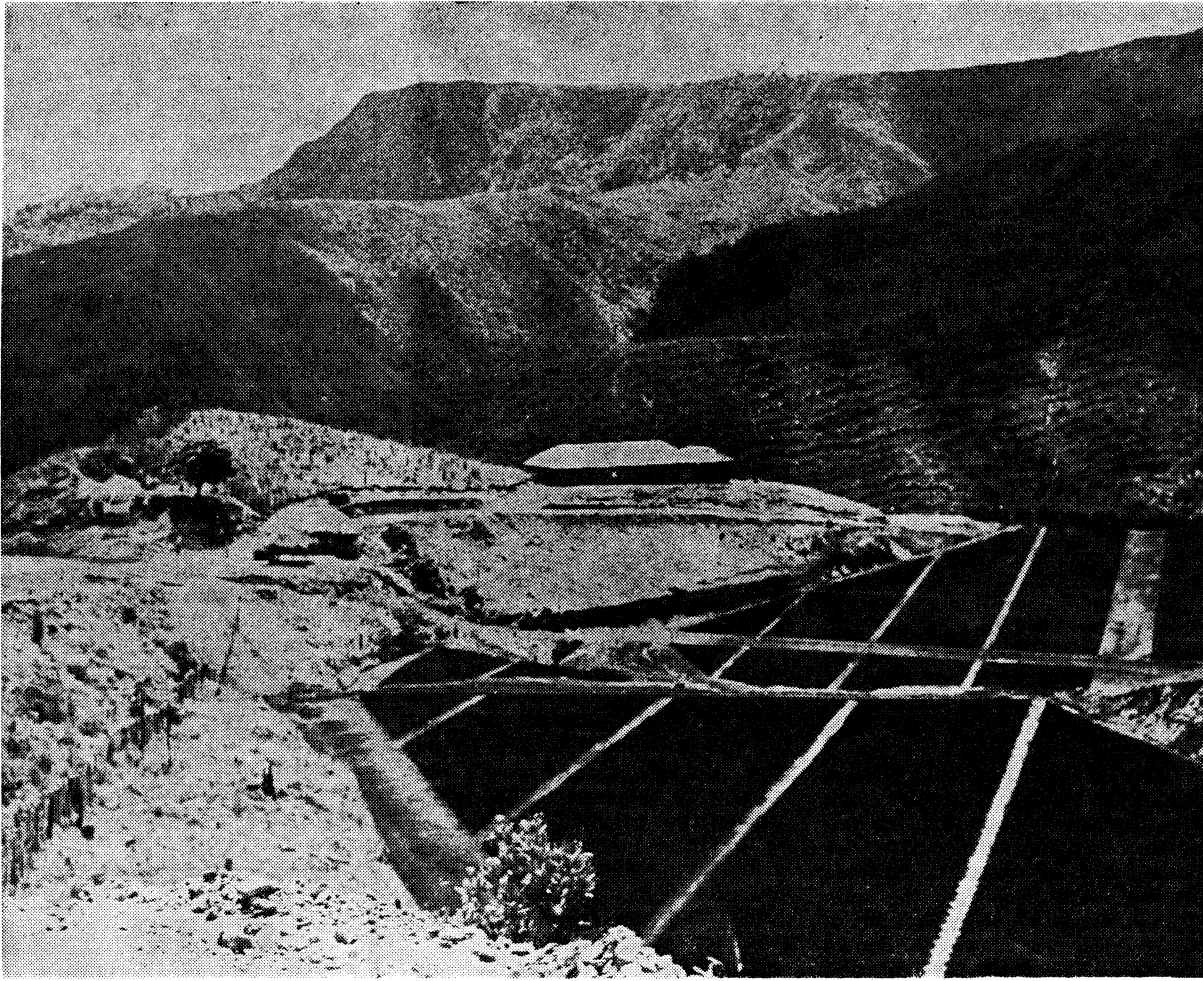


Photo by Joseph Hansen

**PILOT AGRICULTURAL PROJECT.** This photo was taken in Cuba's Oriente province. Cubans are determined to bring the revolution to the countryside.

Vietnam delegation when Castro referred to their presence.

As his main topic, Fidel took up the problems faced by the Cuban revolution at home and how these are being met, particularly in the countryside. He turned to the source of many of the difficulties — the blockade maintained by U.S. imperialism which cuts off nearby sources of supplies and the constant threat of attack which necessitates extraordinary expenditures for the armed forces. From this he went further into the international situation, dealing particularly with the uprisings of the black people in the United States.

Fidel picked up the same themes again on July 27 when he spoke at Gran Tierra, a new development project at the easternmost tip of the island. He explained to the delegates that it was especially important for them to see the problems faced by the Cuban revolution in the countryside — so different from elegant Havana. It was important for them to see that problems such as these, common to all of Latin America can be solved only by revolution — the imperialist-sponsored "reforms" are ridiculously inadequate since they do not permit sufficient economic growth to even keep up with the expansion of the population much less surpass it.

And as against the pitiful measures undertaken under imperialist sponsorship in other countries in tropical regions, the Cuban experience offers many lessons. Finally, many revolutionaries consider that the single most difficult task is to win power. It's not so, said Castro, the most difficult tasks come after power is won.

Perhaps the most effective move toward setting the best possible tone for the conference was the tour through Oriente province arranged for all the delegates and observers. This was a practical action that drove home the general remarks made first by Raúl and then Fidel.

Around 700 delegates, observers and journalists were flown to Santiago, most of them July 25 and 26. On July 25 those already there were privileged that evening to see the traditional carnival staged annually by the people of Santiago, a remarkable series of street dances and allegorical presentations combining primitive themes

with the most modern socialist slogans, a popular work of art which deserves separate treatment. On the following night, after hearing Fidel speak for some two and a half hours, and then having a late supper, most of the delegates did not get to bed until midnight.

Promptly at 3 a.m. they were hauled out, sleep or no sleep, to get ready for the tour. Many of them were no doubt unaware that in the countryside it is quite usual to get up at this hour to begin the farm chores. At 4:30 a.m. the buses started out in the darkness.

The highway wound through mountainous country; it was paved, two lanes, well kept up, but contained so many sharp curves that few were able to close their eyes. As the sun rose, they were compelled to look at the Cuba of greatest concern to the revolution — the countryside where the campesinos live and whose level of life up until the victory of the revolution was not much above that existing at the time of Columbus, if it was not worse.

## Soviet Trucks

A package breakfast was eaten en route. At 11:30 a.m. the buses were met by a fleet of trucks, four-wheel drive — solid machines made in the Soviet Union, equipped with canvas tops and sturdy plank seats, lightly padded. In most of the trucks a rod ran the length of the canvas top for handy grabbing in case the pitching became so bad as to throw you from your seat.

The hundreds of guests found places on the planks — they were not exactly soft or roomy; then came a drive of some five hours over gravel and dirt roads that reminded me of some of the jeep roads in the mountains of my home state, Utah. I am sure it was a grueling experience for those who had never tried this form of exercise before, up grades that seemed impossibly steep, crawling slowly, suddenly descending down a just as steep slope, smashing and pounding over rocks and chuck holes in great clouds of dust from the caravan, down to a stream, fording it as in pioneer days in the West, without a bridge. (Bridges were under construction at many points.)

For many Latin Americans, of course, this was no novel experience. Every single one of their countries can match it and the

Andean countries can provide even more spectacular and primitive roads.

What was novel, however, and of the utmost interest was the work of the revolution in this hinterland. The poverty was obvious and even striking everywhere, particularly in the humble dwellings, the bohíos, lacking so much as electricity. The Cubans did not hide this poverty, or gloss over it; they pointed it out. It was also quite evidently a poverty inherited from past centuries which all previous regimes and their backers in the days of the Spanish empire and the recent half century of American influence and control neglected to remedy.

Evident also, in brilliant contrast to this poverty, were the projects started by the revolutionary government, particularly new schools, new or improved roads, commun-

ity and area centers, agricultural projects. Stands of young trees provided evidence of Cuba's reforestation program.

One of the most impressive figures given by Fidel Castro that evening to the big crowd of campesinos, who came in from the surrounding hills to hear him explain things to the OLAS delegates, was that in this region, as in all of Cuba, every child now has a school to attend.

It was most illuminating, too, to talk with the campesinos in the late afternoon at Gran Tierra on this holiday occasion. They had the friendliness often seen among country people for strangers whom they can trust and their pride in what had already been achieved was most inspiring.

This part of Cuba gives one the impression of a pioneer country — a rugged pioneer country in which a whole people have engaged in a great collective effort to carve out a new and better way of life. They are pioneering, not only in constructing schools, highways, people's stores, new homes, expanding the production of coffee, bananas and other tropical products, but in constructing a new social system seen for the first time in practice in the Western Hemisphere. Despite the difference in time and outlook, I am sure that those who pioneered the West would have understood them.

The tour, a "guided" one if you will, provided some fresh and thought-provoking insights for the participants in the OLAS conference. But it was also not without value to the people of Oriente. They were given first-hand evidence that there are those in the outside world who care about them, who do appreciate the example they are setting, who firmly support their revolution and understand its meaning. If these people of Oriente, who turned out at virtually every isolated home and small village to wave at the strangers and shout, "Bienvenido!" got the impression that they were not alone in defending their island fortress of the socialist revolution, then all the work and effort that went into organizing this touching of hands was more than worth it.

How did we get back from Gran Tierra? We were allowed to sleep in until 6 a.m. Then up and about and into the trucks and back through those gorgeous mountains to Santiago — in time to catch a plane for Havana.

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**Pete Seeger**  
**Elaine White**  
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Play  
Eat  
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**A MEMORIAL TRIBUTE**

# Salute to a Working-Class Fighter

By Farrell Dobbs

[Emil Hansen died at the age of 61 on Aug. 31. The following is a condensation of the speech given by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at a memorial meeting for Emil Hansen held in Minneapolis on Sept. 6.]

I have the honor tonight to speak in tribute to the memory of Emil Hansen on behalf of those of you present who knew him personally as a socialist comrade and as a fighting union leader. Some present who are still to their good fortune quite young, may not have known Emil. That would be because in the last years of his life he was no longer active in the Socialist Workers Party.

Now that Emil is gone, and the witchhunting capitalist government can't hurt him anymore, I want to explain why that was the case. As a working-class fighter, as a revolutionary socialist, Emil was in the most basic sense of the term a citizen of the world. And yet, he didn't have the necessary papers to make him a citizen of the United States. During the last years of his life under the conditions of the McCarthyite witchhunt the immigration department began to harass, not so much Emil, but his family and friends. He talked it over with the comrades of his party, the SWP, and the situation was evaluated roughly as follows:

**Mutual Recognition**

We were living under times of objective adversity, the witch-hunters were riding high, labor struggles weren't in the air, and there was no percentage in Emil making it easier for the witch-hunting government to attack him and try to deport him because he was not a citizen. So it was mutually recognized by Emil and by his party that it was the better part of judgment in the given situation that he formally disaffiliate and not directly and intimately associate himself with the party.

It was strictly a tactical decision to safeguard the fundamental needs in the given circumstances of a revolutionary fighter against attack from the capitalist government. It in no way signified any weakening of his deep-seated convictions as a revolutionary socialist. I want to stress also that one should draw from these facts no conclusion that Emil was the kind of man who put his personal security above the good and welfare of the movement. Just the opposite was the case . . .

**1934 Strikes**

I have a very warm memory of the last time I saw Emil. It was in the fall of 1965. I was in town on a speaking tour. One evening a little get together was arranged of some of the old-time comrades of the Teamsters who had been through the battles of the '30s together. Emil was present . . .

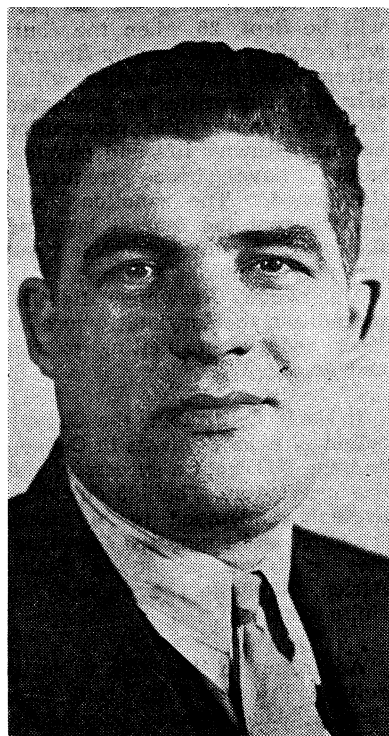
That evening we talked about the developing labor situation today, as it stood in 1965, when you could see the signs of the working-class battles that are now beginning to burgeon on the union horizon. We talked about the times to come and we talked about the experiences of the past and their meaning for the future, not the least of which were the big battles that were attendant upon the general truck drivers strikes in 1934 that made Minneapolis a union town.

Emil was a cab driver in 1934, worked for a labor-hating open-shop outfit then known as the Yellow Cab Company and I guess still is known by that name . . . Emil came out of the seat of

the cab in the first general strike of the truck drivers led by Local 574 in May 1934 and onto the picket lines . . .

The bosses mobilized the cops and they tried to break the strike by moving trucks of a fruit and produce chain outfit and there the truck drivers met the cops in open battle, club in hand and fought the fight that began to turn everything around.

When we who knew Emil so well, when we think of him, that's one of our first memories — Emil, down there on those picket lines battling it out with the bulls and those special deputies in May 1934. We think of Emil also in what proved to be even a fiercer series of battles in the second general strike in July and August 1934. In May the truck drivers had beaten the cops with clubs. So in July, the cops came at us with riot guns and shot up a lot of the strikers. But we fought tooth and nail. We held our own and we kept the



**Emil Hansen**  
Picture was taken at the time Hansen went to prison in 1944.

town tied up and Emil stood right in the vanguard of that fight all the way.

We remember Emil Hansen in the role he played when later Governor Olsen brought the National Guard down on us and we fought it out on the streets of Minneapolis with the National Guard.

Finally, the second general strike was won, the union was consolidated. And then came a big upsurge among the workers in Minneapolis, who wanted to organize. Emil went back to driving the cab. But he had become a skilled picket captain and had already gained fundamental training as a union organizer during the course of the general strikes. He, like other picket captains, stood at the union's beck and call to come off the job at a word and pitch in and help in a battle where organizing fights were going on . . .

I personally have a recollection of Emil in one fight during 1935 when we were helping the machinist union organize a plant. We had a mayor by the name of Latimer, supposed to be a labor mayor, and he had filled this factory out at 27th Avenue near the Milwaukee tracks with scabs. The machinists who were on strike there needed some help and the truck drivers went out to help.

It was there for the first time that we met the armored cars that had been purchased by the city fathers for the Minneapolis police department after we

whipped the cops in a stand up battle club to club on the streets. They gave us a hard way to go. The fight started in the afternoon and it lasted to one or two o'clock in the morning. About a block from the plant there were a couple of houses going up and they had just put in the foundations. The strikers went over and nationalized the foundation stones.

I remember Emil at one moment there. It was on a corner. Here was an armored car coming in and Emil had a half of one of those foundation cement blocks and he was just enraged at the injustice of these cops holing up inside these armored cars — and those of you who knew him know he was a big man and a powerful man — and he's standing there pounding on the windshield of that armored car with this half a cement block, trying to get in there and get at those cops to prevent them from breaking the strike.

**Beat the Cops**

He never did get the windshield smashed but one way or another all the fighters combined there that night did prevent the cops from breaking that strike and the union won it.

From the end of the strikes in 1934 through the succeeding period Emil remained on the job as a cab driver. During this period, Tobin, the head of the Teamsters union, revoked the charter of Local 574 and tried to smash the union. The fight went on in an indecisive way for the better part of a year, without Tobin being able to carry forward his efforts.

Finally in February or March 1935 Tobin brought in some muscle men from the Chicago Teamsters movement, who set out with blackjack and gun to smash Local 574.

At this point, Emil, being Emil, responding to the call of the union came off the job and onto the full-time staff of the union.

He played a hero's role in the intensive battle in the weeks that followed through which we finally beat the Chicago reinforcements of Tobin's and Tobin had to make peace and let Local 574 back into the international. It was at that point that Local 574 became known as Local 544 . . .

**Socialism**

Emil was not, only a fighting man, he was a thinking man. As he went through the experiences of the tremendous union battles of those days he began to see there was something fundamentally wrong about the capitalist system and he became convinced of the need to abolish capitalism and establish a socialist society.

He joined our political movement that is known today as the Socialist Workers Party. As a socialist he was not only national in his perspectives, he was international. He recognized the fundamental considerations of the solidarity of mankind across the world and mutual assistance to revolutionaries in all sectors of the movement.

During this period when Emil was drawing these political conclusions and becoming a socialist, Leon Trotsky, who had been exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin finally found refuge in Mexico. Stalin had first exiled Trotsky but now he was trying to murder him . . .

Worker after worker from the ranks of our party accepted assignments in a guard that was kept around Trotsky to protect him as best it was possible from Stalin's assassins. In the year 1938 Emil Hansen subordinated all other considerations to the call of his party to put in a hitch of several months as a guard for Leon Trotsky . . .

After that assignment he came back and he resumed his post as



**SPECIAL DEPUTY GOES DOWN.** Striking truck drivers battled cops and "special deputies" — civilians deputized to help cops break strike — in 1934 struggles which converted Minneapolis from open shop to union town. Emil Hansen played important role in these battles.

an organizer and staff man for local 544.

We are coming now to the end of the '30s and the approach of the entry of the United States into World War II. And we as socialists, took the position that the United States was not entering World War II to fight a war to make the world safe for democracy of for four freedoms or anything else. They were fighting to enrich the already fat cats of the banks and corporations that monopolize all the wealth in this country today. And we opposed it.

**New Attack**

Tobin, the head of the International, supported the war. And he decided to get rid of the leaders of Local 544 in Minneapolis who opposed the war. And again he attacked the union, tried to put a receiver over it. Again he got the help of all the authorities to make an assault on the union. He brought in goons this time not only from Chicago but from Teamsters locals all over the United States.

We fought a battle on the streets in Minneapolis that went on for weeks and it was a rough tough one. Here again Emil stood right in the forefront of that fight all the way through.

Then Tobin got Roosevelt's help, and 29 of the leaders of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party were framed up in an indictment under a witchhunting thought-control law known as the Smith Act. Emil was one of those 29. Like all the rest of his comrades he stood solid, went into the court, stood before this police prosecutor and prejudiced jury.

**Convicted**

He was one of the 18 of the 29 who were convicted and on New Years morning, Jan. 1, 1944, along with the rest of the 18 Emil went into a federal penitentiary because he dared oppose the imperialist war and dared say so, and insisted on standing up and saying so in the face of all manner of persecution . . .

From those prison days we have some wonderful memories of Emil — his self-control, his calm, his capacity to adjust to any kind of a situation, his sense of humor, his good nature, his personal warmth toward his comrades and his general good feelings of humanity . . .

When he came out, like the rest of the worker fighters here in Minneapolis he was subjected to a witchhunting attack by the union bureaucrats — tin horn narrow minded people who presumed to represent labor. What an outrage!

But he refused to break, he refused to knuckle and when he found that he couldn't make a living around Minneapolis he finally made his way out to California, where at an occupation in which he wasn't the least bit skilled or experienced — the fruit and vegetable business — he tried for some years to eke out an exist-

ence and he managed to do so.

Finally along the early part of the fifties, Emil returned to Minneapolis. He managed at long last again to get a job as a driver for a small steel company. He got the job because it was a non-union outfit. The union bureaucrats couldn't beat him out. But being the kind of man he was, he could not be content to work under scab conditions just for the sake of having a job.

In his own expert way he began to talk a little unionism among the other workers on the job. And little by little it began to percolate through to them, they had driving a truck there at this company an Emil Hansen who was none other than the Emil Hansen who had been a skilled organizer and strike leader of Local 544.

Before long Emil got this non-union outfit organized. He didn't organize just to collect dues like the bureaucrats, but to get better conditions for the workers. The bosses don't like that and that requires a strike. And they had a strike. And although not the formal leader, Emil was the unofficial and actual leader of that strike. And they won it.

**Real Leader**

Out of that he got such recognition, such standing in the eyes of the workers, that with the perception of a few more sympathetic people in the union structure he was able to stay in the union and before long Emil became the unofficial leader in strikes by other workers in this union. Right down to his last day in the face of all these adversities he was back doing the thing he did the best — fighting to organize workers and lead them in strikes to defend their interests. And as of the moment Emil dropped dead on his job last Thursday, he was officially the job steward of his company, and the unofficial real leader of that particular unit of the union and the unofficial recognized leader of a big section of that union.

That's the story in brief of the life of Emil Hansen as a fighting union leader and as a revolutionary socialist. Just as he remained a fighting union man to the last hour of his life, he remained a dedicated revolutionary socialist who recognized that there is no solution to the basic problems of the working class short of the abolition of this outlived capitalist system under which we now exist and the establishment of a socialist society.

Minneapolis, the rest of the labor movement in the United States and ultimately, in its most basic meaning, the peoples of the world will gain something from the fact that Emil Hansen lived. It's with that rich, warm memory of Emil that we dip our banner tonight in his memory, and rededicate ourselves to go forward in the great battle for socialism to which he devoted his whole adult life.

# International Issues Debated At Socialist Scholars Parley

By Evelyn Reed

The Third Annual Socialist Scholars Conference at the Hilton Hotel in New York, Sept. 9-10 was attended by 1,500 people from the United States and Canada. The topics discussed in the 18 panels ranged from Marxism and International Economic Relations and Shakespeare Today to Radicals and Hippies, Black Power and anthropological studies of peasants.

To honor the 50th anniversary of the Russian revolution, two leading members of the Institute of the World Labor Movement in Moscow, the sociologist Yuri Zamoshkin and the economist Timur Timofeev, were the principal invited guests of the conference. A sharp confrontation of views on the strategy for the world struggle for socialism took place during the session where Professor Timofeev set forth the official Soviet outlook on contemporary working-class movements.

## Class Struggle?

He emphasized the trend toward unity of all "progressive social forces" against monopoly capitalism, as in Finland, France and Italy. Economic competition between capitalism and the Communist world is "in the first line of the international class struggle today," he said. He approved the proposition of Waldeck-Rochet, French Communist leader, that the conflict between state monopoly capitalism and the masses in the West could lead, not to a socialist overturn, but to an intermediate stage of democratic revolution.

## Differs

The *Monthly Review* editor, Paul Sweezy, asserted that the Soviet scholar's picture of growing unity between the working class in the advanced countries and the colonial revolutionists is unreal. What support did the French workers, led by the CP, give to the Algerian rebels or is the American labor movement giving to the Cuban revolution and the Vietnam liberation struggle, he asked. Not unity with the socialist Guy Mollet and the Catholics but only the armed struggle of the insurgent peasant masses will restrain imperialism. He hailed the recent OLAS conference in Havana as an effort to reforge a genuine international revolutionary movement.

The Communist parties in the West, he said, are teaching a "denatured kind of Marxism" and becoming transformed into Social-Democratic parties. "Let the Communist governments build socialism — and a good socialism," he

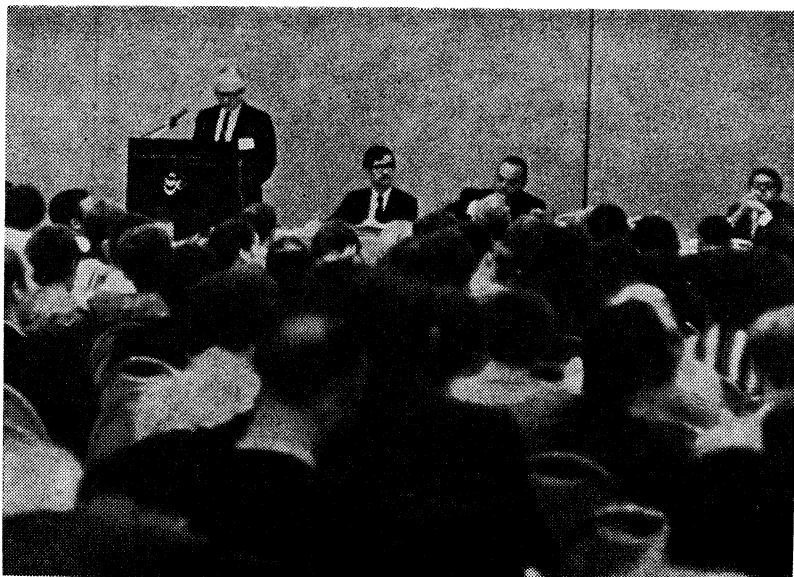


Photo by Shannon

**AT SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE. George Novack speaking on "Radical Intellectuals in the Thirties."**

concluded. "But let them not pretend that they are leaders of a world revolutionary movement."

Professor Phil Foner cited Soviet aid to Cuba and Vietnam and the statements of their leaders as evidence of Moscow's support to national liberation movements. Leo Huberman of the *Monthly Review* asked: why then is Castro willing to jeopardize that economic and military aid in order to back a policy in Latin America different from the one promoted by Moscow's followers?

## Intellectuals

The panel on Radical Intellectuals in the 1930s attracted one of the biggest audiences the first morning. George Novack, associate editor of *International Socialist Review*, discussed the pernicious influence of Stalinism on the American intellectuals of that decade. James Gilbert of the University of Maryland traced the evolution of James Burnham and Reinhold Niebuhr from Marxism to anti-Marxism.

Commenting on these papers, Professor Christopher Lasch of Northwestern University maintained that American intellectuals did not go through any essential transformation but simply shifted their "infatuation with power" from capitalism to Stalinism and back again. Foreseeing no better prospects for the renaissance radicalism of the '60s, he suggested that the best thing to do would be

to "think like revolutionaries and act like liberals."

Novack replied that such a procedure was followed by the Communist Party and the right-wing Socialists in the 1930s with catastrophic results for the socialist movement. "If you are going to be a revolutionary, you must both think and act like a revolutionary," he insisted.

The panel on black power took up such subjects as black nationalism, the relation between the black struggle in the U.S. and the third world, and perspectives for the black liberation movement in this country.

James Boggs, black writer from Detroit, told the largely white audience that if they wanted to be socialists they would have to be revolutionaries. "This country is decaying outside and inside," he said. "You can't fix it up."

The dinner address was given by Owen Lattimore, now at Leeds University, England, who was one of McCarthy's targets in the 1950s. The organizers of the conference sent a message of condolence to the widow of Isaac Deutscher.

Many publishing institutions and political tendencies had tables for sale of their literature at the conference. Among them was the Socialist Workers Party 1968 national campaign committee. One hundred of the participants signed cards for further information on the Halstead-Boutelle campaign.

## Visits Mexican Political Prisoners

By Terri Lynne

NEW YORK, Sept. 8 — Two weeks ago I went to Mexico for a vacation and to visit the political prisoners there as a member of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

Last year, after the student rebellion at the University of Mexico, a group of people involved in left-wing politics were arbitrarily arrested. Among these people were Adolfo Gilly, an Argentinian journalist and Victor Rico Galán, writer for *Siempre* magazine. None of those arrested had anything to do with the student protests, which were simply used by the government as a pretext for a witch-hunt.

In late July of this year, just before the OLAS conference was held in Havana, Cuba, a group of 13 people (later another was added) were rounded up on charges of plotting to overthrow the government. Those arrested were of various political persuasions and one individual, Daniel

Camejo, did not know any of the others.

The Mexican police forced "confessions" from the captured men. One prisoner's ribs were crushed in, the area around his kidneys was beaten, and he was branded on the wrist with a white-hot iron. All repudiated their "confessions" later in court.

The conditions at the Preventiva prison where the men are being held are not as bad as they were last year when the first group of prisoners arrived. Daniel Camejo told me that the cells then were more a home for rats than for men, but the prisoners had cleaned up the cells themselves and had recently succeeded in driving out the rats.

They still have to sleep on concrete floors, in the cold nights of the Mexican plateau. This goes also for the men who were so badly beaten they were sick for weeks afterward, who were never taken to a hospital. The only doctor they saw was working for the police, checking to make sure the

## The Black Struggle

# 4,000 in Camden, N. J. Hear H. Rap Brown

Four thousand people crammed into Camden, New Jersey's Convention Hall to hear SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown recently. The meeting was called over the protests of the chief of police and the Camden NAACP by a coalition of Camden organizations.

The audience was overwhelmingly young and included a large number of high school students.

Across the river in Philadelphia, where near martial law has been maintained in the black community, one paper reported that, "police kept a tight watch on bridges leading to Philadelphia. If Brown tried to cross the river, the police orders read, he was to be stopped."

\* \* \*

At a Sept. 8 hearing in the New Orleans Federal District Court, H. Rap Brown pleaded not guilty of violating the federal firearms law and was released on \$15,000 bond.

The next hearing on the case will be Sept. 20 when the court will consider a motion by Brown's attorney, William Kunstler, which asks that authorities be prevented from continuing the prosecution because Brown's life and physical safety have been frequently threatened. The motion also charges that the federal law and the Louisiana anti-treason law are unconstitutional.

Meanwhile, Brown is fighting extradition to Maryland where he faces charges of inciting to riot and arson.

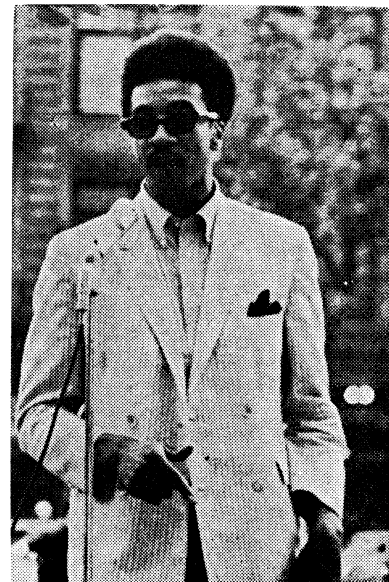
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In early September, the Organization of Arab Students in Canada and the U.S. held a successful six-day convention. The 400 delegates present condemned racial discrimination and supported the struggles of black people in South Africa, Rhodesia, Israel and the United States.

\* \* \*

According to the Sept. 5 *Philadelphia Tribune*, Pfc. Frank Frazier, a black Marine serving in Vietnam, wrote the following in a letter to his mother in Philadelphia:

"Last night as I and a few others were out walking it seems some of the white Marines didn't have anything better to do than to throw rocks at us. Of course a fight broke out or should I say a race riot. I don't know what the outcome will be, but I think it's a shame that this kind of thing takes place here. One of the (whites) got his rifle and fired two rounds — meaning to kill



H. Rap Brown

someone.

"This is not the first time this has happened. Ever since I've been overseas, this has been going on, but up to now nothing serious has happened."

\* \* \*

Bala Tampoe, prominent revolutionary socialist from Ceylon, addressed a Sept. 6 Harlem street meeting sponsored by the Harlem Community Forum. Tampoe is secretary general of the 25,000-member Ceylonese Mercantile Union. He described how experiences in Ceylon showed the power of a mass nationalist movement willing to fight for freedom in an uncompromising way.

Other speakers at the rally included Omeli of the Biafra Students Association, and Rafael Lara of the Dominican Revolutionary Youth for Action. Socialist Workers Party vice presidential candidate, Paul Boutelle, chaired the meeting.

\* \* \*

The New York branch of the NAACP Youth Division has gone against the organization's national policy by condemning the war in Vietnam. The official position of the NAACP has been to take no position on the war.

\* \* \*

The development of new weapons for putting down rebellions continues to escalate. Among the new discoveries is "Instant Banana Peel," a chemical powder which when mixed with water makes streets so slippery they are impassable. Another is a system for transmitting electric charges through streams of water from a firehose. The result is supposed to be "painful" but not "harmful."

Already in several cities spray cans of chemicals which produce temporary loss of vision, dizziness, pain and "general apathy" are in use.

\* \* \*

Five persons have been charged with the murder of Patrolman John Gleason, who was killed on July 16 during the Plainfield, N.J. rebellion. One of the defendants is a 20-year-old woman.

The arrests were made by seven teams of police on Sept. 8 in gestapo-like early morning raids.

According to the Sept. 1 *New York Times*, one of the "suspects" missed by the cops walked into the police station later in the day, asked why he was being sought, and was immediately charged with murder.

\* \* \*

By 1970 more than half of the black population of the U.S. will live in the North, according to the Aug. 27 *Baltimore Afro-American*.

When the last census was taken in 1960, 60 percent of Afro-Americans lived in the South. In 1964 it had dropped to 54.4, and in 1965 to 53.6.

Elizabeth Barnes

# 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.]

## Racism in Mississippi

Mississippi

Many people are beginning to feel that some of the racism that used to be in Mississippi has left, but it hasn't. In fact it has never left. There is still day-to-day terrorizing of black people in Mississippi.

Mississippi has become somewhat open in reporting only the small cases of the deep-rooted violence that is done to black people everyday.

Mississippi can be classified as racism within racism, meaning that this entire country is racist in all its actions. Many Afro-Americans are preparing to defend themselves. They are getting tired of being treated bad and pushed around. When Mississippi breaks it is going to be bigger than Detroit.

We are trying to work here through the ballot, but as the late Brother Malcolm X said, "The ballot or the bullet."

Reader

## Family Farms

Lakeville, Minn.

The family farms are rapidly disappearing from the rural country. These farms are becoming victims of the capitalist system. They cannot compete with the large corporate farms who have large amounts of resources. It is these corporate farms who have the economic power to control the farm markets that are desperately needed by the small farms to survive.

With the help of the administration the corporate farms have a clear field ahead. The Committee for Economic Development (CED) which was set up in 1962, was planned to reduce the present three million farmers to one million farmers. The method according to *Green Bay Register* May 6, 1966 was to uproot farmers from their farms by keeping "farm prices at or below the price support level of 74 percent of parity and allow the costs of machinery and production to rise." This will

put the farmer in a cost-price squeeze until he can no longer remain solvent.

The price-cost squeeze has already developed. The June issue of *Economic Notes* states that "Farm production expenses for all farms in the U.S. were running at an annual rate of \$34.8 billion during the first quarter, up from a \$31.9 billion rate during the first quarter of last year." The total net income was at the "annual rate of \$14.9 billion in the first quarter of 1967, compared with \$17.1 billion in the first quarter of last year." The "parity" ratio is around 72, the lowest point since 1934.

The farmer in order to survive has to organize independent political action to gain control of his own economic destiny. A political party outside the framework of the capitalist system is the only hope. The thinking of the farmers will have to go beyond the thinking of all present farm leaders who work and fight among themselves over the ever diminishing results rather than having a common concern over the causes of their present difficulties.

F. Adrian Luoma

## "Intellectual Leaders"

Albany, Calif.

I would have thought that by this time our "moral and intellectual leaders" would perceive the futility of trying to end the war by dove-like means. A casual statistician might conclude that anti-war activity had acted as a powerful stimulus on the war itself, but intellectuals continue to mince and caper in symbolic protest. They could have ended the war two years ago merely by ceasing to function in the system by which they are so well paid and of which they are an indispensable part. I mean they could have called a general strike of moral and intellectual leaders which, at least, could have paralyzed the nation's school systems. Resulting public pressure would have made the government very amenable to debate. As far as I know, such a move has not even crossed anyone's mind, at least not publicly.

There would be some risk, however, and one cannot ask the tenured and the fifteen thou a year people to jeopardize their marshmallow sundaes. Only ragged and illiterate Mexican fruit pickers can do that; they are used to it.

The war will probably end next year for the dirtiest of political reasons. When that occurs, the intellectuals will, without a shadow of a doubt, claim the victory for themselves. The precedent will then be set for the unending war accompanied by the unending protest, and everybody will be happy from the Pentagon to the Ivory Computer.

G. M. N.

## Speaks Well of Us

Highland, Calif.

Since *The Militant* is the most progressive socialist news publication in the United States (and probably the whole world) with an uncompromising attitude toward capitalist exploitation of the working people, with a stand against racism and imperialism, please renew my subscription!

Edward Lather

## Muhammad Ali

Los Angeles, Calif.

Muhammad Ali delivered his famous uppercut that stunned the draft board in Houston, Texas, by refusing to be inducted in the Army, to fight a racist, illegal and brutal war in Vietnam. The New York State Athletic Commission with lightning speed stripped Ali of his heavyweight title.

The World Boxing Ass'n is faced with a problem by the fact that

Ali defeated all top contenders. Yet, where there is a will there is a way. According to the boxing commissioner, support of the war in Vietnam is the primary qualification for Ali's title and the most outspoken critics of Ali are ex-heavyweight champion Joe Lewis and the former athlete Jackie Robinson.

Accordingly, they are eminently qualified to be worthy successors to Ali's title. The rest is easy.

I suggest the Boxing Commission obtain the consent of Ali's sparring to give Jackie Robinson a few boxing lessons, and match him against Joe Lewis for the vacated title.

Of course the advanced age of the contestants may have an adverse effect on the attendance, but this matter can be overcome. To add glamor to the event, I suggest the Boxing Commission appoint Bob Hope to referee the bout, Martha Raye at the bell, and solicit the blessing of Cardinal Spellman.

With this setup I don't see how they can miss.

Finally, since this bout is primarily staged in support of the war in Vietnam, it would be appropriate that the winner be sent to Vietnam to entertain our boys and upon his return, award him the medal of honor — presented by our commander-in-chief on the steps of the White House.

Broadcast via satellite, this would show the world that all we want is "peace."

Albert Stein

## Real Patriots

Long Beach, Calif.

Those wicked Socialists, Communists, trade-union dissenters with the Vietnam war must be surely shamed by the patriotic action of the steel companies in hiking the price of steel. And, of

course, we are all greatly heartened by our President's lack of action in the matter.

Patriotism is at its shining heights. Also the auto manufacturers after howling for years that pay increases must be tied to increased productivity refused to admit this now when Reuther has proved that upon that basis alone the auto workers are entitled to big pay increases.

Our dear Vice President has lost all his vaunted liberalism too. When will the people realize that only a socialist party of progressive labor will carry out the wishes of the real majority of the American people and usher in real democracy?

J.W.

## Thought for the Week

"We never characterize anything as a policy change or a tactical change or an escalation. Everybody is going to have to make that determination themselves." — Phil G. Goulding, Assistant Defense Secretary for public affairs, commenting on the U.S. bombings along the Chinese borders.

# It Was Reported in the Press

**Laughing Gas** — The Florida National Guard is indignant at the rumors that its members were equipped with flame throwers during a recent ghetto outbreak in Tampa. It was really only a modified flame thrower used to dispense a "harmless" new chemical which, according to the AP, "causes extreme burning sensations, copious watering and involuntary closing of the eyes, coughing and chest tightening, sinus and nasal drip and extreme burning sensation of moist areas of the body."

**What Ever For?** — "WASHINGTON (AP) — National Guard officers have hired a Madison Avenue advertising agency in a \$50,000 effort to blot out criticism of the Guard's performance in recent big city riots."

**Sociology Dep't (I)** — A team of sociological researchers have established that in early America there was a certain amount of bias in the draft system. "While all white males were supposedly subject to service," they said, "in reality the professionals, intellectuals and the politically powerful and well-to-do were exempt in every colony if they chose to avail themselves of the privilege." Anyway, that could never happen today.

**Sociology Dep't (II)** — Gordon Zahn, a University of Massachusetts sociologist, says army chaplains face a big moral dilemma. "When we read of area bombings with napalm or fragmentation bombs or see the pictures of captives being tortured during interrogation, it is legitimate to ask how the military chaplain is addressing himself to these events," he said. On the other hand, he added with a proper sociological balance, the chaplain must weigh his responsibilities as a military man, knowing that if he counsels against a particular military act he could face a court-martial.

**Sociology Dep't (III)** — James Henslin, a sociologist, disguised himself as a cab driver and participated in dice games with his fellow workers. An in-depth, six-month study established that crap shooters believe in luck and think that magic words or incantations can make the dice roll right. In our youth we used to roll the bones occasionally, but we always assumed the game was as scientific as sociology.

**Spiritual Progress** — Despite their distaste for things material,

some spiritual leaders are developing a grasp of worldly affairs. For example, the Armenian Church of America has retained the Madison Avenue firm of Ketchum, MacLeod & Groves for public relations on its Cathedral Year. Meanwhile, the Dedworth Green Sunday School in England doubled attendance with trading stamps. One for being on time; one for bringing a bible; two for retrieving a backslider; five for a new recruit. They haven't announced the premiums, but we understand 500 books will get you a free trip to the Pearly Gates.

**Hunger Fighters** — The UN Food and Agricultural Organization reportedly has a staff of 300 in Rome. It's headed by a Dr. Banay Ranjan Sen, who draws \$45,000 a year tax-free, plus a \$10,000 "representation" allowance. He has 43 assistant directors knocking down from \$20,000 to \$35,000 tax-free. They're all entitled to tax-free gasoline and shop at a duty-free shop featuring everything from liquor to TV sets.

**Meeting the Challenge** — Mayor John Shelley of San Francisco says his administration is trying to meet "every new challenge" being thrown at it. The good mayor seems particularly sensitive to the challenge of prostitution (of the

street walking variety.) His cops have been busily meeting this challenge with an average of 50 arrests a week. This effort, however, apparently has a certain repetitious quality since some of the women have been busted more than 25 times.

**Lyndon's Thoughts?** — According to the Sept. 11 *New York Post* a major U.S. publisher will match the little red book of "Thoughts of Chairman Mao" with a similar one of LBJ.

**For Deprived Children**—If your kids were born without silver spoons in their mouths, rush right over to Plummer-McCutcheon in New York. They're featuring silver forks and spoons, proportioned for baby bites. Only \$6.50 each. And if the kids drool a lot you might want to pick up a couple of five-ounce silver kiddie cups. Specially priced at \$18.50. Finally, there's a nice midget soup bowl for \$23.50 which they can use later for an ash tray.

**Keep It Clean!** — To achieve a more perfect foreign policy, Secretary of State Dean Rusk has inaugurated a "suggestion box" policy among younger diplomats. The suggestions will be screened by a special panel before going on to Rusk.

—Harry Ring

## Weekly Calendar

### LOS ANGELES

**THE NEW POLITICS CONFERENCE** — What Happened? Symposium of participants from Black Caucus, Young Socialists, others. Fri., Sep. 22, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4 St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum

### NEW YORK

**MEMORIAL MEETING FOR ISAAC DEUTSCHER.** Speakers: Prof. Louis Menashe, Dept. of Social Sciences, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; Arthur Redler, long-time friend of Deutscher; Prof. Melvin Leiman, Dept. of Economics, Harpur College; Harry Braverman, editor, and author of *The Future of Russia*, and Doug Jenness, editor of the *Young Socialist*. Chairman: George Novack, collaborator with Deutscher on Trotsky's *Age of Permanent Revolution*. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

**POVERTY AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: William Crain, Michael Standard, Conrad Lynn and Henry di Suvero, director of the New Jersey ACLU. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. at Carnegie Recital Hall. A usp. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

### SAN FRANCISCO

**THE NEW POLITICS CONVENTION** — A First Hand Report. Speaker: Pete Camejo. Fri. Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

# FOR NEW READERS

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## N. Y. Officials Say No To Viet Referendum

NEW YORK, Sept. 13 — The Lindsay administration, which presents itself as liberal and even critical of the Vietnam war, has taken the stand that the people of New York have no right to declare themselves on the war issue. City Clerk Herman Katz made public today a ruling rejecting petitions to place the Vietnam issue on the New York ballot this November.

A petition signed by some 65,000 New York voters was submitted to the City Clerk last week by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. The petition provided for a referendum to establish a city "Director of Vietnam Peace Priorities" and declares: "An immediate end to United States intervention in Vietnam and withdrawal of United States forces from Vietnam are in the best interest of the people of New York City."

A similar petition was submitted by the Committee for a With-

drawal Referendum. This too was rejected.

The formal notification to the Parade Committee said in part: "The proposals set forth in the petition are not concerned with the basic structure of New York City Government, its property or its affairs."

Since New York's city charter does not provide for general referendums, the Parade Committee petition centered around the creation of city "Director of Vietnam Peace Priorities" in order to conform to legal requirements. The petition specified how the Vietnam war directly affects the interests of New York residents.

City administrations in San Francisco and Cleveland have also refused to put the Vietnam issue on the ballot even though, as in New York, legal requirements for such a referendum were met.

A Parade Committee spokesman said the committee is now consulting its attorneys as to its next move in fighting this.

## DuBois Convention Indicates Organization Faces Problems

By Les Evans

NEW YORK, Sept. 10 — The third national convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America ended here today after three days of deliberations. On Friday night an audience of 275 turned out for a public meeting at Columbia University to hear guest speakers Julius Lester of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee; Rev. James Bevel of the National Mobilization Committee; Grace Mora Newman; and Jarvis Tyner of the DuBois Clubs.

Tyner delivered the major political report of the convention late Friday night. He described the recent New Politics convention as a "high point of black and white unity in America." He did not report the formation of a separate Black Convention by a majority of black delegates to the New Politics gathering. (See Sept. 10 *Militant*.)

### New Politics

Tyner urged promotion of a "Freedom and Peace" ticket in 1968. He pointed to the defeat of a motion for such a ticket by a narrow margin at the New Politics convention as an indication of widespread support for such an idea.

He proposed an ambitious series of projects to sign up draft resisters, organize unorganized workers and revive the idea of a student strike, unsuccessfully put forward by the DBC last year. Discussion on the report was postponed to a later point in the convention.

About 100 returned on Saturday to participate in the convention itself. It was not a delegated convention; every DuBois Clubs member had one vote. Bob Heisler delivered the organizational report. "We have seen a decline in the past year," he said, "in the number of functioning clubs . . .

### No National Office

"For the past six months we have not in effect had a functioning national office. No consistent publications, political or ideological leadership came from the national office. Many clubs thinking that the N.O. had closed down, either folded up or stopped functioning regularly."

Franklin Alexander, national chairman of the DuBois Clubs, and Hugh Fowler, another national officer, did not attend.

Workshops were held on various issues such as New Politics, Vietnam and Draft Resistance, the Woman Question and the Black Freedom Movement.

Saturday afternoon, "strata" workshops were begun to discuss work on campus, in unions, in the ghetto, etc. These were slated to reconvene the next day to prepare reports, but had to be canceled when no one showed up Sunday morning.

When the plenary session was convened at noon on Sunday there were 58 members present for the discussion of the organizational report. (There were also about 25 observers present, all non-members, mostly from other organizations.)

Discussion was opened on the organizational report, followed by reports from three of the workshops and the election of national officers. The highest vote of the day, during the elections, indicated 104 members present and voting. Jarvis Tyner was elected national chairman; Gene Tounour executive secretary; Carolyn Black field director; Carmen Ristorucci publications director and Bob Heisler education director.

### Oversight

The convention adjourned without discussing the major political report given by Jarvis Tyner and without hearing a report from the workshop on Vietnam. This latter included a motion passed by the workshop to give first priority to peace candidates and draft resistance and to support but not give priority to the October 21 confrontation in Washington. Matty Berkelhammer, a New York DBC leader, even announced that the DuBois Clubs intended to organize demonstrations in New York and other cities on October 21 that would detract from the national action. The convention as a whole was never informed of these decisions.

We are entering the first period of general radicalization in this country in 20 years. Yet the DuBois Clubs have steadily declined from their first convention when they mustered 350 in San Francisco in 1964. This glaring contradiction should raise some fundamental questions in the minds of any serious members of the DuBois Clubs.

## Young Socialists Map Drive For Halstead and Boutelle

The plenary session of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance held Sept. 8-10 in New York laid out plans for the YSA to organize significant support among radical youth for the Socialist Workers ticket of Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President in the 1968 elections.

The political report, given by the national secretary of the YSA, Mary-Alice Waters, pointed out that the 1968 elections would be the central focus of debate over the questions posed by the war in Vietnam and the deepening of the black struggle.

By campaigning for support to the SWP ticket the YSA hopes to attract to the campaign the many antiwar fighters and black militants looking for an alternative to the politics of the racist, warmaking Democrats and Republicans.

The YSA leaders voted to support and help build the campaign activities of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, and discussed the types of literature, speaking tours, meetings and other actions needed to reach the largest number of radical youth.



Photo by Shannon

**DISCUSS CAMPAIGN.** Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for President, discusses election campaign with members of YSA national committee.

## 'Worker' Backs Bureaucrats

By George Saunders

*The Worker*, organ of the Communist Party U.S.A., has clumsily put its oar into the dispute between Soviet intellectuals and their bureaucratic overseers. True to form, *The Worker* took the side of the bureaucrats. It thus carried on in the tradition of its attack on authors Sinyavsky and Daniel at the time they were sent to prison camps. This tradition goes back even farther, to when the Soviet bureaucracy used prison camps on a much wider scale.

The CPUSA organ took its stand in the form of a "poem" addressed to Soviet poet Andrei Voznesensky. Voznesensky recently attracted notice by his letter to *Pravda* (which did not print it) blasting the lies of literary officialdom and the harm those lies do to Soviet prestige. *The Worker* reproached the Soviet poet in terms such as: "Why do you want so much to impress the West? Why do you want to please them so much with cries of 'lies' addressed to your own country? Have you heard of the American credibility gap?"

The report on the Afro-American struggle, given by Judy Watts from Detroit, analyzed the new level of intensity reached by the black struggle in the last few months and discussed the recent evolution of SNCC and other militant black organizations. She pointed to Stokely Carmichael's trip to Cuba and H. Rap Brown's recent speeches as an indication of the growing interest of a section of the black leadership in socialist ideas.

She stressed the necessity for the YSA to actively defend black militants against attacks by the capitalist class, such as the frame-up of the 17 people in New York charged with "criminal anarchy." Finally, she noted the importance of the '68 SWP election campaign in projecting and campaigning for the formation of an independent black political party.

The report on the antiwar movement by Lew Jones, national chairman of the YSA, discussed the deepening opposition of the American people to the war in Vietnam, the impressive growth of the Student Mobilization Committee, and the growing enthusiasm among college and high school students for the October 21 demonstration against the war. "In conjunction with the YSA's campaign for the SWP ticket in '68," he said, "we must at the same time continue to be the best builders of the massive October 21 confrontation of the American people with the parties and politicians carrying out this war."

A report was also given on the successes of the campaign to defend YSA member Pfc. Howard Petrick. Due partially to the defense campaign, the Army has not carried out so far its threat to court-martial Petrick for expressing antiwar views within the Army.

Harry Stone, a member of the central executive committee of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, reported on the founding of this new Canadian revolutionary socialist youth organization at a convention held last July in Toronto. The organization, made up of young workers, high school students and college youth, will campaign for support



Photo by Shannon

**ADDRESSES MEETING.** Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Vice President, speaks to YSA national committee meeting.

to the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party), for an end to Canadian complicity with the Vietnam war and withdrawal of U.S. troops, and for the right to self-determination for French-Canadians.

A report on the OLAS conference in Havana was given by Joseph Hansen, who had just returned from Cuba. He was there as a reporter for *The Militant*. He discussed the meaning of the regroupment of revolutionary forces around the Cuban leadership and the significance of this for revolutionary youth in the U.S.

Doug Jenness, organizational secretary, reported that the YSA had recruited as many new members in the last six months as in the previous two years. Another indication of the YSA's growth was a big increase in new subscriptions to the *Young Socialist* magazine that have come in through the mail in the past six months. The plenum projected a \$10,000 fall fund drive and a full-scale campaign to recruit to the YSA the growing number of young people who are coming to support black power, the Cuban revolution, the antiwar movement, and the socialist transformation of America.

ican Communists feel about Voznesensky's erring ways.

The real issue, of course, is not the poet's "softness toward the West," or "kowtowing to bourgeois ideology." It was not really Voznesensky's friendliness to Americans or tete-a-tete with Bobby Kennedy that riled the bureaucrats. After all, Kossygin, the top bureaucrat himself, meets with the enemy "in the spirit of Holly Bush." The fact that this Soviet intellectual imitated his masters' attitude toward American bourgeois liberals merely provides a good pretext.

What really disturbed the bureaucrats was Voznesensky's support for the call to end Soviet censorship, made in late May by Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, the leading anti-Stalinist author.

Freedom for Soviet citizens to discuss major social problems of their nation is the issue at stake. The official caste wishes to preserve censorship to prevent too thorough a probing of the Stalinist past and present privileges of the upper crust.