

THE MILITANT

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Devaluation — Its Meaning

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Nov. 20 — Prime Minister Harold Wilson's devaluation of the British pound is another blow by the Labor government against British workers, aimed solely at protecting the interests of finance capitalism. It will raise British prices on essential consumer goods, including food and gasoline, thus lowering the already declining standard of living caused by a year and a half of recession.

Furthermore the British devaluation threatens to intensify the recessionary pressures in the U.S. economy; it will drive U.S. interest rates even beyond their present 50-year highs; and it has already been seized on by Lyndon Johnson and the capitalist press as a new excuse to raise taxes.

World Stagnation

Behind the dramatic impact of the devaluation of the pound lies the interconnection of the world capitalist economies, of their main currencies, and of world gold reserves. The devaluation reflects a stagnation of the world capitalist market, which has been developing since early 1965.

Exactly one year ago (Nov. 19, 1966), *Business Week* magazine stated, "If the economic underpinnings of the British pound come apart, the least that could happen is a world money crisis. The worst is a collapse that would wrench apart the trade of the industrialized nations, stifle the limited progress of the developing lands, and poison relations among the countries of the free world."

The 14.3 percent devaluation, bringing the official exchange rate of one pound down from \$2.80 to \$2.40, does not mean that "the economic underpinnings" of the pound came apart. But it does mean there is a serious danger they might. The reaction of the world financial markets to the devaluation already shows they do not rule out the possibility of collapse.

The devaluation stems from Britain's chronic balance of payments deficits, arising from the fact that the British isles are unable to produce goods of sufficient value in international trade to sustain the British economy.

Payments Deficit

Britain is constantly forced to import more goods than it is able to export, and this means it spends more money on goods purchased from foreign nations than these nations spend on British goods. The result is an accumulation of British pounds in foreign nations.

Now these pounds are convertible in the international money market into dollars, and dollars in turn are convertible into gold. The pound-dollar-gold chain ties the stability of the British economy to the American economy and to the gold in Fort Knox as well as London.

It is in this sense that the *New York Times* states Nov. 20, "the pound was the first line of defense for the dollar." What the

New York Times fears is that a continued unfavorable balance of British trade will make foreign capitalists unwilling to hold pounds in reserve out of fear of further devaluations. They will purchase dollars instead; and this in turn will endanger the already seriously depleted reserves of U.S. gold, since the U.S. government guarantees to pay gold for dollars (in the international market).

In order to prevent this process, the *New York Times* advocates even "more drastic fiscal measures" on the part of the U.S. treasury "than the tax surcharge" LBJ is pressing for. Why will higher taxes stem the tide of attack on the dollar and on U.S. gold reserves? In order to supply the missing links we must go back to the interconnections among the British, American and world capitalist economies.

The fundamental problem has been the development of stagnation in the four major capitalist powers, Britain, France, Germany and the United States.

Wilson's Recession

It is this stagnation that prevented Britain's recent recession from solving the balance of payments crisis in the first place. The recession, brought on by Wilson's wage-freeze policies in mid-1965, was supposed to make British exports more competitive and reduce imports. By decreasing consumer income, Wilson hoped to decrease spending on imported goods; by decreasing wages, he hoped to make the export industry more profitable for the capitalists.

British wages were frozen, credit measures were tightened, and unemployment climbed steadily. But the balance of payments was not adequately relieved because of the subsequent development of overproduction in the other major powers. Just when Britain needed more than ever expanding foreign markets to absorb exports, the economies of the other capitalist countries proved not strong enough to buy the additional

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Harold Wilson



POLICE ATTACK STUDENTS. Philadelphia cops brutally attacked black high school students who were holding peaceful protest. Here cops drag away injured student. Many youths were injured in cop onslaught.

Massive Black H.S. March Assaulted by Police in Philly

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA—Friday, Nov. 17, may well have been the most significant day in the recent history of the Afro-American struggle here. At 10 a.m. over five thousand black students at a dozen Philadelphia high schools marched out of their classrooms and began to converge on the board of education headquarters. They were demanding black control of the ghetto schools.

Two hours later their peaceful rally was turned into a bloodbath as hundreds of club-swinging police charged in and indiscriminately smashed heads. Fifty-seven students were arrested, most of them under 18 years old; many of the arrested had been brutally beaten, and most were denied hospital treatment while in police custody.

The confrontation between black high school students and the white school authorities had been building up for months. High school principals sensed the impending explosion and reacted fearfully and overzealously to petty incidents.

Earlier Provocation

For instance, on Oct. 3 about 10 students got into a fist fight in the schoolyard of South Philadelphia High. The principal decided that the fight was racially motivated and called the police. Within minutes the school was swarming with 200 cops, personally commanded by Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo. As state troopers with jack boots and helmets began to patrol the halls, hundreds of students walked out of school. The cops remained, and attendance stayed low for three days.

Political demonstrations by Afro-American students began in earnest when a false fire alarm sounded at Simon Gratz High School on Oct. 26 and hundreds of students marched to a black power rally on a nearby field. The Gratz students were demanding that Afro-American history be taught in the school, that Gratz hire more black social studies teachers, and that Army and Navy recruiters be removed from the school. Police unsuccessfully tried to prevent the students from crossing the street to the rally. Classes were then dismissed early.

More recently, 16 members of

the Black Student Union at Bok Technical High School were suspended from school for expressing their political ideas. The official charge: meeting without a faculty adviser. The principal had also refused to allow them to wear African clothes to school.

The Bok students wrote a leaflet for mass distribution at their school, and the Philadelphia Anti-Draft Union offered to help distribute the leaflet. When five Anti-Draft Union members arrived one morning, they were arrested before the leafleting had even begun. At their preliminary hearing, an attorney from the Philadelphia school board urged that they be held in jail for a few days, "until the danger of trouble at Bok blows over." The charge of disorderly conduct was so blatantly unsubstantiated that it was dropped at the district attorney's request last week.

Bok and Gratz students were among the chief organizers of the mammoth demonstration at the board of education building on

Nov. 17. The citywide demonstration called for the defense and reinstatement of the suspended Bok activists, for the right to wear African clothes in school, for black control of the curriculum, and for an independent black school board. The demonstration was called only one day beforehand, but the communications network was well organized, and word gets around quickly in high schools.

For the first time, students from every largely black high school in Philadelphia were massing for one unified rally to voice their demands.

Contingents of several hundred marched from each of the ghetto schools, carrying banners indicating their points of origin. From some schools, students stood up and walked out of the auditorium in unison at 9:30 a.m. The Germantown students had to march five miles, stopping on their way to get the girls at William Penn (an all-girls' school) to join them.

After Germantown boys charged

(Continued on Page 5)

Mass Action Planned At N.Y. Draft Center

NEW YORK, Nov. 21 — The Stop the Draft Committee, an ad hoc coalition of more than 50 groups, announced here at a press conference today plans for a massive anti-draft demonstration at the Whitehall induction center on Dec. 6, 7 and 8, as part of a national Stop the Draft Week.

Thousands are expected to gather at Battery Park at 5:30 a.m. on Dec. 6 and from there will converge on the induction center, surrounding the building. Every New Yorker who is opposed to the war is urged to join this demonstration.

The committee announced it sent a telegram to Mayor Lindsay, informing him of the protest. "We will be going down to Whitehall Street unarmed and with no intention of violence," the telegram states and urges Lindsay to order the police to "do the same."

On the Nov. 14 demonstration here when Rusk came to New

York to defend the administration's war policy, the police made a vicious attack on the protesters. The cops had made totally unwarranted and arbitrary restrictions on that demonstration, splitting it up and confining it to narrow, separate areas. When the packed crowd spilled over into the area before the hotel where Rusk was speaking, which the police had originally set aside for the demonstration, the cops attacked with clubs and horses. The Stop the Draft Committee is demanding that the police allow the Dec. 6 peaceful protest to be a united one around the induction center, and that police be prevented from using violence to curb the right of dissent.

The tragedy of the war "is compounded by a draft system which forces unemployed, minority and working young men to bear the

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THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

According to a Bureau of National Affairs survey published in *White Collar Report*, unions in 1967 have shown increasing gains in white collar membership. White collar workers voted for union representation in nearly 64 percent of the 500 elections conducted in such units by the National Labor Relations Board in the first half of 1967. The 500 elections were almost double the figure for the first half of 1966, and close to the figure of 580 elections for all of 1966.

The Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, has won an important round in its fight to unionize Hanes Hosiery, Winston-Salem, N.C., when an appeals court upheld an NLRB order that the company supply the union with the names and addresses of its employees. TWUA had earlier won back pay of \$45,788 and reinstatement to the job for eight workers fired for union activity.

Staughton Lynd has won his fight to teach in Illinois. The Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities in Illinois has reversed its previous position and approved a one-year contract for Prof. Lynd. Lynd, who has been active in the antiwar movement, and was a visitor to North Vietnam in 1965, received the support of American Federation of Teachers Local 1600 in Chicago, as well as the support of the American Association of University Professors.

Local 100, Transport Workers Union in New York City, whose current contract expires Dec. 31, is currently negotiating for a new contract. The TWU workers run the city's subways and buses. Among the demands are a 30 percent increase in wages across the board for all employees, and a 30-hour work week with 40 hours' pay. They are also asking for six weeks' vacation after one year's service, a union shop, double time for all holidays and triple time for work in excess of a regular day's work on a holiday.

Mayor Lindsay has no intention of granting these demands. The Transit Authority has already put forth the ridiculous assertion that if all the TWU demands are granted, carfare will have to be raised from 20 cents to 60 cents.

The 10th Constitutional Convention of the New York State AFL-CIO voted its full support for Local 100. This may indicate a different attitude from that expressed in 1966, when Meany, Reuther, and many other labor officials condemned the strike and called it a threat to society.

Meanwhile, New York's Gov. Rockefeller has designated a company union called the Civil Service Employees Association as bargaining agent for 124,000 state employees. Al Wurf, executive director of District Council 50, American Federation of State, County



Nelson Rockefeller

and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, accused the Governor of denying employees a free choice of their bargaining representative, and John Kraemer, president of the Division of Employment, Local 1412 of Council 50, called the Governor's recognition of the Civil Service Employees Association "the greatest betrayal of workers that ever took place in the annals of labor relations." He predicted it would lead to "mass arrest and possible civil disobedience by state employees."

Rockefeller based his decision on the fact that 83,000 of these workers paid dues to the CSEA, but did not acknowledge that these employees have not had a free choice of bargaining representatives.

A bill has been introduced in the Michigan legislature, and backed by Republican presidential candidate Gov. George Romney, which is meant to turn back the gains won by Michigan public employees, especially teachers.

A counterattack to the wave of teachers' work actions in September 1967, this proposed legislation would, according to the November *American Teacher*, place a ban on public employees belonging to organizations which "assert the right to strike." It would broaden the definition of strike to include any type of employee protest, and make it mandatory for courts to automatically issue injunctions against public employee unions in such situations. Time limits which exist on the collective bargaining process would be removed, thus legally eliminating any restraints on the state's refusal to sit down and negotiate with public employees unions.

—Howard B. Reed

CORRECTION

Last week we incorrectly listed Veterans and Reservists Against the War in Vietnam as co-sponsors of a Nov. 11 demonstration in New York. The sponsors of the demonstration were Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

PAUL BOUTELLE REPORTS

Racists in Great Britain

For years England has been regarded as being relatively free from racial prejudice. This was generally true — excepting the racism used to justify colonialism — as long as the nonwhite population was very small. But racism is becoming a problem there, as nonwhite immigration has increased.

U.S. *News and World Report* of Oct. 9 carried an article headlined "A Race Problem that is Growing in Britain." The article says: "A move by white residents of a London suburb to bar a Negro family from their neighborhood is focusing attention again on the growing problem of racial discrimination in Britain."

"In middle-class South Norwood, a group of white residents organized a syndicate to buy a semi-detached house. They thus barred its sale to a Jamaican family. A restrictive covenant is to prevent sale of the house to any nonwhite purchaser in the future."

"Such contracts are still legal here. There presently is no law forbidding discrimination in either housing or jobs."

During the last election campaign in Britain, some Conservatives were openly saying, "If you want a nigger neighbor, vote Labor."

The Oct. 1 *New York Times* carried a story from England headlined "Black Muslim Chief Faces British Trial."

"Michael Abdul Malik, alias Michael de Freitas, alias Michael X, leader of the British Black Muslims, has become the first Negro in this country to be committed for trial under the section of the Race Relations Act of 1965, which makes it a crime to incite racial hatred," the article says.

"The charge, supported by two journalists, two members of the audience and several policemen, was that at a public meeting on July 17, Mr. Malik made a 'vicious attack' on the white community, using such epithets as 'white monkeys,' 'white savages' and 'white bastards.'"

Michael X was sentenced to one year in jail for what the judge called "an attempt to raise hostility between white and colored people."

The Race Relations Act was supposedly designed to protect Britain's growing population of nonwhites from discrimination. Great Britain, the country that upheld racism and discrimination and colonialism on five continents for hundreds of years, where discrimination against nonwhites is on the

rise, which refuses to act against Southern Rhodesia and South Africa — Great Britain jails a black man on a charge of attempting to create hostility between white and colored people. The hypocrisy of John Bull is exceeded only by that of Uncle Sam.

—Paul Boutelle

REVIEWS and REPORTS

AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY by Ernest Mandel. Young Socialist Alliance pamphlet, 1967, 80 pp., \$1.00.

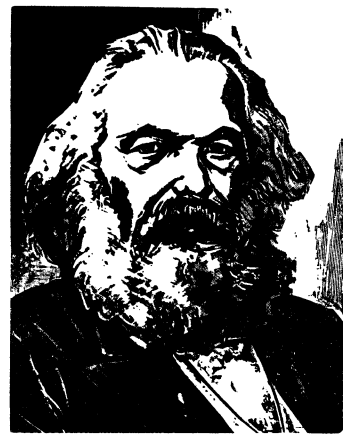
This is a series of three lectures originally given by Ernest Mandel in Paris in 1963. Mandel is the author of *Traité d'Economie Marxiste* (1962), unquestionably the most important work on Marxist economics written in the last quarter century. It has gone through three editions in French, been translated into numerous languages from German to Arabic, and will appear in an English and American edition soon.

An *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* is both an introduction to Marx's *Capital* and an introduction to Mandel's two-volume *Traité*.

Mandel bases himself on *Capital*, using Marx's method, in his consideration of the development of monopoly, imperialism, and the forms of state intervention in the economy peculiar to our own time.

In the first lecture, on the "Theory of Surplus Value," Mandel gives a historical presentation of the development of capitalist economic forms. He traces the origins of surplus value to the initial appearance of social surplus product in ancient societies.

The second lecture deals with "Capital and Capitalism." Here, Mandel emphasizes the growth and centralization of monopoly. He ex-



Karl Marx

plains why this new phase of capitalism, beginning in the early 20th century, does not do away with but rather reinforces the fundamental contradictions of capital accumulation Marx described.

Even the most concentrated monopoly, Mandel demonstrates, does not eliminate competition but rather elevates it to a higher plane, on the inter-industry and international level. Capitalism is still faced with the tendency of the profit rate to decline.

In the final section on "Neo-Capitalism," Mandel discusses the postwar technological revolution, the growth of the imperialist state and the central significance of war production. Mandel asks "What is state planning?" and "What effect can it have on the basic contradictions of the capitalist class-struggle society?"

The answer is unequivocal. State planning represents a further step in the concentration of political power in the hands of the monopolies. It cannot resolve the contradiction between labor and capital; it can only reinforce it, and in the long run sets the stage for working-class struggle against monopoly capitalism on a higher level.

Those who are new to Marxist economics will find this introduction a useful place to start. It will raise many questions and will undoubtedly spur newcomers to a deeper study of Marx's — and Mandel's — works. Those more familiar with Marxist economics, however, will find a number of subjects treated here that are not in the "basics."

—D. R.

SOCIALIST FUND

Better Than Taxes

By Evelyn Reed
Fund Director

The old-fashioned highway robber demanded only "your money or your life." Not so with President Johnson. He's pressing hard for increased taxes to pay for his escalating war in Vietnam. He wants the lives of your boys by the thousands and your money too by the billions!

This certainly doesn't disturb the multimillionaires. The sons of the rich have plenty of ways to dodge the draft and the wealthy Americans have lots of loopholes to evade taxes.

Drew Pearson called attention to some of the more scandalous facts about their tax-dodging recently. Some multimillionaires are not paying a cent in taxes to the federal government.

The latest available figures, he says, show that 19 mammoth capitalists with incomes (not capital) of a million dollars a year or more in 1964 "paid no income tax whatsoever." Another 463 in the half-million dollar bracket "paid less than 30 percent on the average though their tax rate was supposed to be 70 percent." This information is contained in "secret papers" now on Johnson's desk.

It's the poor and the lower middle classes, already suffering

from inflation, who are hit the hardest by ever increasing taxes, while the rich get off easy. The American people are being bled by the Democratic and Republican tax leeches to pay for a war that is against their interests.

"No taxation without representation," was one of the slogans that inspired our colonial forefathers to drive out the aristocratic British tyrants — as the Vietnamese are striving to do today with the U.S. invaders. This is still a good reason for trying to get our home-grown capitalist tyrants off our backs today.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates, Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President, are stumping the country from coast to coast and from north to south with the following planks in their platform:

Bring the troops home from Vietnam now!

No taxes to pay for the imperialist war of the rich!

If you want to help Halstead and Boutelle help you and others who are equally outraged by the present situation — voluntarily "tax yourself." Send us a contribution for our \$20,000 Socialist Fund.

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Off to a Flying Start!

Campaign News

By Doug Jenness

Since the Socialist Workers 1968 presidential campaign was launched in August, Paul Boutelle, vice presidential candidate, has spoken in nine Southern states to almost 3,000 people, most of them college students and many of them black.

This tour marks the first time in at least two decades that a radical speaker has made such an extensive tour of the South. The long-time impenetrable barrier of the Deep South is being broken down as hundreds of radicalizing students, both black and white, struggle to have the right to think for themselves and listen to radical ideas.

Fred Halstead, SWP presidential candidate, remained in New York to help organize the October 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. After the demonstration he spent a week in San Francisco helping to bring out as large a vote as possible in the antiwar referendum held there on Nov. 7. Since then he has kicked off his campaign at press conferences in Chicago, Cleveland and Seattle.

As a result of Boutelle's tour, dozens of requests for more information have come into the national campaign committee office

from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma. Already Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle groups are active in Norman, Okla.; Atlanta, Ga.; and Houston and Austin, Tex. Statewide campaign committees have been set up in Louisiana and Texas.

Typical of many responses is a letter from a student at North Texas State University in Denton, Tex. "I have read your campaign literature," he writes, "and would like to be an active member of the campaign. I am sure that you are aware that the state of Texas is hardly a source of radical thought; but, if possible, I would like the name and address of any SWP workers in the Texas area, and maybe some ideas on how we could get together for the campaign."

The effects of the Socialist Workers campaign can be seen in other ways too. For example, responses are still coming in from a full-page advertisement that appeared in the issues of the *National Guardian* and *The Militant* distributed on the October 21 demonstration. The ad listed campaign supporters from 90 different cities, high schools, and colleges.

Over 100,000 printed brochures have been distributed — and this does not include the thousands of stickers and posters that are being pasted up on lampposts and buildings in nearly every major city and on dozens of college campuses.

Besides the 30 speaking engagements that the candidates have had so far, other spokesmen for the campaign have been speaking as well. On Nov. 19, Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers candidate for President in 1964 and chairman of the 1968 campaign committee, spoke to 100 persons at a black power teach-in at Hampton Institute in Virginia.

After Hedda Garza, a Socialist Workers campaign spokesman in New York, appeared on the Barry Farber show (WOR-Radio), many responses arrived in the national campaign office — one from as far away as Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Teams of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, loaded with campaign literature, are visiting campuses in many states and will be helping to organize YSHB groups wherever they go.

In addition to all these activities, the campaign committee is



OCT. 21. Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for President, at mass demonstration in Washington.

making a systematic attempt to get on the ballot in more than 20 states. The largest number of states in which the Socialist Workers Party has been on the ballot in previous elections was 12 in 1960. The regulations governing ballot status for parties not previously on the ballot are very discriminatory in most states and activity has to begin early in order to obtain the necessary electors and signatures.

The tremendous support that the campaign has received so far will make it possible to substantially increase the number of states where the Halstead-Boutelle ticket will appear on the ballot.

The national campaign office has a large scrapbook full of clippings about the Halstead-Boutelle campaign from dozens of newspapers. Seven newspapers in Oklahoma alone carried front-page stories when Boutelle spoke there, and the Associated Press dispatch, released after the first press conference in New York in August, was published in newspapers ranging from the *Lynn Item*, a Lynn, Mass., daily, to the *Seattle Times*.

And the 1968 campaign is only beginning!

SDS to Defend John Ratliff

The Oklahoma University Students for a Democratic Society have vigorously protested the reclassification of SDS vice-chairman John Ratliff from 2-S to 1-A. Ratliff is one of the first victims of Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey's order to draft boards to use the reclassification as punishment for antiwar activities.

The Tulsa draft board told Ratliff: "The local board did not feel that your activity as a member of SDS is in the best interest of the U.S. Government."

The OU SDS replied: "We can only conclude that the Tulsa Draft Board is consciously and intentionally seeking to intimidate students who have expressed their opposition to the Vietnam war, to suppress free discussion of ideas, to destroy the right of dissent and to limit severely academic freedom."

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... Pound Devaluation

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goods. The devaluation was a direct consequence of this stagnation in the world market.

Underlying the new devaluation of the pound is the hope that a devalued pound will accomplish for British trade what the recessionary measures failed to do: It makes foreign imports more expensive in Britain, because the pound is worth less in terms of foreign money; and it makes British exports cheaper in foreign nations for the same reason.

For example, an article produced in the U.S. costing \$2.80 after being shipped to Britain, used to sell in Britain for one pound. Now, after the devaluation, it will sell for 1.14 pounds. Similarly, a British car costing 1,000 pounds, or \$2,800, before devaluation, will now sell for \$2,400 in the U.S.

Wilson hopes this will result in more British exports and less imports into Britain.

At the same time, London drastically increased its central bank's discount rate, from 6½ percent to the present world high of 8 percent. This will drive British interest rates up and tend to attract foreign investments looking for higher interest, and therefore reverse the gold and dollar drain.

U.S. Economy

But this all the more exacerbates the economic difficulties of the other capitalist countries, particularly the United States. In this and last week's *Militant*, Ed Smith discusses the problems of the U.S. economy and his arguments need not be repeated here. The important points are that the American economy is already suffering from inflationary and recessionary pressures, and that these will only be intensified by the British devaluation.

On the recessionary side, domestic overproduction in this country will be intensified in two ways: U.S. products will become less competitive with British products in the world economy, and there will be a greater inflow of British products into the U.S.

On the inflationary side, high interest rates in Britain will increase the flow of U.S. investments (dollars) to that country, increasing the U.S. gold drain and forcing higher interest rates here.

But this process can have an effect the opposite of what Wilson hopes for. A deepening world recession would soon put severe limits on the extent to which Britain's devaluation will be able to better her own world trade position, because foreign countries would not be able to buy as many British goods. There is no guarantee that this devaluation will not be followed by another one.

Consequently devaluation neither relieves the instability of the pound nor the associated pressure on the dollar. The world capitalists will bide their time before pouring money into the British economy — closely watching the results of devaluation. In the meantime, New York will still be called upon to back pounds with dollars. For the immediate period it is likely the U.S. balance of payments position will get worse, not better.

Need Tax Increase

This is why the American ruling class favors a tax increase. They fear the present inflation will further erode the value of the dollar precisely when the devaluation of the pound puts the dollar in a more vulnerable position. Ironically, Washington's only answer to the world tendency toward recession, which caused the pound crisis in the first place, is to intensify recessionary pressures in this country.

Only the most blind believe that British devaluation will solve the international economic problems which caused it. At best, *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Ray Vicker writes Nov. 20, world currencies will hold their present values and the British economy will revive. But even this, he holds, will drive U.S. interest rates up and decrease U.S. income from Britain, possibly ending in a U.S. recession.

At worst, Vicker states (without predicting the more likely of the two courses), "Ultimately another devaluation becomes necessary — and nobody can be sure it will be the last, or who else will devalue. Speculators sell U.S. dollars, believing they will be devalued. World trade slows, perhaps stops. Almost anything, on up to world depression, could follow such a chain of events."

The posters at the left can be ordered from the campaign committee for 25c each, or \$6 per 100. Each is 3-color, 17" x 22".

ENDORSE SWP CAMPAIGN

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☐ I endorse the campaign as an Afro-American for Halstead and Boutelle.

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Report from Bolivian Underground

[The following is the final section of a report from underground Bolivian fighters. The first section was printed last week.]

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Only the officers, who lack any popular support, and a bourgeois opposition composed of the FSB [Bolivian Socialist Falange] and the PDC [Christian Democratic Party] are permitted to engage in political activities. They share important functions in the state apparatus. The Christian Democrats took over the Ministry of Labor and compromised themselves by implementing the antiunion decrees which were rejected by the masses and which met with stubborn resistance. They likewise approved the firings and the impounding of trade-union headquarters. These parties, with their demagogic propaganda, tried to win popularity among the masses in order to become their spokesmen, but failed in this.

The opposition parties of the left, the POR [Revolutionary Workers Party — the Bolivian section of the Fourth International], the PCB [Bolivian Communist Party], the PRIN [Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left], had to go underground. The same holds for the MNR [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement], although to a lesser degree. The POR and the PCB have been banned by decree, prohibited from publishing anything, from maintaining a headquarters, from holding meetings, etc.; and a savage repression has been waged against their members and leaders, who crowd the jails and concentration camps.

MNR Orientation

The MNR is at present orienting toward forming a national front together with the FSB and the PDC, in order to put together a civilian alternative team that could take over and run the government in accordance with its own line, the army assisting. The POR, on the other hand, advocates a Left Front of revolutionary parties, the masses and guerrilla forces.

The guerrillas, organized by the Castroist sector of the youth, induced a qualitative change in Bolivia, a sharper definition of the revolutionary forces, and served to separate the opportunists from the revolutionists.

With regard to the guerrillas, the parties hold the following positions: The government parties are,

of course, opposed. These include the FSB, the PDC and the MNR, which have issued special statements disavowing any ties or support, while demagogically insisting that Communism cannot be fought by means of arms alone but requires economic and social measures. The pro-Peking Communist Party supports the guerrillas verbally, but does nothing practically. The PRIN holds a contradictory position. While Lechín, in exile in Santiago, Chile, openly declares his sympathy for the guerrillas, the leaders of his party in La Paz are negotiating a front with the MNR and the PDC with a conciliatory line toward the army. The position of the POR, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International, is clear and definitive. It is militantly on the side of the guerrillas and is appealing to the people to support them.

Pro-Moscow Party

The position of the pro-Moscow Bolivian Communist Party displays the twists and turns characteristic of all the Stalinist Communists. In the beginning the party participated in the preparations for the guerrilla struggle, including demanding that the political and military leadership be placed in the hands of one of its secretaries. Then little by little it took its distance in association with the break between the right wing of the Venezuelan Communist Party and Fidel Castro and the guerrilla fronts commanded by Douglas Bravo. After the OLAS conference, the attitude of these Bolivian Communists changed into aggressive opposition to the guerrillas, compelling the Communist youth linked with the guerrillas to go underground in their own party in order to avoid reprisals. Political circles in La Paz, particularly those close to the PCB, are convinced that the pro-Moscow leadership in the persons of Jorge Colle, Mario Monje and Aldo Flores have gone very far in making things difficult for the Communist youth associated with the guerrillas as, for instance, in the case of the group headed by Loyola Guzmán.

It is certain that the Bolivian Communist Party supports the rightist line of the Venezuelan Communist Party, that it is working in alliance with the PIR, the first Stalinist party in Bolivia, founded in 1940 and dissolved in 1952 after a decade of betrayals



BOLIVIAN WORKERS. Demonstrations like this one in 1962 are not permitted by the Barrientos regime, but militancy of workers is deepening.

and coalitions with "la rosca" [the tin barons] when it was murdering miners. This party was reconstituted by the military junta and now has four ministries, enabling it to serve as a vehicle through which the PCB could work. In addition, Government Minister Antonio Arguedas was a member of the PCB, in charge of the cell at the air base. Relations between the regime and the Communist leaders are friendly. The pro-Moscow Communist secretaries have not been arrested, while the repression fell fully on the Trotskyists, the pro-Peking Communists, leaders of the PRIN and trade-union leaders.

The closing of the democratic road is not a rhetorical phrase in Bolivia but a tragic reality. Parties have been outlawed, trade-union activities banned, political and trade-union leaders imprisoned. The only law is the law wielded by the army. The courts of justice have been converted into

agencies furthering the repression. No one in the revolutionary opposition has any assurance of being free tomorrow or of being alive next week. The army and the National Guard control the cities, the mines and the countryside; and exercise of even the most minimum political and trade-union rights is denied.

And in the midst of this brutal repression, an economic crisis is strangling the people. Economic development is a crude joke. Imperialism is taking over all the economic levers and continues to choke off the nationalized property. Bolivia has been converted into a virtual Yankee colony.

Under these economic and political conditions, the masses, having been shot down in strikes, having seen the mines occupied by troops, their union headquarters taken over, their leaders imprisoned, turned in a natural way toward armed struggle. Responding to the feelings of the masses, the POR was the first party to propose guerrilla warfare.

Armed Struggle

The "various forms of struggle," the theme which the Communists utilize to mask their cowardice and betrayal, is not a subject of debate in Bolivia. It is no longer a matter of an abstract discussion, but of determining the concrete methods of struggle in the concrete moment of Bolivian history. Consequently when the guerrillas appeared on March 23, the pleasure of the masses could be felt from the cities to the countryside, including the mines. But as the guerrillas went into action, the pro-Moscow partisans of a "democratic peace" began operating in the shadows, without going into open opposition, setting up obstacles to isolate the guerrillas from the working-class political forces that wished to join them and to fight, and then they abandoned the guerrillas when they became encircled by the army.

Thus heavy blows were dealt to the guerrillas. The Communists of a "democratic peace" sought to liquidate the guerrillas, this they held in common with the "gorillas," in order to pontificate later on the failure of this method of struggle and to refurbish their revisionist position on coexistence and the peaceful roads to socialism.

But the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia, despite the death of Co-

mandante Guevara, despite the blows, continues to be the way out of the country's economic and political crisis. It is the duty of revolutionists in Bolivia and Latin America, as the Bolivian POR sees it, to back the present guerrilla struggle, strengthen it, break it out of isolation, link it up with the mass movement in the cities and the mines, bring in the peasantry as a fighting force. This means opening new fronts, within the concept of a mobile column, organizing an armed struggle in the mines and the cities, and, still more, promoting the fighting solidarity of the masses throughout Latin America.

Cops Threaten Huey Newton — In Hospital

According to his attorney, Oakland, Calif., Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton, who was seriously wounded by police Oct. 18, has been threatened by cops, even while recovering in the hospital.

During the first days of his confinement, cops would "kick his bed, call him 'nigger bastard,' tell him that they would kill him or that they would destroy the medical equipment that keeps him alive." To protect him it has been necessary to hire three nurse's aides at \$111 a day, the lawyer said.

Huey Newton was shot in the stomach after being stopped by cops while driving with a friend. In the struggle, one policeman was killed and another wounded.

According to the Panther Party information minister, individual cops have threatened the life of Huey Newton in particular at various times during the past year.

Police have harassed members of the Black Panther Party ever since the group was founded in the summer of 1966. At that time it initiated a "police patrol" in Oakland, designed to see that cops obeyed the law.

Support and contributions are urgently needed to provide a defense for Huey P. Newton. Send contributions to: Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Everyville Branch, Oakland, Calif. 94608.

Régis Debray Convicted

(World Outlook) — Régis Debray was sentenced to 30 years in prison Nov. 17 by a drumhead military court in Camiri, Bolivia. The severity of the sentence came as no surprise after the caricature of judicial procedure that passed under the name of a trial.

Ciro Bustos, the Argentine artist, who, like Debray, had spent time with the guerrillas in March, was also sentenced to 30 years.

The four other defendants, deserters from the guerrilla movement who testified for the prosecution, were "absolved."

Debray and Bustos were convicted of "rebellion, murders, assault and robbery." No evidence was produced in the entire course of the trial that either had ever fired a shot. Debray had come to Bolivia as a journalist to interview Che Guevara; Bustos to make sketches of the guerrillas.

The two were arrested with an Englishman named Roth, unarmed and in civilian clothes, at Muyu-pampa, April 20. (Roth was later released.)

Throughout the trial no defendant was allowed to speak. Debray was given a court-appointed lawyer who neither sympathized with

nor understood his revolutionary views, although it was precisely Debray's politics rather than his actions that were on trial.

Foreign correspondents were expelled from Bolivia by the military for daring to write dispatches critical of the irregular procedures in the trial.

Private meetings between Debray and his lawyer were secretly recorded and introduced into the trial.

The only testimony against Debray came from deserters from the guerrillas, men completely at the mercy of the court and creatures of the army. Other guerrillas who were captured and would not give false evidence were murdered in cold blood by army officers.

Finally, on Nov. 13, after both prosecution and "defense" had made their final summaries, the court read selected extracts, allegedly from Che Guevara's diary, into the record. There was no opportunity for Debray to examine them, verify their authenticity, or see the entire context from which they were taken.

Debray has protested the refusal of the court to allow a presentation of the political views for

which he was tried. In an interview with Juan de Onis of the *New York Times* the day before the verdict was handed down, he declared:

"What I will never tolerate is that a political conviction for an ideological crime be allowed to stand as a criminal conviction. I am not a murderer or a thief."

As the trial closed, Jaime Mendizabal, a Bolivian lawyer for Bustos, tried to argue before the court that the proceedings had been irregular. Col. Efraín Guachalla, president of the court, shouted, "This trial has ended," and brought down his gavel with such force that the head broke off and flew into the first row of spectators.

Juan de Onis reports that there was a scramble to recover the souvenir.

Debray and Bustos plan to appeal — to a higher military court.

It was not announced where Debray would be imprisoned, but the *New York Times* reported that "military sources" had indicated he would be sent to a military prison in the Beni Department, a hot lowland region in northwest Bolivia.

Interview with Arthur Harris

Victim of Queens Frame-Up

By Judy Watts and Elizabeth Barnes

[Arthur Harris, 23, of Queens, N.Y., is one of the now well-known "17 African-Americans Accused." The 17 made headlines last June when they were arrested supposedly in connection with an alleged plot to kill Roy Wilkins. Actually, only two of them, Arthur Harris and assistant school principal Herman Ferguson, were framed up on the conspiracy to commit murder charge. The others, many of whom belonged to the Jamaica Rifle and Pistol Club, were indicted under the unconstitutional New York criminal anarchy law.

[A release recently put out by a committee organized to defend the 17 pointed out that the government is using the frame-up to discredit black radicals. According to the release, the "man" is saying to black people: these "fanatics" want to "kill black people. This is just an extension of the Saturday night slaughter of blacks by blacks. But, never fear, Uncle Charlie will take care of you. Don't support the 17 — turn away from them. These bad boys and girls will cause you trouble."

[And to the middle-class radicals, the release points out, "the message was 'Be good; be quiet; play the game — or you may be next.'"

[In the following interview Arthur Harris discusses the case with us. Harris is now living in Jamaica, Queens, with his family. He has completed two years of college and at the time of his arrest he worked for the South Jamaica Community Progress Center.

[Arthur Harris was a charter member of South Jamaica CORE. He led demonstrations which were successful in getting traffic lights installed at two dangerous intersections.]

Q. Would you describe the way in which you were arrested?

A. At 5:30 a.m. on July 21 one of my relatives answered a knock at the front door. It was a Negro man (who turned out to be a plainclothes cop) who said there was sickness in the family. Immediately six to eight cops tried to rush through the door.

They proceeded directly to my room where I was sleeping. They knew exactly where my room was. My mother, who was up, tried to stop these men, all in plain clothes, and demanded to know what was going on. They answered that they had a warrant for my arrest for conspiracy to commit murder. At this point they burst into my room and took me, handcuffed, to their car. They even searched my clothes while I was putting them on.

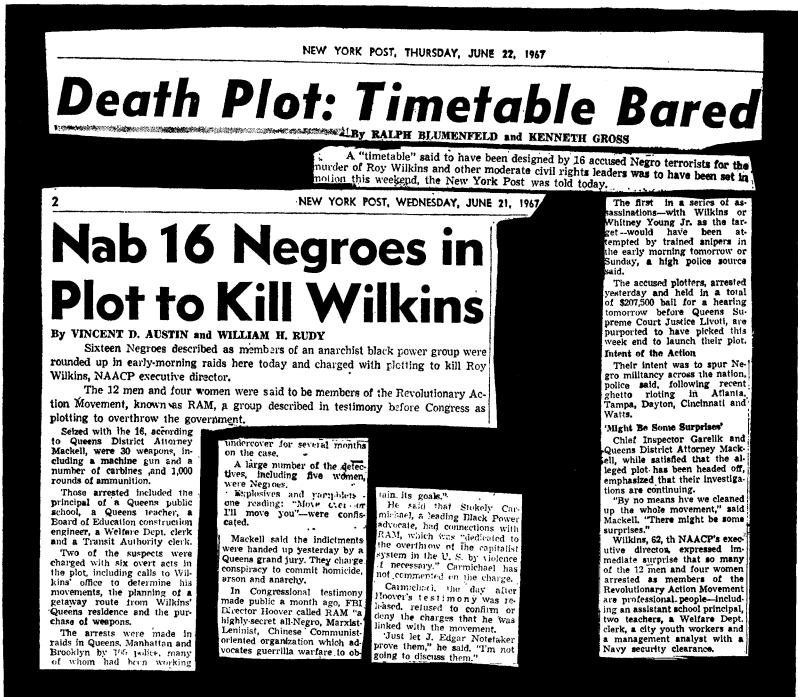
In the meantime, they fanned through the house, herding my family, which includes four sisters and a brother (the youngest is five years old), into a room at gunpoint. They then searched the house. When they were finished, my room was a shambles. They had torn down part of the ceiling and ripped coverings off the pipes.

The other arrests were made in a similar manner to mine. At least 150 cops were used to surround the houses of those arrested. They even used walkie-talkies.

Q. What happened after you were arrested?

A. We were first taken to the Queens courthouse, where some reporters were waiting. Then we were taken into Manhattan for

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



SCARE HEADLINES. Press smeared frame-up victims at time of arrest.

booking. There were many more reporters swarming all over the place in Manhattan.

Q. What was your bail?

A. At 3:00 p.m. we were arraigned in court where bail was set at \$40,000 each for Ferguson and myself. The total bail for the others who were arraigned together was \$207,500. I spent five weeks in jail until the bond money was collected by friends and people who wanted to help. I didn't even know some of those who pitched in to raise the bail.

Q. What are the charges against you?

A. Herman Ferguson, assistant school principal at PS 40 in Jamaica, and myself have been charged with conspiracy to commit murder. All of the 17 accused have been charged under the New York state criminal anarchy law.

Q. Those arrested were said to be members of the Jamaica Rifle and Pistol Club, Inc. What is this club?

A. It is a legally incorporated rifle club. Most of the firearms and ammunition which we used for practice were army surplus obtained from the National Rifle Association with whom we are registered, just as are thousands of white rifle clubs around the country. In Queens alone there are over 800 gun clubs.

Q. How did the arrest affect your job in the poverty program?

A. I was at first suspended and later fired. I fought this on the grounds that action was taken against me not because of bad performance on the job, but for political reasons. Not only this, but they assumed I was guilty before trial, which is contrary to the cherished American principle that a person is assumed to be innocent until proven guilty by a court of law.

Four other defendants who worked for antipoverty agencies were also fired, and four defendants were suspended without pay from their jobs in the public schools by the board of education.

Q. What is happening now to the case in the courts?

A. At a hearing on Oct. 24 the defense attorneys argued for motions to dismiss the indictments. Some of these motions are attempts to get some of the lesser charges dropped, such as that of illegal possession of weapons. The government lawyers have filed answers to these motions and the court has until Dec. 4 to rule on them. The trial will probably be set for around the first of the year.

Q. Why do you think you were arrested and what is the significance of your case for the black liberation struggle?

A. Our arrest is part of a move

against black people who live in the confines of white America, to deny us any means of self-defense by taking away our alleged right to bear arms.

The government used the frame-up of the 17, balanced off by the arrest of four whites who were caught with an arsenal in the Bronx and who planted a bomb in a community center where Herbert Aptheker was speaking, to pave the way for instituting gun-control laws aimed at "curbing" violence of the "extremists."

In New York, hearings were held on the gun-control laws. The liberal whites in power, like Mayor Lindsay, Bobby Kennedy and Councilman Weiss came out in favor of requiring special permits to buy guns and licenses to buy rifles or shotguns. Also, Lindsay would have the right to stop the sale of guns for an indefinite period if he thinks there is danger of a rebellion. All of these measures are steps to crack down on any attempt by black people to equip and prepare ourselves organizationally or individually for self-defense.

Q. What kind of support have you gotten for the case?

A. People have responded because, as Brother Malcolm explained, when a black man is in trouble in one part of the country, he is in trouble everywhere.

A resolution unanimously supporting us was passed at the Newark black power conference. Large numbers of people have turned out for the mass meetings we have held. On Aug. 6 over 2,000 came to a meeting where Rap Brown and LeRoi Jones spoke.

The people in the community have found us "not guilty." People came to my house after the arrest trying to find out what they could do. During the hearings the courtroom has been filled with black people. And despite the objections of the school board, the governing board of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project filled the position of principal at IS 55 in Brooklyn with Herman Ferguson.

My nation has found me not guilty. The government has no right to hold me, and I will fight it to the end. I am a political prisoner in white America.

Q. How can people help the case?

A. Any kind of help which will raise money for the defense and which will educate people as to the true nature of the case will be welcome. Send contributions to: National Legal Defense Fund for The 17 African-Americans Accused, c/o The Allied Federal Savings and Loan Association, 115-02 Merrick Blvd., Jamaica, New York.

... Black Rally Attacked

(Continued from Page 1)

the school building, the principal of William Penn dismissed all the girls. At Ben Franklin, 20 police cars showed up, and police tried to prevent the students from leaving, against the principal's wish. Two hundred students had intended to walk out, but everyone was infuriated by the presence of police, and Ben Franklin's contingent became 1,500 strong.

At their destination on plush Benjamin Franklin Parkway, 30 student leaders inside presented their demands to School Superintendent Mark Shedd, while the crowd outside swelled to several thousand. The demonstration was peaceful but militant in spirit. The students were waiting patiently for an answer to their demands. They had assembled the largest political demonstration in recent Philadelphia history — on one day's notice.

"Friendly Negotiations"

Few foresaw what was about to occur, least of all the board of education officials, who knew that the situation in the schools would get out of hand unless they could pacify the activists with "friendly negotiations." Police Commissioner Rizzo arrived on the scene at 12:10, and the board of education's cat-and-mouse game was destined for an abrupt end.

"A phalanx of club-swinging policemen charged . . ." said the opening words beneath the banner headline in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. The totally unprecedented wanton police brutality that followed was too much for even Philadelphia's avidly pro-Rizzo daily newspapers. The *Inquirer* article continued: "Spectators, school officials and clergymen came under swinging nightsticks at 12:30 p.m. when Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo waved his club at a formation of more than 100 policemen and shouted: 'Go ahead, men. Get their asses.'"

"Within minutes, Winter St. in front of the school headquarters building was littered with injured young people, scattered schoolbooks and papers.

Flee in Panic

"The air was filled with screams, and the high school students, both boys and girls, fled in panic."

While board of education officials tried to continue their meeting, the student leaders walked out. The *Inquirer* reports that "one student dressed in a maroon robe leaped out the window and joined his comrades when the fighting broke out."

The police arrested 57 demonstrators and must have injured many more. One girl who was bleeding internally was not given any medical care until she was released on bail 11 hours later. Students who had been severely beaten about the head were not given skull X rays nor otherwise attended. Injured who had not been arrested were left lying on the ground at the scene of the police rampage.

Among those arrested were Bill Mathis, chairman of Philadelphia CORE, and Walter Palmer of the Black Unity Movement. Mathis and Palmer were held in jail on the preposterous bond of \$50,000 apiece.

Student Leaders

Barry Dawson and Karen Jordan, both of the Young Militants, were also singled out for arrest from among the five thousand participants. Despite the fact that the district attorney pegged Mathis and Palmer as "the leaders," Freedom George of the Young Militants emphasized that "Walt Palmer, Bill Mathis and I are just a front for the high school leaders so they won't get into too much trouble. We offer advice, but the real leaders of this movement are the high school students. The movement is developing new leaders really quickly now."

Richardson Dilworth, president of the school board, lashed into Rizzo for the police violence. "Without consulting us," he said, "Rizzo saw fit to turn a couple of hundred police loose on those children . . . That assault by the police triggered the violence." No doubt what bothered Dilworth even more than the crudeness of the police attack was his fear that the students would draw lessons from the incident and be less willing to negotiate with him in the future.

One girl from Gratz, who had been inside the board of education building presenting the students' demands, mentioned that she had been hit on the shoulders with a nightstick, "but it was worth it because I kicked the cop back."

Tonight about 600 Afro-Americans held a spirited meeting at the church of the Rev. Leonard Smalls of the Consumer's Party. Whites, reporters and, of course, cops were excluded from the meeting. A high school girl got a standing ovation when she pointed out that many of the older people at the meeting had voted for Mayor Tate in the recent election, "but I think we've all learned not to vote for Tate or his party again." The meeting went on to plan further actions in confrontation with the city administration.

No Calm Yet

As *The Militant* goes to press, Philadelphia is a powder keg. Frank Rizzo has belligerently proclaimed: "No one is going to make a patsy out of the police department. Frank Rizzo and the police department will not back away from lawlessness and insurrection. Those high school students would have taken over that part of the city. I am the police commissioner of all the people . . . And let no one make charges of police brutality." Much of the more "enlightened" establishment continues to blame Rizzo for the sharply increased militancy in the ghetto.

While the ruling circles of Philadelphia are split on how to pacify the ghetto, black high school students around the city are united to a degree not yet experienced in any other major city.

... Action

(Continued from Page 1)

heaviest burdens of the war," the committee stated.

"General Hershey's recent statements on the draft make clear that he is attempting to use it to stifle the rising opposition to the war. This threat will not deter us from this and future actions against the war and the draft. We reaffirm our support for those who resist the war inside or outside the armed forces."

Free Draftees

In announcing the national Stop the Draft actions, the Student Mobilization Committee said, "Students and others, during that week [Dec. 4-8], will go to induction centers and draft boards to demand that the draft be stopped, the war ended, and all draftees here and in Vietnam be freed. They will talk with draftees about the war and about their alternative to the draft and their rights in the army."

Spokesmen for the Stop the Draft Committee were Lenny Brody of the Resistance, Syd Stapleton of the Student Mobilization Committee, Henry Dwyer of the Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam, Steve Cagan of the DuBois Clubs, Irma Zigas of Women Strike for Peace and Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League.

On Dec. 4 and 5, there will be various acts of civil disobedience at Whitehall. Members of the Resistance plan to return their drafts cards.

Troubles in U.S. Economy

Why LBJ Favors Tax Increase

By Ed Smith

In last week's *Militant* I suggested that the stock market decline, which began in September, reflects the year-and-a-half-long stagnation of real production in the American economy and uncertainty among investors about what lies ahead. There are significant signs that the stagnation could turn into recession, and good reasons to believe that the Johnson administration actually favors such a recession.

A look at the third quarter economy (July-September) reveals the main outlines of the situation.

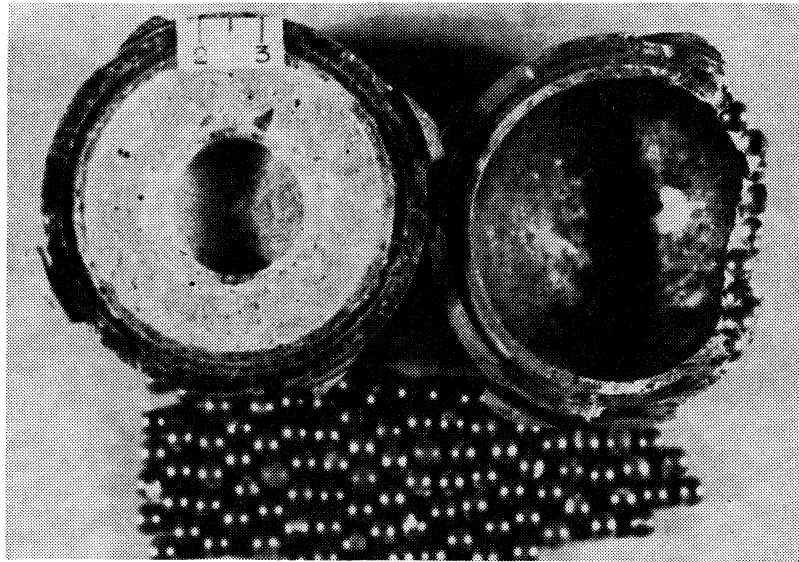
A number of economic indicators rose in this period, and some economists began to claim that the stagnation of the first half of the year had ended. These indicators included total disposable personal income and total factory sales, the first rising 1.5 percent and the second almost 2 percent.

If personal income and sales are rising, these economists argued, the economy is in good shape. They failed to take account of the inflationary factors influencing the upward tendency of these two indicators, and the more fundamental weaknesses in the economy illustrated by indicators that turned down in the third quarter or continued their downward slide from the first part of the year.

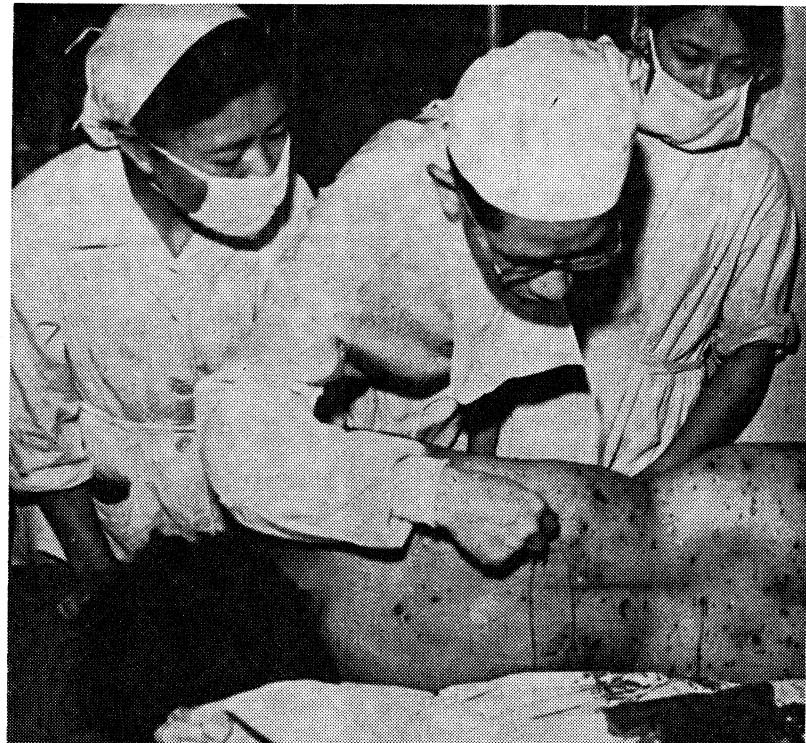
The rise in total personal income was more than offset, so far as individuals are concerned, by the continued decline of the value of the dollar. Average weekly earnings in September stood at \$98.18 in terms of the 1957-59 dollar. This was lower than the \$100.03 level of September a year ago, and lower than the 1966 average of \$99.33.

Unemployment in mid-October jumped to the two-year high of 4.3 percent, the sharpest rise since late 1960. The rise was fastest for nonwhite and teenage workers, jumping from 7.9 to 8.8 percent in nonwhite unemployment and from 13.8 to 15.1 percent in teenage unemployment.

In the business sector, industry was utilizing only 83.8 percent



YOUR TAXES AT WORK. Johnson continues to spend billions to inflict destruction and death on Vietnamese. Left is photo of pellet bomb U.S. uses against civilians in North Vietnam. Its small pellets are useless against buildings, bridges, etc., but do considerable harm to human beings. On right is victim of one of those fiendish devices, Miss Nguyen Thi Lan, 27, who was severely wounded by such a bomb in the Hanoi suburbs on April 25. Doctor attempts to remove pellets.



of the capacity of their plant and equipment in the third quarter, down from 85 percent in the second quarter and 91 percent in the third quarter of 1966. In a decisive category, new orders for machine tools dropped a sharp 6.5 percent from the second quarter.

These figures spell out a potential recession. Declining production, declining real wages and increasing unemployment can be mutually reinforcing: Their effects can "multiply" back through the economy to drive production even lower, lowering wages further and increasing unemployment further.

Before returning to the stock market, which is a useful indicator of economic tendencies, it is necessary to take note of two further factors in the economic picture. One is spending by corporations and the other is the balance of payments deficit.

It may strike one as surprising in light of the situation that corporations are not only investing heavily but are borrowing money heavily to do so. The rate of in-

crease in investment in new plant and equipment has declined from 1966, but it is not a precipitous decline. This reflects the judgment of some capitalists that the effects of the long-run inflation of the American economy are weightier than the effects of a possible short-run recession.

They believe that the costs of building plants and buying equipment now will be lower than in the future, and that it is worth making this investment even if there is a chance their sales will drop in the immediate period.

But corporate investment is not limited to this. It also includes investment in the stock exchange. To a certain extent corporations are unwilling to expand their capacity to produce precisely because of a possible downturn, and they seize the opportunity to expand their degree of control of the economy through purchasing the stocks and bonds of other corporations. This is all the more appetizing at a time when inflation promises to drive stock prices upward.

Finally, in a period when sales are not rising as much as was expected, corporations must borrow money to pay for stockpiling the "too many" goods that have been produced. Consequently, in addition to the government's borrowing to pay for the war machine, there is considerable borrowing by corporations. This drives up interest rates, the price the government and corporations pay for borrowing money. Today interest rates stand at a 50-year high.

The inflationary effects of the government's spending more than it takes in in taxes, together with higher interest rates, have become a problem of the utmost concern to U.S. capitalists because of their effect on the balance of payments deficit. One of the most important effects of inflation, then, is: as the purchasing power of the American dollar declines, foreign capitalists become increasingly unwilling to hold dollars instead of gold.

Pressure U.S. Investments

They threaten to turn their dollar-holdings in for gold, in full knowledge that the gold in Fort Knox does not come close to equaling all the dollars foreigners hold. And this in turn exerts immense pressure on the government to press U.S. capitalists to sell their foreign holdings in order to obtain foreign currencies, which they can use instead of gold to trade for the dollars foreigners are no longer willing to hold. Thus they protect themselves from having to declare the dollar worth less by devaluing it.

Rampant domestic inflation is a threat to imperialism's power, since it forces U.S. investment out of foreign countries. And it is this fact above all others that explains why Johnson insists on a tax increase to hold back inflation, even though it risks or might even cause a recession. The recession would trade unemployment and a decline in workers' wages for continued penetration and domination of other lands by American capitalists.

A tax increase would cut deeply into the purchasing power of consumers and all the more exacerbate the recessionary pressures that have already been discussed. But this is nothing to imperialism in comparison with significant loss of foreign investments.

All these uncertain forces contribute to instability in the stock market, and this instability foreshadows the dangers looming ahead in the American economy. For investors, the game is to invest on inflation but to get out of the stock market before a recession causes its decline.

So long as the inflation continues but is not great, prices and corporate profits will continue to rise and stocks will chase after

them. But, as we saw earlier, as the inflation mounts, so do interest rates. Considerable pressure builds up for investors to get out of the speculative arena of stocks into the high-interest rate — and in the long run more secure — government and corporate bonds.

A shift of investors' money from stocks into bonds last year contributed to the dramatic 1966 decline in stock prices and is undercutting stock prices again today.

On top of all this, uncertainty about what the Johnson administration will do, and even what it can do, to alleviate an interest rate crisis (and consequently a credit crisis of international proportions) accounts for exceptional anxiety on the part of capitalist investors.

The Federal Reserve Board could try to tone down inflation by cutting back on the availability of bank credit. This would decrease loans to corporations but only at the expense of driving interest rates higher; or the Federal Reserve could continue its relatively "easy money" course, allowing the inflation to continue, but once again causing interest rate increases from the other direction.

Tax Increase

For a major sector of the capitalist class there appears to be only one solution: inducing a recession through tax increases. This will enable them to continue the war, financing it directly by cutting workers' incomes through unemployment and higher taxes rather than indirectly cutting their income through the inflation caused by deficit spending. The capitalist class must choose between the direct political problems of unemployment and the direct financial pressures of inflation on their international investments.

But here there is a real problem — the U.S. Congress. Unlike the financial rulers of industry, congressmen must be reelected every so often. And these politicians are quite hesitant about enacting legislation to raise taxes in the midst of an unpopular war. Consequently, spokesmen for the ruling class have been quite critical of Congress in recent weeks:

"The nation seems plainly faced with a severe dose of inflation," *New York Times* economist Mullaney wrote Nov. 5, "a new credit crisis and further difficulties with its international payments deficit, while the Congress seems to remain oblivious to the mammoth dangers."

But the "mammoth dangers" Mullaney is talking about are mainly problems for international finance capital to worry about. For the masses of American people the problem is how to unburden themselves of the capitalist system, which can find no solution to economic problems but war, inflation and recession.

Black Liberation Notes

In a Nov. 18 editorial, the *New York Times* comes out against the addition of Swahili to the curriculum at William Howard Taft High School in the Bronx. Despite student enthusiasm for the course, the *Times* says that it will make school instruction "more irrelevant."

The editorial states that "Despite the currently fashionable sentimental and emotional talk about the need to nurture in Negro youths a pride in their ethnic past and traditions, the manufacture of artificial linguistic and pseudo-nationalistic rallying points is a demeaning flight from reality."

By using the words "artificial" and "pseudo-nationalistic" to describe the desire to identify with Africa, the editors of this imperialist-minded paper betray their racist contempt for any move towards independence from "white" culture. Nothing is said about the relevance of German, Spanish, French, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, and Norwegian courses taught in New York public schools. Only Swahili, a beautiful and sophisticated language spoken by 11 million East Africans, is picked out for attack.

The publication of new statistics on San Francisco's death rates has revealed that black babies are dying at twice the rate of white

babies. Why? Largely because of premature births caused by malnutrition in pregnant mothers, maternal exposure to infection, and lack of prenatal care and advice.

According to Dr. Moses Grossman, chief of pediatrics at San Francisco General Hospital, the infant deaths are only the "top of the iceberg — the part that's visible." He said of greater significance is the high incidence of brain damage among those premature babies who do survive, and the resulting mental retardation.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has charged that the Senate (McClellan) Permanent Subcommittee

on Investigations has not gotten the full story during hearings on the so-called riot at Houston's Texas Southern University last spring. The McClellan committee hearings have sought to blame black student radicals for what was in reality a police attack on a student dorm.

According to someone who ought to know, present plans to provide cops with more sophisticated technological devices could result in some horrifying equipment being brought into use against the population. The warning was made by Paul Baran, a Rand Corp. specialist in military command and control systems.

Baran cites some devices that could be built in the next 10 to 15 years to fight "organized crime." One would record the exact location of every car. Another would keep a record of every long distance telephone conversation.

Meanwhile, buried deep in an article in the business section of the *New York Times*, is the news that the city of Detroit is planning a \$7,135,000 bond sale to pay for riot control equipment. The citizens of Detroit will not only be expected to foot this bill for repressive equipment to be used against them, but they will have to pay the high interest rates on it as well.

—Elizabeth Barnes



Muhammed Speaks

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.]

The Flip Side

[A reader in Minneapolis sent us a copy of the letter appearing below, which he read in the *Minneapolis Star*. EDITOR.]

Minneapolis, Minn.
Anyone who has played the flip side of the Johnson-Rusk Rag knows perfectly well that Hanoi has already agreed to the Johnson-Rusk demands for peace-talk-conditions stuff.

For those of you who haven't heard, the flip side goes like this: Hanoi agrees to 1) stop bombing Washington if we stop bombing Hanoi; 2) stop sinking the U.S. fishing fleet if we stop sinking theirs; 3) pull back from the Mason-Dixon Line if we do from the 49th parallel;

4) stop backing Wallace and Reagan if we stop backing Thieu and Ky; 5) discontinue subversive activities by their AIC (All In-

telligent Communists) if we do the same with our CIA; 6) pull all their troops out of the United States if we pull out of Vietnam; 7) renounce communism altogether if we do the same with capitalism;

8) discredit the name of Ho Chi Minh if we discredit George Washington; 9) close down their brothels in San Francisco if we close down ours in Saigon; 10) repair their devastation of America if we repair ours of Vietnam; and, last but not least, they will 11) ask forgiveness for all the women and children they have killed in the United States if we ask forgiveness for those we killed in Vietnam.

Well, there you have it, history fans. The next move is up to the next president of the United States; the present one had his ears pulled too often, and apparently can't hear Ho's message.

Frank B. Evans

From Japan

Kyoto, Japan

We send our hearty approval to your great activities, including the demonstration against the Vietnam war.

Our "Association for the Study of Women's Problems in Kyoto," though a small group composed of about a dozen women workers and students, aims at a new evolution of the women's movement.

The recent news about the epoch-making demonstration in Washington (Oct. 21) against the Vietnam war has produced a great reaction against the bourgeoisie and energized the workers in Japan.

Above all, that powerful agitation by Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, the head of "Women Strike for Peace," impressed us deeply.

H.S.

Comandante Che Guevara

New York, N.Y.

Those of us who have entered the revolutionary movement since the early '60s have lived through an epoch of change and have been part of a transitional period that is closer and closer to a workers revolution.

In being part of these turns of events we have seen the victories and the setbacks. The formation of the American antiwar movement, the unbelievable courage and bravery of the Vietnamese people, the nearness and solidarity of the socialist revolution on the world stage, are only a few of the components in our transition.

Yet, the concept of change and transition has its contradictions, even those that will obstruct and depress us. The murder of Malcolm, the slaughter of thousands

of Communist rank-and-filers in Indonesia, and now the brutal murder of Che.

There will be more murders and slaughters before this capitalist society busts wide open. There will also be the victories — the very nature of the struggle at this time illustrates it will produce the foundation for victory in the next stage.

In our struggles from this society to the next the wisdom and thought of Che will be in our minds — long after the workers' flag flies over the earth. Comandante Che will take his place in history as the Americas' greatest revolutionary, who shook the pillars of a monstrous and world-powerful system.

Who knows how long the guerrillas in Bolivia march without food? Without water? Without bullets? Without a sense of direction, living day to day, hiding from repression, in unbearable, barbaric conditions. This thought of men sacrificing and struggling for their very lives should go to bed with us every night.

While the bureaucrats in Moscow talk of coexistence in order to preserve their "Mafia," and while the parasites follow their pessimistic and skeptical conclusions, revolutionary soldiers in Bolivia and throughout the world are fighting and struggling for a liberation that could have been theirs if the pimps in the Kremlin had one ounce of decency in their bodies.

The vengeance of Che and his murdered comrades will occur in the impetus that will destroy imperialism from Watts to the Congo, from Indonesia to Bolivia; and in every corner of the world man will know the fruits of sacrifice and remember his brother Comandante Che Guevara.

By any means necessary.

Alfredo Peña

Che's Death

New York, N.Y.

The following comments on Che's death were contained in a letter I received this week from a friend who is visiting Latin America. (They are particularly interesting because this person's political point of view would not predispose him to say anything favorable about Che.):

"Another reason for my interesting stay in Colombia was that it coincided with reports of Guevara's death. It is clear, by the way, that as usual *Time* is whistling in the dark when it speaks about the relief felt in Latin America with the death of Guevara. In the four countries I visited I had no sense of this 'relief.' In university circles it seemed to be much more sad-

ness, or even anger — sometimes frustration. Perhaps in some official circles it could be termed 'relief,' but I did not meet those people.

"There was tremendous interest in the news those days, with people crowding around the kiosks for papers. I heard only one (Argentinian) person of high reputation express doubts about Guevara's revolutionary tactics — and even he had high praise for the 'human quality' of the 'great man' Guevara. He is a myth and a legend in South America . . ."

E.B.

Cops in Outer Space?

Buena Park, Calif.

I heard an incredible comment on the U.S. space effort on a program called "Home Town Happenings," over KFI Radio, Nov. 12:

"We should equip our men going to the moon with weapons. Then, if they encounter some strange characters up there, they can open up on them. They can always claim self-defense."

The program is broadcast to the armed forces overseas.

M.K.

Thought for the Week

"For an economy that is operating at a relatively high level and on the verge of sizable further gains, there is a dismaying number of problems kicking around. It is hard to find even one significant area of economic activity without its own set of difficulties — either now in evidence or in prospect for next year." — *Business Week*, Nov. 18.

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.

LOS ANGELES

BIWEEKLY RADIO COMMENTARY over KPFK (90.6 FM) by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman, SWP, Monday, Dec. 4 and 18 at 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesday, Dec. 5 and 19 at 9:45 a.m.

NEW YORK

BLACK SEPARATISM — Will the United States have to be partitioned into two separate and independent nations, one for white Americans and the other for black Americans?

Speakers: Prof. Robert S. Browne, author of an article in the December Ramparts; Robert Vernon, author of *The Black Ghetto* and writer for *The Militant*; John Wilson, co-chairman of National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and SNCC field secretary.

Friday, Dec. 1, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) Donation \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, editor of *The Militant*. Saturday, Dec. 2. Dinner: 6:30 p.m.; forum: 8:30 p.m. Dinner and forum: \$2.50. 686 N. Broad, Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FIDEL CASTRO'S SPEECH AT OLAS

The November-December issue of the *International Socialist Review* is a special issue on the Organization of Latin American Solidarity conference (OLAS) recently held in Havana.

It contains the complete text of Fidel Castro's speech to the closing session. Castro not only deals with the problems of the Latin American revolution, but expresses the solidarity of the Cubans with the black struggle in the U.S.

In addition, the ISR reprints the General Declaration on Revolutionary Policy unanimously adopted by the OLAS delegates.

Finally, it contains an evaluation of the OLAS conference by Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, who attended OLAS as a reporter for this newspaper.

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what this country needs is more religion, and, specifically, his religion. "I don't personally believe there is any group given greater resources of strength than members of our faith," he says.

In God's Hands — The church whose preachings Romney would make the basis of his decisions as President is the Mormon church, which teaches that black people are inferior. But Romney can't be held accountable for that. "He is powerless to change the rules of his church, which are alterable only by Divine Revelation," the article in the *Times* explains.

LBJ Country — Down home in Blanco, Texas, where everybody wears the "LBJ" brand, a woman sitting on her porch told a *Washington Star* reporter what the people there thought of the Vietnam war. "We think it stinks, that's what," she said.

From the Heart — The *New York Times* went into sickening panegyrics over LBJ's new sincere style in his latest news conference. A more appropriate comment came from another ordinary citizen of LBJ country. "He gets one of those jerky looks on his face," the citizen explained, "like he's feeling so pathetic."

SDS Blasts ROTC, 3-2 — Army and Navy ROTC men at Princeton U. challenged Students for a Democratic Society to a touch football game, "that combat which only befits the ultimate resolution of our divergent and irreconcilable views," the ROTC men explained. SDS accepted and defeated the hawks on their own terms.

Defector—One ROTC man went over to the SDS side.

Motivation — SDS leaders explained their victory as basically due to superior morale and political motivation.

FOR NEW READERS

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Peace Forces Ask Recount In S.F. Vietnam Referendum

By Asher Harer

SAN FRANCISCO — Demand for a recount of the vote on Proposition P is now being considered by the Citizens Committee for a Yes Vote on Peace, the organization that put Proposition P on the ballot. Proposition P called for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

San Francisco City Hall now claims that 78,806 voted Yes on P and 136,516 voted No: 37% Yes, 63% No. These figures are still suspect.

Every day since election day, Nov. 7, errors in counting the vote have been disclosed. Finally, on Nov. 18, such an "amazing switch in vote totals" (*San Francisco Chronicle*) was uncovered

that a question mark now has been placed over the entire election result.

This most "amazing switch" gave supervisorial candidate James Maillard (Rep.) a 9,152 win over Kevin O'Shea (Dem.). Previously O'Shea had been declared winner by a 76 vote margin. This is an error of 9,228 votes. O'Shea is considering asking for his own recount.

"Nobody at City Hall could be sure last night that the final count might not switch other contests. It was considered unlikely that Harold S. Dobbs could overtake Joseph L. Alioto, who won by 15,893 votes in the official tally. But with such an amazing error in one supervisorial race that has been counted, there are some who

thought anything could happen," the *Chronicle* said.

The phrase, "anything could happen," immediately brought to the minds of Proposition P supporters the question — could anything have happened to the vote on Proposition P?

According to a report in the *Chronicle*, LBJ did considerable "arm-twisting" in an attempt to keep Vietnam off the ballot. This was prior to the State Supreme Court decision of Sept. 18, which declared that Vietnam was a proper subject to submit to a vote of the people.

A UPI dispatch, printed in the *Examiner* Oct. 28 under the heading "City Prop. P Upsets LBJ Aides," stated, "Friends of the administration failed in their attempt to keep the question off the ballot." But, "their concern over this one item on a local ballot indicates the scope of the government's operation to counter criticism of its Vietnam policy." And further, "In the Johnson administration's counter-attack . . . no target is overlooked."

Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, at a press conference in San Francisco on Nov. 3, warned that "San Francisco at this very moment is undoubtedly crawling with CIA agents and other representatives of Washington interested in defeating Proposition P. And they will stop at nothing."

Surely, if an error of 9,228 votes could be made in a closely watched race between two major capitalist candidates — what magnitude of error might occur in the case of Proposition P?

UAW Forces Locals To Work at Chrysler

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Nov. 19 — Top officials of the UAW moved into intensive negotiations with the management of Chrysler Corporation for a contract covering Chrysler's salaried workers in the U.S. and Canada after pressuring hourly rated workers back into Chrysler plants under terms of a contract signed here Nov. 8.

A strike deadline is set for Nov. 21, when negotiations for the salaried employees are expected to be concluded. These talks seek agreement on translating economic gains won for hourly rated workers into weekly salary terms for draftsmen, engineers, model makers, and clerical workers. The UAW bargains for 8,000 Chrysler employees in these classifications here in the U.S. and 550 in Canada. It is not anticipated that there will be a strike.

The task of getting hourly rated Chrysler workers back into the plants under terms of the new contract was accomplished after a week of threats and promises by UAW officials to head off and curtail sporadic strikes.

Chrysler's truck drivers, who move parts between plants in the Detroit area, were forced back to work last Monday morning after being threatened by UAW President Walter Reuther that they could expect no strike benefits if they remained out "unauthorized."

Pickets at Chrysler's Belvedere, Ill., plant held out after 50 had been arrested by local police, but UAW officials managed to get production started there before the week ended.

In the Detroit area 4,300 members at the stamping plant in Sterling township disrupted Chrysler production for a week and shouted down pleas to return to work by Doug Fraser, head of UAW's Chrysler Department, and a UAW regional director, Ken Morris. At a stormy meeting here a week ago neither Fraser nor Morris was allowed to speak and they had to adjourn the meeting.

The grievances at the Sterling plant centered upon unsafe working conditions. During contract negotiations a 19-year-old worker had lost an arm because of faulty equipment and careless supervision.

The workers were warned that if they failed to return to work the UAW International would establish a "receivership" over their local. They went back into the plant only after Fraser and

Morris inspected the unsafe conditions in the plant and extracted a promise from management that these would be corrected.

By the end of the week reports were being released from Solidarity House that all Chrysler plants were back in operation and UAW members were ratifying the contract by large majorities. Most returns were in from small UAW locals around the country. At the huge Jefferson plant here in Detroit it was reported that skilled tradesmen rejected the new contract by 65 percent. But a majority of Chrysler's 95,000 production and maintenance workers who voted, favored acceptance.

Meantime there have been several instances of "approved" local strike actions of limited duration at several General Motors plants in anticipation of negotiations there. It is the announced policy of the UAW International Executive Board to restrict GM production to "normal" rates and cut back stockpiling of cars by restricting overtime. When overtime work is scheduled the workers are then authorized to leave the plant for a one- or two-day work stoppage in order to compensate for the overtime worked.

The question of working conditions remains the one to be resolved in negotiations between the UAW and General Motors. More than half of all auto workers, 400,000, are employed by the giant GM corporation where working conditions are least subject to union control.

It is expected that General Motors-UAW negotiations will approach a strike deadline sometime after the new year. Speculation here is that a GM strike will most probably be called before the differences over working conditions in the industry are resolved and the workers are in a worn-down mood, ready to accept what comes out of the negotiations.

This is the kind of strike, conducted in constant consultation between management and union officials to serve as arbiters in the industry, as explained for the benefit of "unauthorized" Chrysler strikers last week by Walter Reuther. He said, "If they [Chrysler strikers] want the leadership of this union to fight their battles when the company is wrong, then they have to expect the leadership of this union to stand up to them when they are wrong." He added, "They're wrong."

Nationwide Antiwar Demonstrations Keep Lyndon Johnson off the Streets

By Les Evans

The wave of campus antiwar demonstrations that began around the preparations for the massive October 21 confrontation at the Pentagon is continuing and deepening.

Protest actions at Berkeley, UCLA, the University of Wisconsin, and Cornell are being emulated in similar actions on dozens of campuses. These actions have been aimed in the main at recruiting by the armed forces, the CIA, and Dow Chemical, manufacturers of napalm.

The campus demonstrations were punctuated Nov. 14 by the massive protest in New York against a visit by Dean Rusk and other war-makers to a Foreign Policy Association dinner. It is clear that members of Johnson's cabinet will be met with large demonstrations whenever they venture forth to defend their war policies.

White House Prisoner

Even Johnson himself is fast becoming a prisoner in the White House, for fear of demonstrators mobilizing at his every appearance. Some weeks ago, when he wanted to speak in New York, he slunk into the city unannounced — and even so a few antiwar activists managed to learn about his presence and demonstrate.

Tom Wicker, writing in the Nov. 16 *New York Times*, declared that as a result of antiwar demonstrations, "going back at least to midsummer, the President of the United States has been in contact with the great American

public only in the most limited, guarded and last-minute fashion."

Johnson has confined his recent appearances mainly to the halls of Congress, military bases, and the flight deck of an aircraft carrier. People are beginning to wonder how he plans to campaign in 1968 if he is renominated by the Democrats.

Public displeasure at Johnson's war in Vietnam registered landslide proportions in a mid-October Harris Poll, released Nov. 14, in which 77 percent expressed their disapproval. Even Johnson had to concede that he was wielding power in the name of an ever dwindling minority. Always the optimist, he prognosticated that "I may wind up with a poll of one percent before it's over with."

Withdrawal Sentiment

Thirty-seven percent of the voters in San Francisco voted recently for an "immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of U.S. troops" from Vietnam. Not a single senator or representative in Congress backs this view despite the wide sentiment for it among the general population. The Harris Poll cited above also registers a whopping 44 percent for withdrawal from Vietnam "as quickly as possible" — those who favor escalation stand at 21 percent.

The CIA, that fearless agency of terror and espionage, has begun to quaver before the onslaught of student demonstrators: the *New York Post* reported Nov. 15 that the cloak-and-dagger agency has canceled scheduled visits at nearly a dozen different campuses. A

CIA spokesman said: "The principal reason is that . . . in view of the fact, even the possibility of the disruption of campus life, we thought it would be more courteous of us to have the interviews elsewhere. We certainly don't want to interfere with normal campus life."

We may remain sceptical of the agency's motives in light of its past record for "courtesy," but a Nov. 17 declaration by the chairman of the board of Dow Chemical makes no bones about the effect of student protest on his organization:

Carl A. Gerstacker admitted that Dow was being "hurt by a boycott of consumer products . . . hurt by people saying they should sell our stock . . . hurt by some of our important people spending so much time answering criticisms against the company."

No Lull This Time

The antiwar movement has taken a new turn since Oct. 21. Every previous mass action was followed by a more or less extended "lull," when a sense of isolation on the part of many activists led them to question whether demonstrations had any effect.

But it is now becoming increasingly clear to those in the antiwar movement that they represent a very powerful and growing minority of at least one-third of the population which is dead set against the war, and a majority of people who disapprove of it. Demonstrations, too, are clearly having their effects on LBJ, his cabinet, the CIA, and Dow.



Photo by Harry Ring

EXPLAINS POSITION. Ed Farley, right, chairman of Citizens Committee for a Yes Vote on Peace, at press conference.