



THE "ENEMY." National Liberation Front guerrillas on Saigon River. U.S. has been unable to crush revolutionary struggle of Vietnamese.

LBJ Gets It from All Sides As Vietnam Crisis Deepens

By Barry Sheppard

Recent events in Vietnam have intensified the problems facing U.S. imperialism in general and Lyndon Baines Johnson in particular.

Johnson's popularity is at a new low. This was reflected in the latest Gallup poll, which showed Robert Kennedy the presidential

National Liberation Front forces in the demilitarized zone have shelled U.S. Marines with antiwar leaflets. According to reports in the press, the leaflets contain slogans popularized by the U.S. antiwar movement.

favorite over Johnson among Democratic voters by a 51 to 39 margin (just last May, Kennedy was running behind LBJ 49 to 37).

James Reston, writing in the Oct. 1 *New York Times*, put it this way: "In fact, the criticism of the President and his Vietnam policy is now so deep and wide that serious men here [Washing-

ington], including many of the President's own friends, are beginning to ask whether he can ever recover the confidence essential to the effective conduct of the Presidency."

The demonstrations by Buddhists and students in Saigon denouncing the crooked elections of Sept. 3 have exposed one more attempted snow job on the American people. The elections that Washington hailed as a "major step forward" for stable, democratic government in Saigon have now turned into a further source of embarrassment and consternation for Johnson.

Even the servile Saigon National Assembly barely "approved" the elections by the narrow vote of 58 to 43 — after a subcommittee of the Assembly had come in with a recommendation to invalidate the elections, citing gross violations and frauds. The Assembly vote was taken with National Police Director Nguyen Loan sitting in the Assembly drinking beer, while his cops circulated in the hall with pistols on their hips.

Earlier, Loan told Buddhists and students they had better stop demonstrating, for their 'own health.' His cops waded into stu-

dents on Oct. 3 with truncheons and tear gas, severely beating some 30 people. Among those injured were three CBS newsmen.

While the police were demonstrating just how much democracy there is under the "elected" Thieu-Ky regime, the war itself continued to go badly for Washington.

An Associated Press dispatch from the Marine outpost at Con-thien reports that the Marines have lost 2,500 dead and 20,000 wounded in the Demilitarized Zone since the first of the year.

"The situation is worse now than four months ago," the dispatch quotes a senior U.S. official in Danang. "There is more ebb than flow in the situation. The Viet Cong has had several psychological victories in recent months. They have shown that when they want to, they can achieve militarily pretty much anything."

N. Y. Viet Vote Now In Court

NEW YORK — The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee took action in State Supreme Court Sept. 29 to compel the city to place its Vietnam war referendum on the ballot this November.

A show-cause order, returnable in court on Tuesday, Oct. 3, was signed by Supreme Court Justice Mary Margaret Mangan, and served on City Clerk Herman Katz, and Commissioner of Elections, Thomas J. Mallee.

The order directs the city to show cause why it rejected the Parade Committee's petitions on Sept. 7. The case will probably be heard before Supreme Court Justice Saul Streit on Tuesday.

In a petition filed with the order, the Parade Committee asserted that denial of the right to hold the referendum was an infringement on the people's right to free speech, and a denial of the people's right to amend the city charter.



Photo by Nelson Blackstock

CANDIDATE SPEAKS. Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers nominee for Vice President, addresses students at Morehouse College in Georgia. See story, page 8.

THE MILITANT

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Discharge Set For Antiwar GI

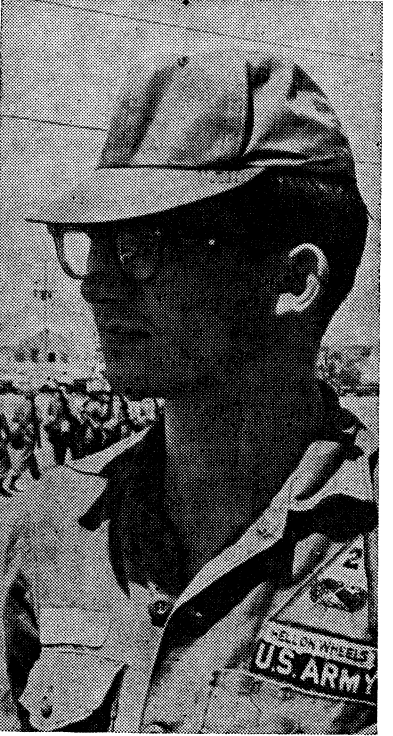
The U.S. Army brass have backed down from threats to court-martial Pfc. Howard Petrick for expressing antiwar and socialist views to his fellow GIs. However, the brass are now threatening to give Petrick a less than honorable discharge.

Last April military intelligence at Ft. Hood, Texas, where Petrick is stationed, searched his barracks, confiscating antiwar and socialist literature from his foot locker, and assigned him an Army attorney who advised Petrick he faced possible court-martial on charges of "subversion," "creating disaffection," and "making disloyal statements."

After holding the threat of court-martial over his head for five months, the brass finally decided to discharge Petrick from the Army. They gave no reason for their change of mind.

It can be assumed that the major reason for their decision not to prosecute Petrick was the substantial support he received in defense of his right to free speech. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, upon learning of the threat to Petrick, immediately agreed to provide the legal services of the distinguished constitutional lawyers, Leonard Boudin and Victor Rabinowitz. The Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick reached thousands with the facts on the case, and secured the endorsement of over 500 prominent figures in the antiwar, civil liberties and black struggle movements. Many GIs expressed support, also.

On Sept. 13, Petrick received a letter from his commanding general saying that the brass thought Petrick's presence in the Army was not in the "interests of national security." The letter implies that they are going to try



Pfc. Howard Petrick

to give him a less than honorable discharge.

There are only two charges against Petrick in the letter — that he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which is on the attorney general's so-called subversive list, and is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

In his reply, Petrick has demanded an honorable discharge as the only discharge consistent with his military record. His letter states:

"I do not object to a discharge under honorable conditions; indeed, I request it. I request it because I and my fellow servicemen

(Continued on Page 6)

Oct. 21 News

Following are excerpts from reports that have come in to the Student Mobilization Committee in the last week on plans for the massive October 21 Confrontation in Washington to end the war in Vietnam. For information on transportation from New York, see the advertisement by the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee on page 3. Also, important plans for October 21 in Japan are reported on page 6.

The schedule in Washington — rain or shine — calls for people to assemble at 11 a.m. at the Lincoln Memorial, then march at noon to the Pentagon south parking lot, where the rally will begin at 3 p.m.

Direct action by those desiring to do so will begin on the steps of the Pentagon at 4 p.m., and continue the next day, October 22, for those able to stay over.

DETROIT — (Wayne State University) "An exciting thing has happened here at WSU: the Student-Faculty Council (student government) has endorsed October 21 and is planning to have a fundraiser to send students to Washington. Also, the school newspaper is going to endorse October 21."

Buses are scheduled to leave Detroit Friday, Oct. 20, at 7:30 p.m. from Wayne State University at Putnam and Cass (Mackenzie Union). People will get back to Detroit at 10:30 a.m., Oct. 22. The round-trip fare is \$15. A plane has also been chartered at a round-trip fare of \$45.05.

For more information: Detroit Area Mobilization Committee, P.O. Box 9531 North End Station, Detroit, Mich. 48202. Phone 832-5700.

NEWARK, Delaware — "The (Continued on Page 6)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

On Sept. 27 negotiators for the Eastern Conference of Teamsters and the Empire State Highway Association reached a tentative agreement on a contract to cover 40,000 drivers organized into 16 local unions in New York and New Jersey. The contract will be submitted to a mail referendum among the union members concerned.

Frank Fitzsimmons, interim head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, said the new contract embodies the basic terms of the national agreement reached last spring for the rest of the country. It provides a wage increase of 25 cents per hour for the first year, and 15 cents for each of the other two years of the contract. The contract also provides "improved health and welfare benefits and pensions, a better vacation arrangement, and cost-of-living adjustments."

Joseph M. Adelizzi, chairman of the bosses' negotiations committee, said the new contract price was "far beyond what we would have liked to have paid."

In their September convention at Colorado Springs, Colo., the International Typographical Union adopted a resolution denouncing Congress and President Johnson for the strikebreaking legislation adopted last summer that forced the railroad workers into compulsory arbitration and denied them their right to strike.

Excerpts from the resolution follow:

"Whereas the adoption of strike-breaking, compulsory legislation against the workers in the railroad shops can set a dangerous precedent for future moves by the President and Congress against strikers in other industries, and

"Whereas greedy employers seek to use the war in Vietnam to engage in a spree of union-busting and strikebreaking, to compel labor to shoulder the burden of rising prices and higher taxes and accept reduced living standards . . . therefore be it

"Resolved, That the 109th Convention of the ITU denounces the strikebreaking compulsory arbitration law passed by Congress at the request of President Johnson."

Harry Golden, noted author of many popular books and editor of the *Carolina Israelite*, wrote an article in the Nov. 12, 1966, issue of *The New Republic* on the role of Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act (state right-to-work laws, so-called) as a powerful weapon in the hands of employers to keep unions out of the textile industry and thus hold down wages in the South.

Golden says that with integration now making headway, Southern employers are a bit more careful in the methods they use — "the old beat-up techniques" are being tossed overboard and re-

placed by a whole new apparatus of public relations operators, clergymen, lawyers and others. Wives of supervisors are "used to speak at meetings and to visit the homes of key employees" to exert anti-union influence.

The Textile Union has been winning many representation elections, but these are often wiped out by subsequent employer tactics made possible by Taft-Hartley legalism.

If all else fails and the union wins in court, the unionized plant is either merged with another (generally in a different town) or goes out of business.

With Section 14 (b) as a weapon against a living wage, the South is able to lure Northern manufacturers to Dixie. For example: "250 employees in Pennsylvania earning \$2.74 an hour are fired and down south 250 workers replace them at \$1.70 an hour."

All of what Golden says is true, but the Stevens Textile corporation is one firm which is still using the "old fashioned" union-busting methods, along with Taft-Hartley legalism. The labor spy is still the Stevens company's most effective weapon. And even the Supreme Court's ruling, upholding an NLRB directive that the company must rehire over 100 workers fired for union activity, has not as yet resulted in even one worker getting his job back.

Our correspondent in Detroit, Frank Lovell, presents a graphic picture of the present situation in that auto city where the Ford workers are on strike.

"Strike is the thing here now . . . 1,600 members of Retail Store Employees Union Local 867 have closed all Kroger supermarkets in the Detroit metropolitan area. Production workers at the notorious anti-union Burroughs Corporation voted this week to reject a company contract offer and have closed the plant.

"Registered nurses at the city's hospital have submitted resignations and are threatening to leave unless they get more help and more pay. Mayor Cavanagh says it is 'conceivable' that Detroit General Hospital, already short 100 nurses, may have to close for lack of funds.

"Strike is threatened by UAW skilled tradesmen in the job shops who this week presented demands for a \$1.20 an hour raise for a minimum base scale of \$5.40."

The strike of steel haulers (see *Militant Picket Line*, Oct. 2) is reported near settlement. Teamsters officials, trucking contractors and the steel industry reached a tentative agreement on Sept. 29. David Hough and William Hill, spokesmen for the protesting independent truckers, are presenting the proposals to the drivers for ratification.

—Marvel Scholl

INTERVIEW WITH D.C. LEADERS

Ferment at Howard U.

By Paul Boutelle

While on the Washington, D.C. leg of my Southern tour, I was able to have a discussion with Professor Nathan Hare and Anthony Gittens about conditions at Howard University.

Professor Hare, who was recently fired from the faculty of Howard, is the author of *The Black Anglo-Saxons* and chairman of the Black Power Committee of Washington. Anthony Gittens is a student at Howard, head of Project Awareness, and deeply involved with the problems of his fellow students.

Gittens and other students have organized protests at Howard since last year. The first protests this year were over the fact that a girl student had been dismissed without a hearing. Another issue was attempted recruiting by the CIA at the law school. Jay Greene, a law student, was active in organizing these protests, which forced the administration to reinstate the girl and halted the CIA recruiting effort.

Last March, Lieutenant General Hershey of the Selective Service tried to speak at Howard. Students marched in protest to the speaker's platform where Hershey was attempting to hold forth. The student action was not against Hershey's right to speak but against what he represented, and was summed up by the slogan, "America is the black man's battleground." The administration canceled the meeting despite the fact that the students were in favor of letting Hershey speak.

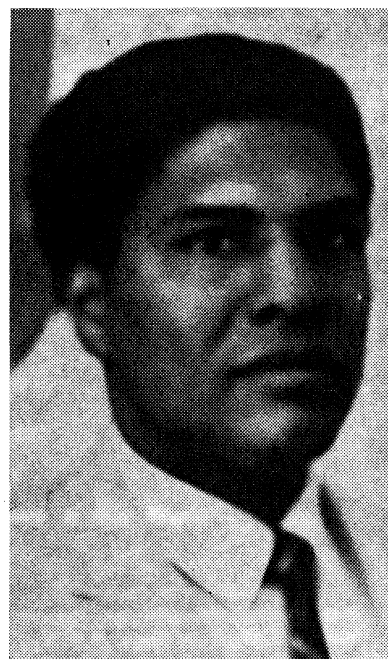
Victimization

As a result of the Hershey demonstration, five students were brought up on charges and later 19 students with a record of militant protest and criticism were dismissed. Twelve other students received letters of warning. So far only six students have been reinstated.

The administration had gathered lists that included 65 students alleged to belong to the black power fraction. There were also charges of communist subversion and SNCC involvement in the protests.

Gittens says, "We are organizing for bigger and better things and it is about time that Howard became a black university."

Professor Hare came to Howard because he wanted to teach at a black college and was surprised



Dr. Nathan Hare

at the conservative attitude among the students and faculty. But, he said, "the students began to change as their outlook on the world changed." The Vietnam war and the black power movement brought about student involvement.

A faculty forum was organized to protest the Vietnam war, but it was all white except for Professor Hare. "We could never keep a Negro," he said. "I tried to start a black professors group as early as 1965, but could not get them together."

"I told the faculty forum that I had to put up with them because I could not get a black professors' group together," Hare told me. "We had some black professors come and go — they never lasted past one meeting, except one, James Donaldson, who is now teaching at the University of Illinois in Chicago. He lasted a whole year. We were regarded by the white liberals in the group as troublemakers, even though they held on to us to refute the charges made by the Deans that whites were trying to take over the school."

At a 1965 debate on Vietnam, Hare was the only black speaker among the eight faculty members who participated. Even though most of the black professors supported the war, they were so inti-

midated by the administration that they were afraid to take any position in the debate.

However, a few of the new black faculty members have adopted a more militant attitude. This was reflected in the protest of one instructor against signing in for faculty meetings — he signed, "Ho Chi Minh, Department of Defense" instead of Department of Mathematics or whatever the correct department was.

Hare feels that it is impossible to reform the system at Howard, and that piecemeal demonstrations and protests will be ineffective. What is needed, he says, is to stop the University from functioning until black people have full control of it.

"What we are trying to do now," he says, "is to get the students and faculty aware of this fact and aware of the increasing Gestapo rulership that they will be subjected to if they don't move."

Professor Hare has been offered jobs at other schools, but refuses to teach again unless it is at Howard. Until then he is thinking about returning to professional boxing as a means of making a living.

* * *

The Movement is a hard-hitting, 12-page tabloid published monthly by The Movement Press, 449 14th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Its masthead announces that it is affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The front-page stories in the September issue include an article, "Black Revolution Is Real," about Stokely Carmichael's visit to Cuba, by Julius Lester, one of the SNCC representatives on that trip; and an interview by Mark Kleiman with an antiwar sailor from the USS *Coral Sea*, an aircraft carrier engaged in the Vietnam war.

An editorial deals with "SNCC and the Arab-Israel Conflict"; there are quotations from Fidel Castro's remarks about Carmichael and the U.S. press comment on his visit; a well-done picture story called "Where Would We Be Without a Handful of Rocks?"; a moving account of the frame-up of the five Texas Southern University students charged with murder, written by Rev. William Lawson; and reports of antidraft and other organizing activities from several cities around the country.

A single copy costs 10¢; a one-year subscription, \$2.

Remember to send copies of papers, magazines and pamphlets that you want publicized in this column. Mimeographed as well as printed publications will be included. Send them to me, c/o *The Militant*.

Boston Forum Off to Good Start

BOSTON — The Militant Labor Forum here launched its fall forum series with a dinner party on Sept. 23. The affair was a smashing success, from the expertly prepared dinner to the evening of entertainment and dancing.

Roger Reyes, a well-known guitarist and singer in the area, performed with the Los Barbudos Afro-Cuban Combo.

With over 70 people making reservations, others had to be turned away for lack of space.

On Sept. 29, there were over 90 present to hear Lawrence Stewart, a socialist and resident of New York's black community, speak on the outbreak there this summer. The second forum, Oct. 6, will feature Harry Ring, staff writer for *The Militant*, speaking on the National Committee for New Politics convention. The forum is held at 295 Huntington Ave., every Friday night at 8:30.

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SOCIALIST FUND

The "Ility Boys"

By Evelyn Reed

Defense Secretary McNamara announced last month the administration's plans to build a limited missile-defense system costing five billion dollars. He embellished this with such slick double-talk that most people don't see its terrible implications. But Russell Baker of the *New York Times* wrote an excellent satirical column, exposing the "bizarre jargon" used by the "Ility Boys" who are preparing for Doomsday.

The United States, said McNamara, must possess "assured destruction capability" to achieve "survivability" against enemy "penetrability." The "ility" at the end of their big words, remarks Baker, has a "light, gay, skipping sound," which obscures the fact that what they are talking about is "death on a grand scale."

But the Washington death-dealers would no more speak of a "megadeath" as "a million corpses" than an embalmer would refer to a "loved one" as a "stiff." At the same time they purchase "deliverable megatons" as though they were grocery orders" under pretext of a "defensive posture," and can "blow up the world between

lunch and teatime."

The coming Presidential campaign is a good time to wake up the American people to the dangers of these warmakers who are concealed "behind the mask of the Ility Boys." And the Socialist Workers Party is already engaged in doing that through its candidates, Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President. They will speak from coast to coast on behalf of their socialist, antiwar program which counterposes the constructive capability of human beings to the global destructibility plotted by the U.S. warmakers.

The \$20,000 fund drive just launched by the SWP is designed to spread their message to ever broader sectors of the American public. This is a tiny sum compared to the five billions demanded by McNamara, but it will be put to excellent use exposing the aims of the Doomsday rulers of this country.

We appeal to all *Militant* readers and supporters to help us raise that sum. Use the coupon on this page to send in your contribution.

Reuther's Arbitration Offer Dangerous to Auto Workers

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT — Negotiations between the striking auto workers and Ford are on "dead center," according to UAW President Walter Reuther. Malcolm L. Denis, Ford's representative, says "nothing has changed."

Reuther is asking that Henry Ford, as president of the corporation, participate personally in the bargaining sessions and invited Ford to speak to a mass rally of auto workers Oct. 1. Ford rejected the invitation, saying it did not offer "any remote possibility of speeding up negotiations."

It is reported that "some industry observers have predicted that there will not be any significant movement towards a settlement at Ford until after the Cobo Hall convention" of the UAW, Oct. 8 (*Detroit News*). Others are speculating that Reuther, anxious to see some movement out of the present deadlock, may again raise the dangerous arbitration proposal he made on the eve of the strike.

Since then, Frank Winn, a special assistant to Reuther, has explained in a letter to the *Detroit Free Press* (Sept. 21) that the UAW proposal is for "voluntary arbitration," which, he says, "is regarded by labor and responsible employers as an often useful tool in industrial relations."

This makes clear to the auto industry that Reuther would welcome arbitration in which the arbiter's decision would be "final and binding," but it is a proposal that is predicated upon the agreement of "responsible employers" to submit the question of wages to arbitration. And this was rejected by Ford on the grounds that it involves opening the corporation books — something the Big Three in the auto industry will not submit to. So in this respect "nothing has changed."

Reuther's arbitration proposal



Walter Reuther

at this stage in the strike presents a far greater danger to the UAW than to the auto corporations because it presupposes that arbitration is "impartial" and that a serious attempt will be made to adjust wages in accordance with corporate profits and increased productivity in the industry.

The present political reality is that arbitration will proceed under the aegis of a government fact-finding board and that the "findings" will show that auto workers are entitled to a five percent wage increase which is exactly in accordance with the Johnson administration's "guidelines."

It might well be that in the course of arbitration proceedings the auto corporations would suffer some embarrassment, their 25 percent rate of profit (after taxes) would be found to be exorbitant

and the current increase in auto prices unwarranted. But these are not questions to be ruled upon by the arbitrators. Only the question of wages is "final and binding" in the arbitration decision. So when it is all over the corporations manage quickly enough to overcome their embarrassment and continue their mad scramble to increase profits and boost prices, but the workers are stuck with the low wages "award" of arbitration.

The present "dead center" stage of negotiations is maintained by the policy of the corporations, whose aim is to wear the strikers down and force a settlement on their terms. But there are other options open to the UAW besides "impartial" negotiations. The purpose of a strike is to force a showdown with the employers and make them pay wages in accordance with the needs of the workers.

The strike at Ford has not yet forced such a showdown. One of the reasons is the limited nature of the strike. Ford operations which supply other sectors of the industry or are engaged in war production have not yet been closed down. These can be closed. Supervisory and salaried personnel at all Ford plants maintain equipment, take inventory and process orders as usual. This can be stopped.

These are questions that must be weighed by any responsible strike leadership and discussed and decided by the strikers. If this were the practice in the UAW today, the Ford strike would most likely take a different course and Ford would be anxious to resume negotiations.

If the present stalemate continues, the strikers will need to organize their own meetings to make decisions about the conduct of their strike, not only to listen to "reports" from their officials.

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Monday, October 9, 1967

When Thieves Fall Out

U.S. ruling circles are more deeply split than ever over the Vietnam war. An important indication of this has been the emergence of a new crop of "doves" within the Republican Party, many of whom are calling for a Republican "peace" candidate in 1968.

These capitalist doves are not mincing words in their attacks on administration policy. Echoing Governor Romney's assertion that he was "brainwashed" by the military, Thruston Morton, one of the Senate's top Republicans and former national chairman of the Republican Party, has charged the "military-industrial complex" with nothing less than "brainwashing" the President. In addition, he claims that Johnson himself was guilty of brainwashing the public during the 1964 election campaign, when he said that the war in Vietnam ought to be fought by "Asian boys."

Senator Morton advocates stopping the bombing and the "search and destroy" missions, but others want to go further. At the meeting of antiwar business executives where Morton first presented his antiwar views, Marriner S. Eccles, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, called for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

Obviously, this new opposition to the war does not result from any sudden concern on the part of these gentlemen for telling the truth. Nor does it represent any principled opposition to the use of military force to crush the Vietnamese. What Romney, Morton and company are concerned about is that the war in Vietnam is creating more dangers and problems for the capitalist class than gains. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people has made the price of aggression too high.

These dove politicians are concerned about the growing antiwar movement and the development of massive antiwar sentiment at home. They are worried about inflation and higher taxes and the resulting rise in militancy in the labor movement. The black revolts during the summer have convinced many of them that they had better reserve more money and forces for the maintenance of "law and order" on the home front. They are afraid that the U.S. will get so bogged down in Vietnam that it will not be in a position to deal with the colonial revolution in other areas — like Latin America. And they are concerned that the prospect of a long, hopeless war, which inexorably draws closer to the nuclear brink, will turn the people of the world — and of the U.S. — against the American rulers themselves.

Many of the most outspoken doves are hawks when it comes to the black liberation struggle in this country. On the CBS show "Face the Nation," Senator Hatfield of Oregon (R) advocated withdrawal from Vietnam if more help for the U.S. side doesn't come from the Vietnamese and other Asians, and then went on to criticize Martin Luther King and other advocates of civil disobedience for laying the groundwork for the black rebellions.

The antiwar sentiment among capitalist politicians represents only a tactical difference within the ruling class over how best to defeat the world revolution — but it also creates new openings and opportunities for the antiwar movement. While no confidence can be placed in any capitalist politician, these opportunities should be seized and used to build the antiwar movement.

When the thieves fall out, the rest of us can only gain. The capitalist politicians are accusing each other of "brainwashing," a word that conjures up images of totalitarian manipulation. This can only help the American people understand more deeply that they are being lied to by the government. And they will listen more carefully and with new respect to what the antiwar movement is saying. More of the truth about the war is bound to come out as both sides make accusations and counteraccusations.

The ability of those in power to rule intelligently is called into question. The ideas of the antiwar movement become legitimized, as does the whole concept of active protest and opposition to the war. Witchhunting and redbaiting of the antiwar movement is now much harder.

It is the job of the antiwar movement to reach out now to the tens of millions of ordinary Americans who are being affected by this process, and who can be mobilized for the fight to bring the troops home now.



Brainwashed?

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- ☐ Essex & B'way
- ☐ Union Square
17th St. & B'way

Brooklyn

- ☐ Brooklyn College
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Castro: Farmers and Socialism

By Les Evans

One of the most difficult problems facing a victorious socialist revolution in an underdeveloped country is the question of agrarian reform. After the obvious evils of foreign ownership and powerful absentee landlords have been eliminated, where does the agrarian revolution go next and at what pace? The Cuban revolution has been grappling with this problem, and developing in the process a rich understanding of the relations between the revolutionary government and the small farmers.

This is an important question in the development of other socialist revolutions. In the Soviet Union the terrible blunders in this area by Stalin created one of the greatest disasters of Soviet history. In the middle 1920s Soviet peasants were encouraged to expand the size of their holdings and called on to "enrich" themselves. Stalin encouraged and prolonged this process to the point where the growth of a powerful class of well-to-do farmers, or Kulaks, threatened the Soviet state itself. The Kulaks began to withhold grain from the cities to force prices up.

Bureaucratic Reaction

Belatedly and bureaucratically reacting to this threat, Stalin abruptly reversed himself and carried out the brutal forced collectivization of the late '20s and early '30s. Millions starved to death in the social dislocation that followed. To this day Soviet agriculture lags behind industry.

The Cubans have assimilated these negative lessons and applied what they learned to their own development, winning the allegiance of the small farmers to the revolution. Fidel Castro summed up the whole experience of the Cuban leadership in this area in a remarkable speech last May 18. The occasion was an address to the small farmers themselves at the third national congress of ANAP [Asociación Nacional Agricultores Pequeños — National Association of Small Farmers]. The Cuban government has recently published the speech as a pamphlet.

Castro discussed forthrightly and frankly the relationship of state farms to private farms, the rights of small farmers to keep their land, the future of the socialist sector of agriculture, and how the government plans to deal with black-market profiteering. In the process he explained in simple down-to-earth terms what socialism will be like and how what

the farmers do today will help create Cuba's socialist future.

"All over the world," Castro said, "there is much talk about agrarian reform. Everyone has a different concept . . . Some said: 'But it's very simple; distribute all the land.' In fact . . . the most prevalent idea in this country of how an agrarian reform should be carried out was that all the land should be distributed."

There was one simple problem with this approach: there was not enough land to go around. If all the arable land were distributed equally, the plots would be so small that "it would have been absolutely impossible to apply a machine, a combine, install a whole hydraulic system or fumigate or fertilize by plane . . ."

Did that mean the small farmers were to be forcibly "collectivized," as was done in the Soviet Union under Stalin? No. Castro explained:

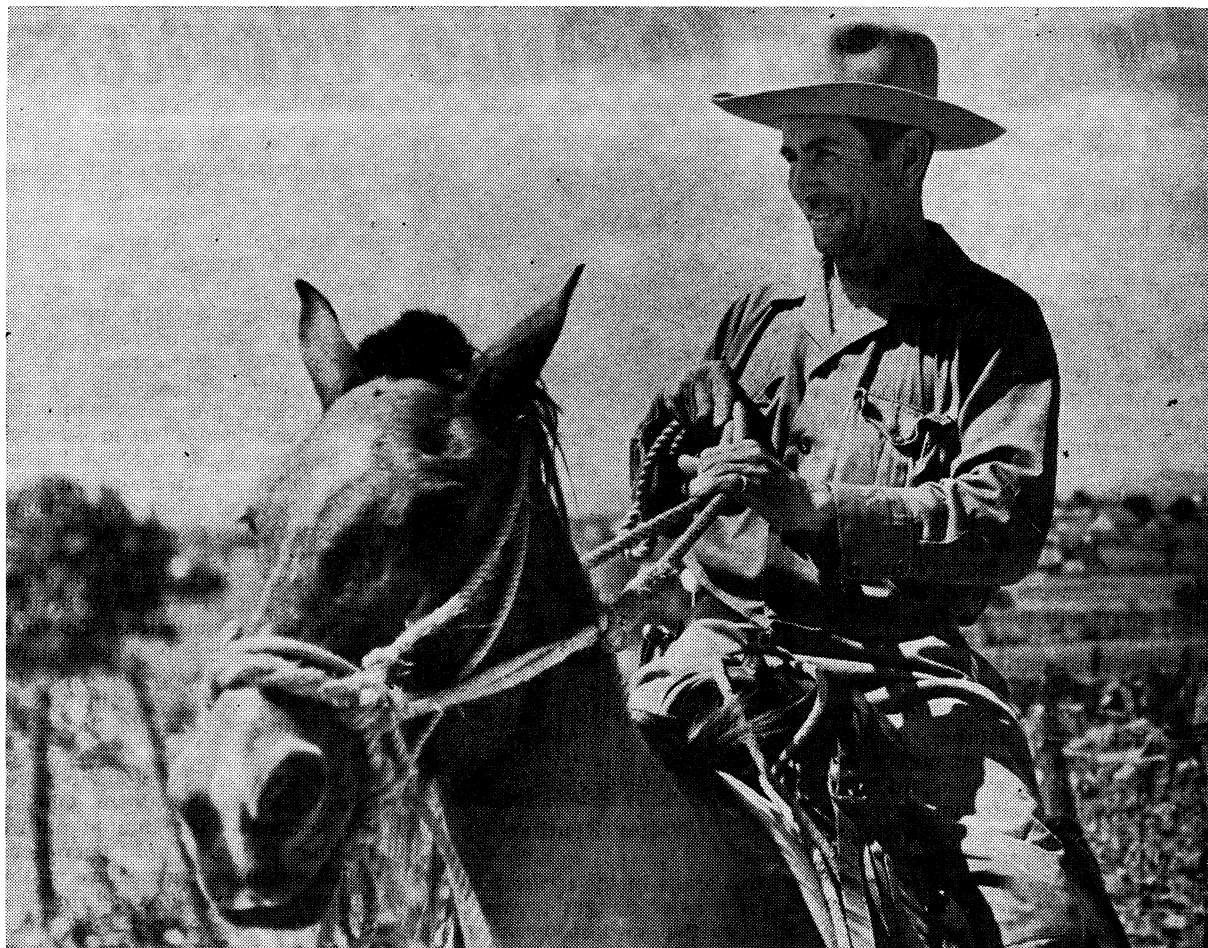
"The farmer, who has been working the land for years, who is accustomed to this way of working and is paying rent, paying one-third, or paying 50 percent — all these forms of exploitation which existed for farmers — this farmer is used to that way of working, this farmer has his whole mentality adapted to that way of doing things . . . We left that farmer there, we freed that farmer from his rent, that is, from exploitation and we began to give him all services possible — education, doctors, credit, communications . . ."

Modern Farming

Castro stated very frankly, however, that the future of Cuban agriculture lay in the application of technology to increasing productivity. This could only be accomplished on large-scale farms, and not on tiny subsistence holdings. "Why," he asked, "should an agricultural worker, why should a laborer, who one day can be a worker on the land aided by major machinery and technical methods, become instead a minifundist [marginal farm owner]?"

Cuban capitalists and large landowners pointed to the decision to convert the large farms into state farms as a threat to the small farmers: "They said to the peasant farmer, 'This is socialism, and that means they're going to socialize your land.' We came along and said to the peasant farmers, 'This is socialism and that means we're not going to socialize your land.'"

Will there always be small farmers? Castro commented: "We wonder if there will be small



CUBAN FARMER. Cuban revolution has understood problems of small farmers and has aided them, while at same time charting goal of modern, large-scale farming.

farmers in 40 years. And the answer is that if in 40 years farmers still exist who want to be alone, isolated, working there with a yoke of oxen, with a very low productivity, who prefer to stay that way, we'll leave them there even if it's 40, 50, 100 years.

"Does that mean then that this will last forever? No. It won't last forever, but that won't be because of any law of any kind. It won't last forever because of the incredible, colossal development in the agriculture of this country . . . because of the fantastic development of social and educational programs. We've already seen innumerable cases of farmers who lived in the mountains and . . . they've been left alone and they say: 'Look, I'm very old, everyone's left me and the fact is that we'd like to move, we'd like to sell out.'"

Social Changes

"Those who want to sell, we're going to buy them out. Of course, who would have sold 10 years ago!"

"But now . . . many of those farmers have sons studying technology and they have many opportunities . . . the farmers' children will become technicians, acquire new habits, a different mentality, other concepts. It is already happening."

Castro explained, patiently and sympathetically, but firmly, why technical and social changes would eventually make small-scale farming obsolete:

"Last year, when application of foliar urea [fertilizer] was begun, there was a pilot who sprayed over 5,000 acres of land in one day. Three thousand men could not do that job on the ground! . . . Agricultural workers in this country used to load 40 million tons of sugar cane, one stalk at a time, into oxcarts! Today, more than half of our total cane crop is loaded mechanically . . ."

"The time will come when every farmer's son, without exception, will be a technician. The best proof of this: the technological institutes will take in 40,000 students this year; in 1970 . . . there will be 100,000 students in the technological institutes! Ten more years and there won't be a single youth in the rural areas of this country who won't have a junior high school education and have become a technician."

Castro dealt with the problem of small farmers who took advantage of the scarcity of some products to sell them on the black market for double or triple their value. (The Soviet Union has stringent laws, including the death penalty, against profiteering, but they have been unable to abolish the black market in the USSR.)

"What is our policy toward speculators? Tranquility. Will we at some time arrest them for engaging in this form of robbery? No. That is not our way. Let the man who chooses to stand by the roadside and sell a turkey for a hundred pesos do so, and let the farmer who wants to sell milk at a peso a quart do so . . . I am going to explain the way that this problem will be solved. It is simple, very easy . . . Because the day will arrive when fruit, vegetables, and even milk will be distributed without charge to the public."

Is this just a dream of the remote future? Castro went on:

"We Are Socialists"

"Already this year, when we had a surplus of cabbage, these were given away free. If citrus fruit is in surplus supply at the end of the year . . . then the surplus citrus fruits will be given away free. And the distribution policy that will be followed is that every time there is a surplus of produce, this will be distributed to the public gratis."

"We are socialists; we are not capitalists. And this is where the great difference begins to be seen. Under capitalism, when something was in surplus because the people hadn't enough money to buy it, this surplus was thrown away. And while they were throwing out food, the people were dying of hunger."

"The way to communism is exactly this: education is free — a reality for us today — and free medical attention — which also exists today — and free housing — the great majority of our people no longer pays rent — and everything little by little, with time and at the pace made possible by production increases through use of technology and the work of the entire people, everything will be free."

Even capitalism's holy of holies will not escape this process:

"The day will come, gentlemen, when, as a result of the in-

crease in production, money will have no worth . . .

"This new generation will develop, thinking in terms of creation rather than in terms of money, the intermediary between man and man's products. They will think money vile. They will think that for many reasons. Under capitalism, money was an obsession . . ."

Throughout the meeting, which lasted until early in the morning, farmers called out their questions and comments, adding information, sharing their experiences, and explaining their problems and disagreements to Fidel.

The discussion ranged from reforestation projects, to dairy farming and increased incentives for cane farmers. In the give and take of the discussion it became apparent that the Cuban leadership has accumulated an immense experience in the field of agriculture.

Correct Road

The Cubans have evolved an approach which steers clear of the disaster of forced collectivization without veering to the opposite extreme of a laissez faire policy that permits the rebirth of capitalism through the enrichment and growth of small farmers into big landholders. Their open and creative approach to this key problem stands in contrast to the policy of all the other regimes of noncapitalist countries who, unlike Cuba, have failed to overcome the heritage of Stalinism in their relations with the peasants.

Castro raised this question in his closing remarks:

"We have our ideas about how socialism and communism should be built, and the results are what will prove who is right. And this does not just apply to our capitalist adversaries, those who want the socialist revolution to fail; within the socialist camp itself there are differing concepts of how socialism and communism should be built."

"And while we are developing our people's revolutionary awareness, while we are deepening our ideology and internationalist awareness, we desire and intend to show that in the field of economic development, and in the field of building socialism and communism, the way we have selected is the most correct, the most revolutionary way."

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)

KAROLYN KERRY,
Business Manager

NEW POLITICS CONVENTION

"Third Ticket" Proposal

By Harry Ring

A striking feature of the New Politics convention held in Chicago Labor Day weekend was the fact that the proposal to field a third presidential ticket against Johnson and the Republicans was unable to win any significant support among the many radical young activists at the parley.

Because the proposition failed to generate any enthusiasm among the young people, opponents of the idea were able to block it by counterposing the notion of local community organizing.

Putting aside the question of the merits of the local organizing program — which, in our view, are at best dubious — it can hardly be argued that local organizing is a meaningful alternative in the 1968 presidential election. The net practical effect of the local organizing stand that was adopted was to abstain from the presidential contest.

The failure of the third-ticket forces to prevail certainly did not reflect any lack of opposition to the Johnson administration or any widespread sentiment within the convention to stay with the Democratic Party. Any direct appeals for such a course were dismissed out of hand. The defeat of the third-ticket forces demonstrated that they simply were unable to convince the movement activists gathered at the Palmer House that their proposition offered a significant challenge to the major parties.

True, none of the delegates participating in the discussion did an effective job of demonstrating that the third-ticket idea was but one more proposition to keep the movement bottled up within the framework of capitalist politics and should be rejected for that reason. Yet the significance of the failure to rally the young people for the third-ticket resolution cannot be discounted.

The essentially conservative and reformist nature of the third-ticket proposal is seen in the declarations on the question by the

Communist Party and DuBois Clubs, the most articulate and energetic exponents of the proposition.

For example, a DuBois Club position paper in a preconvention issue of *New Politics News* offers, among others, this rather uninspiring argument on behalf of a third ticket:

"...the most effective means we have of pressuring the Republicans for a pro-peace, pro-freedom position (and the Democrats, too, for that matter) is to begin now to build a broad, dynamic third ticket movement. That kind of movement will tend to pull the major parties toward its positions."

This argument is closely related to the basic motivation for a third ticket as conceived by the Communist Party and its supporters. It explains why, even though they want a third ticket, they are against a third party.

CP Position

The distinction between the two positions may appear, at first glance, to be a small one. But for the CP the distinction is very real. For them advocacy of a third party embraces the idea, implicit or explicit, of breaking with the Democrats. They are against doing so.

Why, then, do they favor a third ticket? The answer — contradictory as it may appear at first glance — is that they see a third presidential ticket as precisely the lever for keeping radical-minded voters within the framework of capitalist-party politics.

The general political perspective of the Communist Party is for "progressives" to work within and influence the policies of the Democratic Party. This policy is expressed in a very sympathetic attitude toward such liberal formations as the New York Reform Democratic Clubs and the California Democratic Councils.

This orientation toward the Democratic Party, developed over a period of three decades, is the

concrete expression of the non-revolutionary, reformist policy of the party. For the officialdom of the Communist Party, the road to peace and freedom lies in a hoped-for coalition with the "progressive" section of the capitalists as expressed through the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

That's why, since 1936 when it gave de facto support to Roosevelt, the CP has supported the presidential nominees of the Democratic Party. While such support has not been official, it has always been readily apparent.

The one exception to this was the party's support for Henry Wallace in 1948, and that proved a disaster. At that time the CP went along with the formation of a third party, the Progressive Party. A few facts about that campaign may help to indicate the fallacy of the third-ticket notion put forward at the New Politics conference (as well as the third-party proposal advocated there by the Independent Socialist Clubs and others).

Coming at the outset of the cold war and witchhunt, the Wallace campaign was dedicated to advancing the cause of peace and freedom. But it sought to do so by building a movement in support of a candidate who was completely committed to the capitalist system and its institutions — a candidate who made clear that he saw his candidacy only as a vehicle for pressuring the administration into changing its cold war policies, not as an instrument for basic social change.

It was expected that Wallace's progressive, pro-peace views would attract the support of large numbers of voters alienated by the warmongering and racist policies of Truman and his Republican opponent, Thomas Dewey. This expectation was bolstered when Wallace got on the ballot in 40 states.

But Truman yanked the rug from under Wallace with one of the oldest tricks in politics. He outflanked him from the left. Some-



SOCIALIST CANDIDATE. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers nominee for President, talking with NCNP delegates at SWP campaign headquarters in Palmer House hotel during New Politics convention.

what in the way Johnson was the big "peace" candidate in '64, Truman unleashed a campaign of radical demagoguery that left Wallace standing with his jaw agape while his supporters deserted him en masse. Instead of the 10 to 20 million votes that his supporters had predicted for him, Wallace wound up with 1.6 million, half of them cast in the state of New York.

Wallace supporters screamed "foul," complaining that Truman had stolen their man's program. (This was similar to Norman Thomas' explanation that the Socialist Party withered away because the Democrats stole their program.)

Actually, the Wallaceites could only complain that their program was borrowed, not stolen, since Truman, like Johnson after '64, proceeded to carry out the reactionary policies he was committed to all along. (It could be further argued that it wasn't really Wallace's program either since when the Korean war broke out he supported U.S. intervention.)

But the question that the Wallaceites, or Thomas, didn't answer is, wasn't there something wrong with a program that could be so easily stolen by the Democrats?

Capitalist Program

What was wrong, in both cases, is that the program was not anti-capitalist and that's why it could be "stolen." Capitalist politicians can outbid anyone when it comes to general declarations in favor of peace, equal rights, social progress, motherhood and what have you. But they can't steal an anti-capitalist program which proposes to achieve such things as peace and freedom by fighting to abolish the social system that stands in the way of achieving them.

This was the big lesson of the Wallace fiasco. Yet the CP leaders decided it was a failure for the very opposite reason. They decided that it failed because it was an "ultra-left adventure." The big "lesson" they drew from the Progressive Party experience was not to get "isolated" from the "mainstream," that is, the liberal Democrats. As fast as they could, they pressed for the dissolution of the Progressive Party (and the American Labor Party in New York) so that their supporters could find their way back into the "mainstream."

The Progressive Party experience is still very much in the minds of the CP tops. That's why they were so insistent on a third ticket rather than a third party in Chicago. Their actual motivation for favoring a third presidential ticket is that it will make it more possible to continue to work in the Democratic Party beyond '68.

They recognize that their pro-Democratic Party perspective would be extremely difficult to sell, even in their own ranks, if it meant a repetition of the devastating experience of campaigning for Lyndon Johnson in '64. They have decided that the only way to persuade people to vote

and work for "pro-peace," "pro-freedom," "progressive," "lesser evil," Democratic candidates on a local, state and congressional level is to offer an alternative to the thoroughly hated Johnson on the presidential line.

The third-ticket strategy boils down to disassociating from Johnson in order to make the rest of the Democratic Party more palatable.

For the CP, the need for an alternative to Johnson is given added urgency by the presence of the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. In one plea to the party membership to get behind the third-ticket drive, Gus Hall emphasized that the absence of such a ticket would leave a major opening to be filled by the SWP — a fate he apparently considers far worse than a gain for the Republicans or Democrats.

Some of the CP leaders still speak of the need to press for a third ticket despite the defeat at Chicago. But their task is now even more difficult. The whole idea of a third ticket is motivated by the argument that — unlike a socialist campaign at present — a third ticket would rally broad support.

Contradiction

Inherent in the argument for such a "broad," "non-sectarian" campaign is the assumption that some major public figure will head the ticket. Otherwise you can't justify limiting yourself to simply running a ticket and not trying to build a new movement. And you can't justify rejecting an allegedly "narrow" socialist program.

But, as the experience with Drs. King and Spock demonstrated, you can't generate enthusiasm for such a ticket among the young radicals who are indispensable for such a campaign.

And, unfortunately for the third ticket-ites, most of the political figures who fall into the category of "prominent" are no more radical than King or Spock.

Thus, even though the great bulk of the young people who journeyed to Chicago didn't have a clear political perspective, they just couldn't be sold on a project that failed to offer a clearly radical alternative. That was a major reason why the New Politics convention ended in shambles.

There was a modest but real demonstration in Chicago that radical-minded people can be attracted to a third ticket if it really offers a meaningful alternative. That was the significant amount of interest that was expressed in the Socialist Workers ticket by convention participants.

There is every reason to believe that such interest will mount. A growing number of people are opposed to the war and racism of the Democrats and the Republicans and they don't want to sit out the presidential contest. The Halstead-Boutelle slate will offer them the real choice of anticapitalist, socialist politics.

(Last of a series)

Debray Trial in Bolivia

The frame-up trial of Régis Debray by a military court in Camiri, Bolivia, was adjourned indefinitely Sept. 27. Defense lawyers for the 27-year-old French journalist have filed an appeal demanding a civilian trial and are awaiting a decision from the Supreme Military Court in La Paz.

Debray is accused of participating in the Bolivian guerrilla movement. He is charged with "rebellion, murder and armed robbery" and the military prosecutor has demanded a 30-year sentence.

Debray's lawyer insists that the government is withholding evidence that would prove Debray came to Bolivia solely as a jour-

nalist to interview the guerrillas. In particular, the army has refused to return Debray's passport. The French ambassador to Bolivia has said repeatedly that Debray's passport bears a legal stamp of entry which would disprove the government claim that he entered the country secretly to join the guerrillas.

Foreign correspondents covering the trial for the world press have protested threats against them by the military prosecutor and the expulsion of a French reporter.

Irineu Guimaraes, correspondent for Agence France-Presse and the Paris daily *Le Monde*, was expelled from Camiri Sept. 30 for an article that displeased the brass hats. The head of the military tribunal called a meeting of the remaining reporters, where he read the objectionable article as a warning to the other correspondents.

Village?

Guimaraes had dared to refer to Camiri as a "village"; he reported that the head of the tribunal had told a defense lawyer to shut up; and said an armored truck used to bring Debray to the trial was a gift of the U.S.

The Oct. 2 *New York Post* reported, "When correspondents protested that none of this should have led to Guimaraes' expulsion, military prosecutor Col. Remberto Irriarte, who ordered the expulsion, replied:

"If you agree with Guimaraes, you too are a Communist and will have to leave Camiri."



Photo by Shannon

FREE DEBRAY! New York demonstration demands freedom for French journalist. Picket line was organized by the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence on Sept. 27 in front of Bolivian consulate.

...Oct. 21 Mobilization News

(Continued from Page 1)
University of Delaware chapter of Students for a Democratic Society . . . wholeheartedly endorses the October 21 march. We plan to send at least five buses to Washington on that day. Everyone here is very excited because it appears that the Washington march is going to provide a real impetus to our local organizing efforts."

ONEONTA, N.Y. — "We already have filled one bus and are working on a second . . ."

JACKSONVILLE, Ill. — (MacMurray College) "MacMurray is planning to send a busload or so to Washington."

BUFFALO, N.Y. — "... at present it looks like we will be sending a minimum of six buses to Washington . . ."

DETROIT — "The Inner City Voice (Detroit's Black Newspaper) would be interested in any information you can send concerning your project. We would specifically like to obtain information about securing transportation for a black antiwar contingent to the October mobilization . . ."

BERKELEY, Calif. — "The Berkeley and San Francisco Student Mobilization Committees will be conducting a three-week West Coast trailblazing tour between the weeks of Sept. 25 and Oct. 14. During this time, we plan to cover between 30 and 40 campuses on the West Coast . . . We will . . . discuss plans for Oct. 21, car caravans to Washington, etc. . . ."

CHICAGO — "Two Student Mobilization Committee members from Chicago are currently on a trailblaze through the states of

Japan Unionists Plan Gigantic Oct. 21 Action

A massive demonstration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam is scheduled to take place in Japan on October 21. Called under broad sponsorship, the action promises to be one of the most significant of the international protests being held in solidarity with the American antiwar movement's mobilization in Washington the same day.

The chief organizers of the Japan action are SOHYO [the Japan General Council of Trade Unions], the Japan Socialist party and the Japan Youth Committee Against War.

Hiroyuki Sasako, general secretary of the Japan Youth Committee Against War, estimated in a letter to the Student Mobilization Committee in the U.S. that a central meeting in Tokyo would bring out 300,000, and as many as three million people would demonstrate throughout Japan.

October 21, Sasako said, is a "very significant date for the peace and democratic movement in Japan." It marks the first anniversary of a nationwide general strike against the war in Vietnam called by SOHYO on October 21 last year.

It is also the date on which Japan's Prime Minister Sato is expected to arrive in Saigon for a goodwill visit to the military clique of Thieu and Ky.

The Japan Youth Committee Against War, at a special national convention, voted to call for demonstrations of Japanese youth on October 13 to help build the International Day of Protest the following week. The demonstration will have two aims: to demand that the U.S. get out of Vietnam and to oppose the planned visit of Prime Minister Sato to South Vietnam.



DETROIT. 'Billboard used in Motor City to publicize Oct. 21.

Indiana, Illinois and Missouri (St. Louis). They have had an excellent response . . . at Notre Dame University in South Bend . . . [and] in West Lafayette, Ind. at Purdue University. The antiwar activists on that campus . . . will try to charter a bus through the university to go to Washington . . .

"At last report the trailblazers were on their way to Richmond, Ind. and Earlham College. Then up to Ball State Teachers College in Muncie, Indianapolis, Bloomington, Greencastle, Carbondale, E. St. Louis, St. Louis, Champaign-Urbana, Bloomington and Normal, Ill., and maybe a stop at Ill. State University . . ."

UPSTATE NEW YORK — (From a trailblazing team) "We hit Vassar College in Poughkeepsie and New Paltz State Teachers College in New Paltz yesterday, as well as reaching Binghamton, where we are now.

"At Vassar they have a 30-member CEVV, which . . . has a good deal of overlap with the SDS chapter there . . . The SDSers are supporting October 21, and buses and cars are being planned for transportation . . . They got over

100 people April 15 and hope to be able to do much better for October 21 . . .

"New Paltz got out 75 to April 15 . . . they expect more this time . . . In Binghamton . . . Harpur [College] expects 200-300 in Washington on the 21st, and the student government may be paying for the buses."

LOS ANGELES — "We'll be sending people to Washington, D.C. in car caravans, by Greyhound bus and by air. Also planned: a reception for H. Rap Brown on Oct. 13; a 'Sunset Penthouse Cocktail Party' sponsored by the Business and Professional Committee to Build Los Angeles Participation for the Confrontation with the Warmakers in Washington, D.C. on October 21." For more information, contact the Southern California Mobilization Committee, Box 4021, Inglewood, Calif. Phone: 467-3744.

...Petrick

(Continued from Page 1)

have been subject to harassment by interrogation with respect to activities opposing the Vietnam war which the Army has conceded to the press and elsewhere to be lawful and protected by the First Amendment . . ."

Petrick's letter of rebuttal stresses the constitutional questions involved in his case: "The fact that the Socialist Workers Party has been designated as a subversive organization by the Attorney General . . . does not in any way derogate from my constitutional right to be a member of that organization or of the Young Socialist Alliance."

The reply also reminds the brass that Petrick refused to sign the questionnaire on association with organizations on the Attorney General's "subversive list" at the time of his induction. If membership in organizations on the witchhunt list were relevant to military service, he shouldn't have been drafted in the first place.

If the Army proceeds to discharge Petrick under less than honorable conditions, his attorneys are prepared to sue the secretary of the army and fight in the courts for an honorable discharge.

This new development is a big victory for all those who are supporting the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick, and for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. It is also a victory for the GIs who have shown their solidarity with Petrick, and for the rights of all GIs to hold and discuss antiwar views.

This new stage in the case means, however, new legal and publicity expenses, and the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Petrick is in need of funds. Send contributions to the committee at Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The Black Struggle

New Carmichael Interview Available

The full text of an interview granted by Stokely Carmichael in Havana to the editor of the Mexican magazine *Sucesos* is now available in English. It appears in the Oct. 6 issue of *World Outlook*.

In this important interview Carmichael answers questions on a wide range of topics including socialism, international solidarity, class struggle and the Cuban revolution. Many of his statements reflect the experiences he had while in Cuba.

In presenting what he believes should be the political aims of the black movement Carmichael says, "... we want to destroy capitalism economically because this system always goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation."

The interview includes an extended defense of "armed struggle." Carmichael explains that "the reactionaries manage to stay in power solely by means of arms, but they legalize their violence and then preach with an unheard-of cynicism that it's not right to use violence. Take away their guns and their imperialist forces and we will see how many people listen to them; take away the bases they have in Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile and throughout Latin America, and the arms they have in these places, and you will see nobody paying any attention to them."

When asked why he came to Cuba, Carmichael answered, "We came to Cuba just to learn and in the few days we have been here we learned things about the Cuban revolution we could never have learned from books, films, or any other medium. Here I have been able to stay among a free people and to understand and see how they are solving their problems."

Copies of the interview can be obtained for 50¢ by writing to *World Outlook*, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.

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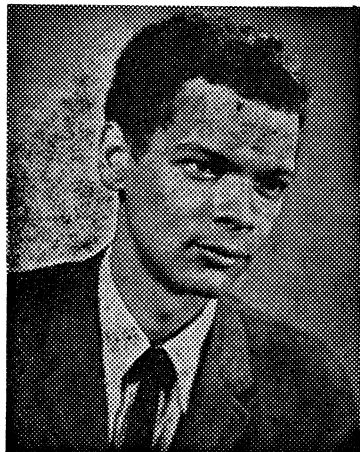
Fifty-one student activists who were suspended last spring from Houston's Texas Southern University have filed a suit seeking reinstatement. The wholesale purge of students, many of whom were members of campus chapters of Friends of SNCC and SCLC, came in the aftermath of the now famous May 16 police attack on a TSU dormitory.

During this onslaught, in which an army of cops poured some 2,000 to 3,000 rounds into the building, a cop was killed and five TSU students were indicted for murder.

The five are scheduled to go on trial Nov. 27, and the attempt to reinstate the 51 suspended students is the opening battle in their defense. It will help to expose the fact that the prosecutions and physical attacks on TSU students have been aimed to do one thing only — to stop the militant black protests in Houston which have been centered at TSU.

* * *

A group of American Indians are



Julian Bond



Stokely Carmichael

visiting tribes in 13 states and Canada in order to spread "red nationalism," a philosophy that calls for Indian unity and pride in the Indians' heritage.

According to Mad Bear Anderson, one of the leaders of the tour, Indians need to wipe out the scars of the white educational system which distorts their true history and teaches that they are "savages who run around scalping people." Mad Bear also thinks the white man's belief in private property should be rejected. "We don't want to be absorbed into a sick society," he says.

* * *

The table below gives an insight into recent clashes between New York City teachers and the black community. The right-hand column shows what percentage of the public school teachers in listed cities are Afro-Americans. The column on the left indicates what percentage of the population is black.

If figures for percentage of black school children were given, the contrast between the two figures for New York would be greater. In New York over 50 percent of the school children are Puerto Rican or Afro-American.

	Black Pop.	Black Teachers
New York	18.5%	10 %
Chicago	32	33.1
L. A.	17	6.5
Phila.	30	30.8
Detroit	36	30
Houston	22	28.5
Balt.	42.5	51
Cleve.	35	33
Wash., D.C.	63	78.2

* * *

There have been so many protests against cutbacks in the New York poverty program that the Human Resources Administration has set up a special agency called "Demonstration Task Force" whose only task is to deal with angry citizens. The Sept. 24 *New York Times* referred to it as "one of the administration's most rapidly growing agencies."

Elaborate security precautions have been set up in the building that houses HRA to prevent demonstrators from intruding on poverty program bureaucrats.

* * *

Many people have been wondering who is responsible for the antiwar comic book which has been circulating recently. The booklet is entitled "Vietnam" and has no identification except for the signature of the artist, "T. G. Lewis."

We have just learned that Julian Bond wrote the text and the money for the project was donated by a Connecticut businessman. The book gives a history of the Vietnam war showing why black people have no reason to support it.

—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.]

Teachers' Strike

New York, N.Y.
A tremendous amount of confusion and bitterness has resulted from the strike of the New York City teachers. Here are a few points that I think might help to clarify the confusion:

1. The strike should have been supported by all parents, even though the union committed some terrible mistakes — mistakes that antagonized the ghetto parents who were, and are, rightfully angry at the union. The enemies of both the union and the parents are the board of education and the city, in the person of Mayor Lindsay. It is not the union but the past and present boards and city administrations, who have allowed education (particularly in the ghettos) to deteriorate to its present horrible level, who are at fault.
2. The chief culprit in the drama is the "liberal" Mayor Lindsay. Lindsay has gotten off scot-free by hiding behind the skirts of strikebreakers Giardino (president of the board) and Bernard Donovan (Superintendent of Schools), who have done the dirty work for him.
3. Lindsay should have closed the schools, as was done in Detroit, and he could have allowed the teachers to have a voice in policy, as was done in Detroit. Instead, he allowed the board of education to invoke the Taylor law to harass the union and, in general, pursued a policy of di-

vide and rule. The net result has been to pit parent against parent, teacher against teacher, parents against teachers and teachers against parents — with the strike being prolonged in the hope that union members would break ranks and the union be defeated.

4. What should the attitude of the teachers and the parents have been?

Teachers should have said to parents: "With all its faults and its inept leadership, it is still my union and I must support it in the hope that I and others can help to change it and improve it by getting rid of its racist leaders."

"Since the board of education has kept the schools open, you, the ghetto parents (not the white, middle-class parents who control their schools anyway), should, if you want to, go inside and learn how to run the schools against the administrators and bureaucrats who hinder us from teaching as we should. We believe that community control is the only solution, and when the strike is over we will work together with you for better education — through community control."

5. The parents could have said to the teachers: "We support your just demands 100 percent, but after the strike is over we will demand that you produce and show us that the 'More Effective Schools' and smaller class size are really more effective."

"We too want a voice in policy on how the schools are run because our children were not learning anything under the old system. No matter what the cost, our children must get a good education, and we will hold you accountable from now on or we will take over from you and the board of education."

E. P.

Opportunism?

New York, N.Y.
I'll be damned if I spend a further penny for your opportunism, particularly exhibited in your Middle East position. (But not only there!)

You are cordially invited to rationalize that my contempt for your Middle East position is due to petty-bourgeois Jewish nationalism.

H.W.

Black Teacher's Trial

New York, N.Y.
Being an ex-student of the black Long Island biology teacher recently found innocent of a girl student's molesting charges, I followed closely the public "trial" held by the school board and the reactions of my lily-white home town. I thought the town's rallying behind the teacher quite admirable, but I'm not sure I can say the same for the school board.

When the teacher, Maurice McNeill, first was charged, he asked the board to arrange a meeting with him, the girl, and her parents, at which he would try to show very clear evidence of his innocence. The board insisted on the public trial which got nationwide publicity. Some three weeks after the charges were made, the

board suspended McNeill without pay.

After another two weeks, McNeill claims he was offered a deal by the board — if he resigned before the trial, he would be given a good recommendation for teaching elsewhere (as of last report, the board has yet to deny this claim).

When the trial finally was held, McNeill brought forth the evidence he had wanted to show at the earlier private meeting the board had refused. Primary was the testimony of another teacher that at the time of the alleged molestation he was speaking with McNeill a few hundred feet away. The second teacher's wife corroborated the story. Also, a third teacher was teaching a class at the time, so close that his voice could easily be heard in the office where the alleged incident took place.

The girl, as she herself admitted, made no attempt to call for help. She not only made no attempt to escape the alleged molestation, but even stayed in the office some 20 minutes after McNeill left, according to her testimony, to finish the paperwork she was doing!

The strength of McNeill's case, in addition to his great popularity in the community and among students, gave him strong support throughout, including some \$2,200 collected for his defense. When he was found innocent, he was reinstated with full back pay, but there is still significant dissatisfaction among his supporters on the way the board handled the case.

The chief complaint was that there was no need for a trial, that McNeill's request (for a private meeting before any action) should have been granted. The Long Island Council of the American Federation of Teachers was foremost in opposing the trial. McNeill says he is planning to sue his accuser's parents for damages done his reputation.

Robert Gebert

Progressive Labor

Chicago, Ill.

In previous issues of *The Militant* you have described the Progressive Labor Party as sectarian and ultraleft in their attitude towards the antiwar movement with specific mention of their attitude to the antiwar coalitions which they describe as the TRPL (Trotskyist, Revisionist, Pacifist, and Liberal) Alliance. I believe that you may have been a bit too hard on PL because here in Chicago we have not noticed that to be the case. Perhaps the local phenomenon is not typical of the national picture.

The Progressive Labor Party in Chicago participates in the Chicago Peace Council, as good an example of TRPLism as the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee

I would bet. They take an active part in the deliberations of the Peace Council and have tried to the best of their ability to work for Peace Council projects such as a bail fund and a referendum, making clear that they didn't like the wording of the referendum.

At Roosevelt University they have decided, it seems, to work in the RU Committee to End the War and have abandoned the idea of trying to make SDS the arena for their work. I see this too as a very good sign of the broadening character of the antiwar movement.

As an antiwar activist in Chicago, I am very happy to see that PLP is not acting in a sectarian way, which I had previously come to expect from reading their press and hearing their spokesmen. I think the antiwar movement will benefit greatly here from the non-sectarian attitude of the Chicago PLP in that it will be made broader and more inclusive of all the diverse tendencies opposed to the war.

I would like to know if this situation is duplicated in other parts of the country where there are active members of PLP. If so, it would certainly be a forward move for the whole radical community.

R. M.

Thought for the Week

"Stop immediately all meetings and parades for the sake of national security, the sufferings of the people and your own health." — Brig. Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan, top cop for Saigon dictators Thieu and Ky, to protesting students and Buddhists.

It Was Reported in the Press

The Free-World Front — Four Saigon newspapers have been suspended by the government since the adoption of a constitution which bars any form of press censorship.

Correction — Responding to the recent book about him, J. Edgar Hoover set the record straight by stating that he does not insist that agents wipe their hands before shaking hands with him. Of course not. We always assumed they did so afterward.

The Great Society — We were moved by the news that Luci Bird had spent a week at the Greenhouse, the \$747-a-week spa which Neiman-Marcus operates as a sideline. As Washington correspondent Dorothy McCardle explained, "Luci is doing what most new mothers need to do after the birth of a baby. She is taking special diet and exercise to streamline her figure and tone up her muscles and nerves." And we thought Luci really conformed to her daddy's wonderful sense of taste and modesty when she declined a Greenhouse suggestion to hold a press conference. A simple, American girl.

Foolproof — "VIRGINIA BEACH, Va., Sept. 27 (UPI) — A small air-to-sept rocket ignited and broke through its packing

crate at Oceana Naval Air Station today, ripping through two buildings and hitting two jet aircraft."

Message — Marshall McLuhan, the message man who is certainly ambitious if not intelligible, says we'll be in a depression by 1972. Why? Because, he explains, "the turned-on generation, the swingers," are not ambitious. Fordham University is currently expending \$100,000 a year for Dr. McLuhan and staff, so the students can absorb his wisdom, and, presumably, thus avoid a depression.

God's Work — A National Association of Police Chaplains has been established. Its function will be to improve the public attitude toward policemen. Maybe if they could persuade the cops to carry Bibles instead of guns and billy clubs...

Oops — Florida motorists were

warned against a particular type of blue-lensed sunglasses sold in the area which are a complete red filter, blotting out such things as red traffic lights, tail lights, etc.

And What About Smokers? — Alcoholics are seven times as likely as nonalcoholics to be victims of fatal accidents, according to a recent study.

A Great Governor — The state of Florida got a \$3,600 bill for a telecast by Gov. Kirk in which he explained that the state's school system — ranked among the worst and lowest paying in the nation — is not in a crisis. Meanwhile an aide of the governor took four state house secretaries on a trip to Washington. He said they went to meet with secretaries to Florida's congressional delegation and that this would facilitate communication between Washington and Tallahassee.

—Harry Ring

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Weekly Calendar

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

SALT OF THE EARTH — Film about the struggles of Mexican-American miners. Fri., Oct. 13, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

GREECE: A Report and Analysis. Speaker: Ellis Burruss. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 302 So. Canal St., Debs Hall, Contrib. 75 cents. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

THE UPSURGE AMONG TEACHERS AND SERVICE WORKERS. Hear Evelyn Sell, correspondent for *World Outlook* and a participant in the recent Detroit teachers' strike. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. at Eugene V. Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave. Contrib. 75 cents; students 50 cents. Aup. Militant Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS OF ISAAC DEUTSCHER. Speaker: Peer Vinther, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 13, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

LEE LOCKWOOD will speak on the theme of his book, **CASTRO'S CUBA, CUBA'S FIDEL**, An American Journalist's Inside Look at Today's Cuba. Lockwood's photos from Cuba will be exhibited. Fri., Oct. 13, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

MOBILIZATION, OCTOBER 21, WASHINGTON, D.C. Panel discussion by Minnesota Mobilization Committee participants. Fri., Oct. 13, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Mpls. Aup. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

S.F. Socialists Back Antiwar Referendum

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO — Robert Davis and Clyde Cumming, Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and board of supervisors, filed for position on the ballot on Sept. 19. In a statement released to the press at the filing, the candidates said they would campaign for a large "Yes" vote on the referendum to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Mrs. Cumming added: "As a black woman, I know that it is here that black people should be fighting for their rights and not thousands of miles away against other colored people. I will urge every black person in San Francisco to vote to bring our boys home now."

The referendum is the first such ballot proposition to come to a vote in a large city as the result of popular initiative. Davis and Cumming were among the many citizens of San Francisco who worked hard to get signatures to put the referendum on the ballot.

(The statement which will be on the city ballot in November is designated as Proposition P, and reads: "It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems." Organized by Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam, many San Franciscans participated in gathering the 22,000 signatures to put the statement on the ballot. Although only 12,000 signatures were needed, the city's registrar of voters refused

to accept the petitions, but a ruling by the California Supreme Court put the referendum on the ballot.)

Davis faces a field of a dozen or so opponents in the mayoralty contest in the "non-partisan" elections. The chief candidates of the city bosses are three: a Republican, Harold Dobbs; a regular Democrat, Joe Alioto; and a "liberal Democrat," Jack Morrison.

Morrison entered the race as a "peace" candidate, and is busily seeking the support of liberals and radicals in the city.

Morrison became a candidate only after the incumbent Mayor Shelley had withdrawn. Before that he had been content to remain on the board of supervisors, where he endorsed the programs of Shelley, a regular Democrat. Shelley, also posing as "liberal" from time to time, sent troops to quell last summer's "riot" in the Hunter's Point ghetto, and declared himself "philosophically opposed" to the idea of San Franciscans voting on the issue of the war in Vietnam.

Davis and Cumming point out that the rulers of this country play the two-party shell game nationally, and are equally flexible locally: San Franciscans are now supposed to choose among three shades of capitalist. But by voting "Yes" on Proposition P, and by voting for the socialist candidates, they can break with the old sucker game and meaningfully oppose the two parties of war, racism, and strikebreaking.

Cops in Puerto Rico Attack University

A hail of police bullets left one man dead and two wounded at the University of Puerto Rico Sept. 27, when cops attacked supporters of the Federation of Pro-Independence University Students [FUPI]. FUPI and the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence are the leading spokesmen for an end to U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico. Nineteen students, in addition to those shot, were injured by police clubs, and 21 cops were reported wounded by bottles and bricks thrown by angry students.

The *New York Times* reported Sept. 29 that the fighting began at an afternoon street rally of the right-wing Association of Pro-Statehood University Students. The pro-imperialist speakers slanderously accused the pro-independence students of peddling narcotics as part

of "a carefully developed plan of lieutenants of Communist Chinese dictator Mao Tse-tung to weaken and destroy Western youth."

When pro-independence students tried to protest these absurd charges they were attacked by the right-wingers. The *Times* reported: "Bottles were thrown from the building [headquarters of the right-wing group] and stones were hurled from the sidewalk."

Cops moved in and arrested five pro-independence students! This touched off a series of student demonstrations that clashed with the cops intermittently until evening. At 9 p.m. students on the campus set off some firecrackers. The police opened fire on the campus, killing Adrian Rodriguez Hernandez, a cab driver, and wounding José Miguel Rosa and Wilfredo Adames.



FOR INDEPENDENCE. Thirty thousand at rally in Puerto Rico last summer protested U.S.-sponsored plebiscite on future of Puerto Rico. FUPI is a leading part of the movement for self-determination.

Boutelle Stirs Deep Interest On Southern Campus Tour

By Derrick Morrison

OCT. 1 — Paul Boutelle's campaign tour of the South picked up steam in the last week, with visits to Washington, D.C.; Columbia, S.C.; and Atlanta, Ga. The last stop gave us a real feel for the radicalization that is developing behind the Cotton Curtain.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President was interviewed by the Washington *Afro-American*, and made plans to appear on radio station WOL, Washington's Soul station, Oct. 22.

Boutelle made a visit to Howard University, where campaign literature was distributed and pamphlets on the black struggle were sold. He also attended an outdoor meeting of the newly formed Washington Student Mobilization Committee.

At the Institute for Policy Studies, Boutelle met Anthony Gittens, chairman of Project Awareness. They discussed plans for Boutelle's participation in a symposium at Howard University some time during the first week in November. Project Awareness is a Howard student group that attempts to bring speakers of various persuasions to campus forums.

During the stay in D.C., we attended one of the classes at the New School for Afro-American Thought. This particular class was led by Don Freeman and concentrated on elaborating and defining various ideas and concepts on the nature of the liberation struggle of Afro-America.

We left Washington Sept. 26 and rode on to Columbia, S.C. There we passed out campaign literature at Allen University and talked with some of the militants on the campus.

In Georgia

We arrived in Atlanta, Ga., on Wednesday, the 27th. That night we attended a meeting of Atlantans for Peace along with several members of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle (YSHB). The featured speaker was Eugene Patterson, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, a daily newspaper in Atlanta.

Patterson was on the commission of 22 prominent persons that LBJ appointed to whitewash the fraudulent elections in South Vietnam. A majority of the 75-member audience did not agree with the grudgingly prowar views of Patterson. After the meeting, Halstead-Boutelle campaign brochures were well received. Several people engaged Boutelle in discussions about the nature of the SWP campaign.

On Thursday, the 28th, I went along with a member of YSHB to Morehouse and Spelman colleges to pass out leaflets publicizing Boutelle's meeting at Morehouse on the following night. While passing out leaflets, I was able to sell several copies of Malcolm X pamphlets, a couple of *Militants*, and several of the pamphlets containing Che Guevara's declaration on Vietnam and the world revolution. The Che pamphlet proved to be pretty popular among the militants here.

Friday morning Boutelle spoke at Georgia State College, in downtown Atlanta. Georgia State is a predominantly white school with a student body of about 10,000. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee on Social Issues (COSI). Because of the schedule of classes, only about 40 minutes was allotted for the meeting.

Jery Sullivan, chairman of COSI, introduced Boutelle to an audience of about 300 students. Boutelle spoke for about 15 minutes and then opened the floor for questions. Most of the questions

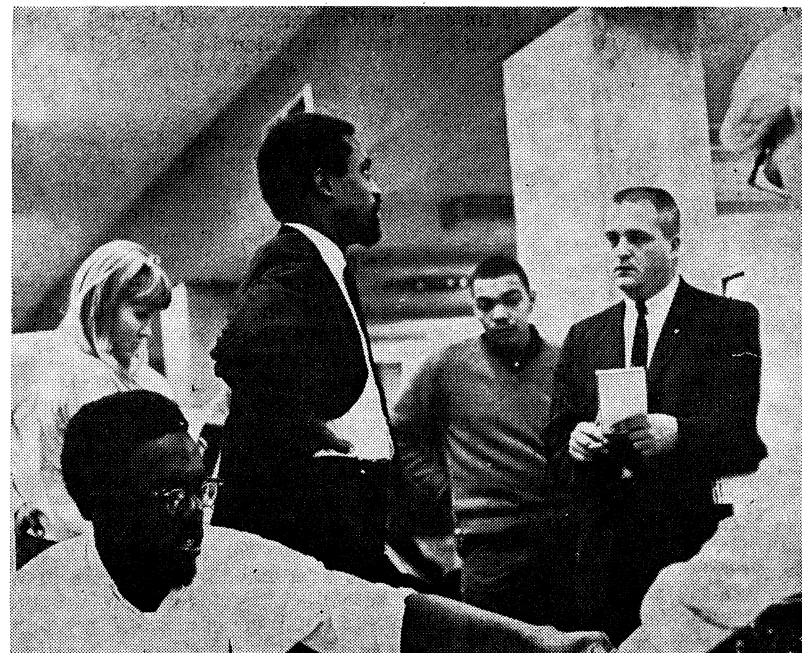


Photo by Tom Hathecock

AT GEORGIA STATE. Derrick Morrison, seated, and Paul Boutelle, standing, discuss socialist campaign with students after meeting where Boutelle spoke.

centered around Stokely Carmichael and Cuba, and the issue of violence.

The sentiment of the majority of the audience seemed to be expressed by one student who was asked by a newsman about the speaker. The student replied that he did not agree with the views of the speaker, but that it was good to hear a different point of view so as to get the whole picture, not just half of it. Over \$10 worth of socialist literature was sold at the meeting. COSI signed up 15 new members afterwards.

That afternoon, Boutelle went over to radio station WIGO, one of the Soul stations in Atlanta, and gave a three-minute interview to disc jockey Bob Jones. The interview was used mainly to publicize the Morehouse meeting that night.

SNCC Office

In that same afternoon, we visited the SNCC national office on Nelson Street. The office is a very huge place, containing three floors. The walls of two of the floors are plastered with posters from liberation movements all over the world. Among the militants in the office, the writings of Che Guevara proved to be pretty popular.

The meeting at Morehouse began that night about 8 p.m. Along with our literature table, SNCC also set up a table, offering for sale speeches of Carmichael and a variety of artistic drawings of black people. Over 250 black students attended the meeting. The attendance was exceptional, considering that it was a Friday night, a time when many of the students leave campus for the weekend.

The meeting was sponsored by the Maroon Tigers and the student governments of Morehouse and Spelman. Walter Dansey, president of the Morehouse student government, chaired. This was the first of several meetings in which the two student governments are going to try to bring controversial speakers on campus.

Boutelle spoke for about an hour before the throng of students, elaborating on the idea of a black political party, the program of the SWP, the decadence of capitalist society, defense of Carmichael, Brown and the 17 Afro-Americans accused in New York, the colonial revolution, and black nationalism.

During the question-and-answer

period, Boutelle noticed that James Forman was there and introduced him to the audience. Forman was one of several SNCC people who attended the meeting.

Over \$28 worth of socialist books and pamphlets were sold. Titles ranged from *The ABC of Communism* by Bukharin to *Two Speeches* by Malcolm X. The Malcolm X literature was the most sought after. Pamphlets on the colonial revolution came next. Several *Militants* were sold, as well as a couple of introductory subscriptions.

On Sunday, Oct. 1, Boutelle was interviewed for half an hour on WAOK by disc jockey Jim Wood. WAOK is one of three Soul radio stations in Atlanta.

After the interview, a tape of an interview with Governor Lester Maddox was played. This lasted a few minutes. Wood then commented on the difference between the messages of Boutelle and Maddox. Maddox, he pointed out, acted as if Negroes didn't exist, and represented the old order; Boutelle, on the other hand, represented the thinking of a lot of radicalizing young people, black and white, who are out to change this society.

Wood pointed out that these young revolutionaries are serious and dedicated, and should not be taken lightly by the American people. This is because these young radicals represent a growing movement, a movement of disenfranchised Americans out to revolutionize this society.

NY Forum Slates Lee Lockwood on Castro and Cuba

NEW YORK — Lee Lockwood, photographer and author of *Castro's Cuba*, *Cuba's Fidel*, will speak at the Militant Labor Forum here, Friday, Oct. 13. He will discuss the three-day interview he had with Fidel Castro, which comprises the main part of his book. A number of Lockwood's excellent photographs of Cuba will be displayed. He has made several trips to Cuba, the latest this last July and August.

The meeting will be held at 873 Broadway, at 18th St. It will begin at 8:30 p.m.