

THE MILITANT

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Tour by Halstead Opens in Madison

By Patrick Quinn

MADISON, Wis., Jan. 7 — Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, wound up the first stop on his four-month national speaking tour here tonight at a meeting of about 300 students at the University of Wisconsin.

The audience reacted favorably as Halstead discussed the war in Vietnam and the antiwar movement. Applause greeted many of his statements, including the one that he was "about the only presidential candidate around who doesn't have to sneak into town for fear of encountering an antiwar demonstration."

A collection of \$60 was taken for the campaign, and several new campaign supporters were signed

up as a result of the meeting. Halstead spoke with campaign supporters, and those interested in more details of the SWP program, at a reception following the meeting.

Upon arriving in Madison on Jan. 5, the Socialist Workers candidate had an informal discussion with leaders of the German SDS (Socialist Students of Germany) who are visiting the country. That afternoon, Halstead spoke at the James Madison Memorial High School here, at a meeting sponsored by the High School Students for Social Justice and the school's Forum Committee. The 33 students present were interested in discussing questions of basic social-

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Photo by Hermes

WOMEN MARCH. About 5,000 women demonstrated at Capitol building in Washington, D.C., Jan. 15 against war in Vietnam. See story, page 2.

New U.S. Escalation: Bombardment of Laos

By Dick Roberts

On Jan. 13 the United States opened a new stage of the Vietnam war with the announcement of intensified U.S. bombing of Laos. Typically, administration sources refused to establish exactly when the escalation of Laos bombing had actually begun.

What was new to most people was that such bombing was taking place. It appears to have been started several months ago.

"The only thing the Air Force will say officially on air action over Laos, as it has been saying for the past several months," the Associated Press reported from Washington Jan. 13, "is: 'Armed reconnaissance missions are being flown over Laos with the consent of the Laotian Government.'"

"Only air missions over North and South Vietnam are listed in the daily communiqués. They never mention Laos."

That such an escalation was in the making — or was already under way — became clear in late December. At that time State Department and Pentagon spokesmen began issuing decrees about

"enemy insurgents" who were seeking "border sanctuary" in Cambodia, Laos and North Vietnam.

True to form, the announcement of escalated bombing in Laos has been accompanied by an escalation of reports of "North Vietnamese infiltration" into that country. Within three days of the announcement, it had reached flood-tide proportions.

"A dramatic increase in North Vietnamese infiltration through eastern Laos," *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr discovered in Saigon, "has created more bombing targets than there are available aircraft to hit them..."

And this is so despite the fact that the new level of bombing in Laos "is more than three times the average daily number of Air Force craft that, with Navy and Marine jets, are carrying on the bombing offensive against North Vietnam," according to the same newspaper.

Suspicious Timing

The announcement of bombing in Laos appears to have been timed to distract attention from new pressure on Washington to seek an end to the war. This pressure developed when North Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh reiterated Hanoi's terms for settling the war in a reception in Mongolia Dec. 30.

Those terms are that Hanoi will not enter negotiations until Washington unconditionally ceases the bombing of North Vietnam and all other acts of war. When that happens, Hanoi has indicated over and over again, it would be willing to negotiate an end to the war using its four-point program as a basis for settlement.

The four-point program calls for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and reunification of North and South Vietnam.

But there was a nuance of change in Nguyen Duy Trinh's statement and the nuance was seized by some war critics to exert new pressure on the Johnson administration. The nuance was that instead of saying unconditional cessation of bombing and acts of war "could" lead to settlement talks, Nguyen Duy Trinh said they "will" lead to settlement talks.

"Now that Hanoi has said it 'will' talk," declared the *New York Times* Jan. 7, "the real question comes down to whether

the Johnson administration wants to open negotiations at this time."

But that has always been the real question.

The reason Washington gives for not ceasing its military aggression is not that it is uncertain whether Hanoi "could" or "will" respond by entering negotiations. It is that Hanoi has not promised any "reciprocal" actions.

Johnson demands that Hanoi cease all aid to the National Liberation Front before he "could" or "will" enter into negotiations. And Hanoi steadfastly refuses to bow to this pressure to betray the guerrilla struggle. The shift in verbal tenses does not alter the fundamental positions.

The U.S. is militarily deadlocked in Vietnam and refuses to "open negotiations at this time" because it has a weak bargaining position. An unnamed U.S. military official told *Wall Street Journal* reporter Frederick Taylor Jan. 12:

"In the next few months, it will become clear that we are winning the war, and, once the enemy acknowledges that, we can 'practically dictate' the peace terms..."

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Photo by Bob Wilkinson

FRED HALSTEAD. Socialist Workers presidential candidate speaks with students at James Madison High School in Madison, Wis.

Defense of Antiwar Figures

NEW YORK — A mass meeting to protest the indictment of Dr. Benjamin Spock and four others for their antiwar and antidraft stands will be held here Jan. 29 at Manhattan Center (8th Avenue and 34th St.) beginning at 8 p.m.

The new government attack on the right of dissent and the right of free speech is being met by a united defense by the whole antiwar movement.

Accused of "conspiring to counsel, aid and abet" young men who refuse to serve in the armed forces, Dr. Spock and his co-defendants face up to five years in prison and \$10,000 fines if they are convicted under the unconstitutional law. The others indicted were the Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr., chaplain of Yale University; Michael Ferber, a Harvard graduate student; Mitchell Goodman, an author; and Marcus Raskin, co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies.

Dr. Spock and Michael Ferber will address the defense rally here. The rally, which has been called by a broad coalition of antiwar

groups, takes place the same day the defendants are being arraigned in Boston. Spock and Ferber will fly to New York directly from the arraignment and report to the meeting on the developments in Boston.

The meeting will be chaired by actor Ossie Davis, and folk singer Pete Seeger will participate in the program.

Organizations sponsoring the rally include the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, The Resistance, Student Mobilization Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, National Conference for New Politics, War Resisters League, DuBois Clubs, Medical Committee to End the War, Committee of the Professions, and Clergy and Laymen Concerned.

Admission to the meeting will be \$1 for students and \$2 for adults.

Another meeting held here Jan. 14 drew 1,500 people to hear Michael Ferber and Mitchell Good-

man. It was sponsored by Resist, and Support-in-Action.

Ferber ridiculed the conspiracy charge. Discussing how the movement should respond to the government attack he said:

"We have to act as though the government is playing a chess game and has made a move against us. We have to respond coolly if we hope to win. I don't think we are on the verge of fascism. We have to act as though democracy still exists somewhere in this country."

Ferber expressed the sentiment of the meeting when he said:

"If this was an attempt to discourage the peace movement they have already failed. The best way to defend us is for all of you to redouble your efforts in all your actions to end the war."

Four draft resisters were also on the platform. They announced that they would refuse their inductions, which are pending in the next few weeks. About 500 people from the audience signed a scroll pledging to "aid and abet" the draft refusers.

Students to Plan Antiwar Action In Chicago Meet

High school and college students from across the country will gather in Chicago Jan. 27-29 for a national antiwar conference called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The meeting, which will discuss proposals for an international student strike in the spring, promises to be the largest student conference against the war in Vietnam that has yet been held. Students from 30 states have already written to the SMC national office saying they plan to attend. The conference will also discuss plans for actions at the Democratic Party national convention in August.

Young people interested in attending the gathering should contact the Student Mobilization Committee, 17 East 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003, phone (212) 255-1075; or the Chicago SMC, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612, Phone (312) 226-4676.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

It looks like an interesting year ahead. According to the Bureau of National Affairs' *Union Labor Report*, Jan. 4 issue, "with major contracts covering over three million workers open for negotiations during 1968, the outlook is for another year of difficult and tortuous collective bargaining."

The ULR goes on to editorialize, "The difficulty may be compounded by the high targets provided by the record gains achieved in 1967."

* * *

According to this same source, the median wage settlements during 1967 were 14.3 cents per hour. Manufacturing wage advances were 13.1 cents per hour, an increase of 2.9 cents over 1966. The average settlement in nonmanufacturing went up 5 cents to 19.5 cents per hour.

* * *

With these inadequate results in mind, the workers, especially the young ones, will put real pressure on their negotiations teams to come up with real wage increases to meet the rising cost of living *right now*.

* * *

Contracts covering 250,000 aerospace workers expire during the coming summer and fall. These workers are represented by both the Auto Workers and the Machinists. According to Machinists' President P. L. Seimiller, "Aerospace always follows auto very closely. I can see no reason why it should not do so in 1968."

* * *

The Steelworkers Union negotiators are going to have a busy year indeed. In addition to the six-month strike in the nonferrous industry still at stalemate, contracts

covering 550,000 members in basic steel expire on Aug. 1.

Early in December, I.W. Abel, Steelworkers Union president, came up with a plan for what he called "voluntary" arbitration of all issues not settled in negotiations. This plan was rejected both by the steel industry and Abel's own executive committee. Yet on Dec. 25, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Mr. Abel said that while his plan had been "temporarily shelved it is by no means dead." He is quoted as saying "strikes are outmoded."

Sounds more like George Meany every day, doesn't he?

* * *

The Steelworkers are now negotiating for new contracts covering about 40,000 can and aluminum workers. The contracts with American and Continental Can expire on Jan. 31, and with Crown Cork and Seal at the end of February.

* * *

Meanwhile the six-month long strike in copper remains at stalemate. According to a Jan. 5 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*, this long battle is nothing but "a blatant power grab." The leaders of the 26 unions involved in this strike are fighting for an industry-wide contract because "it would enhance the power and prestige of the union leaders, since it would involve them in headline-catching confrontation with the industry." That is how this mouthpiece of Big Business smears a heroic fight by 60,000 workers in defense of their living standards and their union. And Meany and Co. are too busy chumming with Johnson to spend time supporting and defending the copper strikers.

* * *

The Communications Workers of America have announced they are reopening contracts previously signed with the various Bell Systems. The 22,000-member Western Electric installers' unit has been chosen to "set the national pattern." The CWU says it intends to "breach the 3.2 shackle . . . in addition to basic wage increases, the reopening provisions permit re-discussing overtime and premium pay, job and shift differentials, and town classifications."

* * *

The National Railway Conference, representing all the railroads in the country, has completed negotiations with the Railway Clerks which "it hopes will set the pattern for 1968's railway negotiations." The new agreement provides an 11 percent wage increase over four six-month periods. In addition the carriers have agreed to begin paying five cents per hour per employee into a classification evaluation fund, on July 1, 1968.

* * *

A slate opposed to the present regime in the Retail Clerks International Association (AFL-CIO) will run for the 12 top offices of the union in elections next June. The opposition ticket, headed by International Vice President John T. Hatletsky of Los Angeles, includes some young men in their twenties and thirties.

Hatletsky will run for the union presidency against James Housewright, an assistant to the current president, James A. Suffridge. After stating he would not seek reelection, Suffridge nominated Housewright to succeed him in office.

Accusing Suffridge of "clinging to the old status quo," the opposition calls for reform of the union's top-level organization. It denounces "the present one-man dictatorial rule," the "hand-picking of cronies" and "tyrannical control" over the vice presidents. More local union autonomy is demanded "to give locals greater voice in policy matters."

—Marvel Scholl

... Bombardment of Laos

(Continued from Page 1)

Few authorities would agree that Washington's military headway in the next few months will significantly alter the balance of power. But no one could disagree that Johnson's hope in Vietnam is to dictate the "peace terms," no matter what the cost in bombs and human lives.

Meanwhile, Washington appears to be temporarily shelving the question of an International Control Commission investigation of the Cambodian border.

Cambodian Prince Sihanouk cooperated with Johnson to the extent of meeting Johnson's envoy, Ambassador Bowles, to discuss the border question. This lends some credence to the Pentagon double-talk about "sanctuaries" and the need for "self-defensive," "hot pursuit."

At the same time, Sihanouk asked Bowles for a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam. On Jan. 11, Cambodia charged in the UN that an "aircraft of the United States-South Vietnam armed forces" killed one man and seriously wounded another in a Dec. 11 violation of the Cambodian border.

Sihanouk is obviously attempting to counter impressions that he has been brought over to the U.S. position, while keeping in the good graces of the State Department. In the final analysis it is



IN LAOS. Wreckage of U.S. plane shot down in Laos.

an untenable position.

When U.S. troops invade Cambodia, Sihanouk will be forced to one side or the other, either bow to Washington's terms or oppose them.

Hanoi's response to Johnson's Cambodia threat was of a different character. On Jan. 11 Hanoi declared it would militarily defend Cambodia in the event of an American attack.

5,000 Women March on Capitol To Demand Withdrawal of Troops

By Lora Eckert

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 15 — Five thousand women marched and rallied here today as Congress reconvened, demanding that, as its first order of business, Congress resolve to end the war in Vietnam and "immediately arrange for the withdrawal of all American troops."

The demonstration was organized by the Jeanette Rankin Brigade, a coalition of women leaders, named for the former member of Congress from Montana, who presented the women's demands to Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield.

Forty States

Women came from 40 states, including Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Kentucky, Montana, Oregon and Washington. There was also a representative from Amsterdam, Holland.

The original plans for the march had been for the entire demonstration to mass on the steps of the Capitol, to make as great an impact as possible on Congress and the nation. However, capital police invoked a statute going back to 1882 that forbids assembling on the Capitol grounds, and thus prevented the demonstration from taking place there.

The Brigade decided to fight this ruling in the courts. The women's appeal to get an emergency restraining order on the police was denied by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

Grant Park

The demonstration was held in Grant Park, outside the Capitol grounds but in sight of the Capitol building itself.

Many of the women had not been on antiwar demonstrations before. Most were not students, although some students and youth were present. There were 40 women from the National Council of Churches, others from Baptist, Methodist and Episcopalian groups, and many other organizations.

Present were Pearl Willen, past president of the Federation of

Jewish Women; Judy Mage, president of the New York City Social Service Employees Union, and Mrs. J. Preston Irwin, Republican national committeewoman.

Members of traditional women's peace groups such as Women Strike for Peace and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; of political groups including the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party; and radical youth groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance and DuBois Clubs, were also present.

Black Dresses

The march included a number of women symbolically dressed in black and several who had brought their babies. At 11:30 a.m., they walked in silence from Union Station, past the monument to peace in front of the Capitol, to Grant Park. The procession followed a banner reading, "End the War in Vietnam and Social Crisis at Home."

At the rally in Grant Park, folk singer Judy Collins entertained and actress Viveca Lindfors announced that a delegation from the brigade was presenting the demands of the group to Mansfield and Speaker of the House John McCormack.

Sections of the crowd began to chant, "End the War in Vietnam, Bring Our Men Home." After hearing the petition that was being presented to Mansfield and McCormack, the crowd stood in one minute of silence in memory of all those who had died in Vietnam.

Held Congress

In the afternoon, the women met in a "Congress of American Women" which consisted of a full program of reports and speakers. Jeanette Rankin, reporting on her meeting with Mansfield, said, "I didn't change him and he didn't change me." It was also reported that Senator Gruening of Alaska had promised to read the women's petition into the *Congressional Record* immediately after Johnson's State of the Union message.

During the meeting, a "Radical Women's Caucus" was held, which broke into two sections. One group, organized by a number of younger women from New York and Chicago, elected coordinators to organize women's groups in their own regions. The second group wanted to open the main meeting of the Congress of American Women to discussion from the floor.

Both groups objected to the fact that no chanting or picket signs were allowed on the march, and to the structure of the Congress which allowed for no time for discussion from the floor. About 200 women took part in the Radical Caucus.

The Jeanette Rankin Brigade is continuing its legal battle for the right of free speech and assembly and the right to petition the government. It is fighting to get the unconstitutional law prohibiting demonstrations on Capitol grounds nullified.

Desertion Rate Rises in Europe

The *New York Post* reported Jan. 10 that U.S. Army authorities in Heidelberg have admitted that "about 700 men per year desert from the American forces stationed in Germany, some to keep from being sent to Vietnam."

The *Post* commented, "This figure was issued eight months ago and since then the number of troops sent to Vietnam has been constantly stepped up. It is not unreasonable to suppose that desertions have also risen. In Heidelberg they prefer not to talk about it."

According to the report, there are groups all over Europe, "in almost every capital city," willing to help U.S. GIs find work and settle down. "The best prospects for a deserter," the article says, "are in Scandinavia, especially Sweden, or in France or Switzerland."

Harry Ring Interviewed In Havana

The Havana newspaper *El Mundo* carried an interview with Harry Ring, *The Militant* correspondent now in Cuba, in its issue of Jan. 9.

In giving his views on the recently concluded Cultural Congress, Ring said: "Holding it was a tremendous service on the part of Cuba to the work of cultural development, not only for the Third World but for the intellectuals of all countries. A congress like this aids all of them better to understand their own problems, as well as those of the underdeveloped countries."

The interview also featured Ring's description of the process of radicalization taking place among the youth of the United States. While it was still on an elementary level, he said, it was steadily becoming more militant and radical.

He noted that, at the great anti-Vietnam-war demonstration in Washington, D.C., last October, about 75 percent of the participants were youth. Some carried placards with drawings of Che Guevara or the slogan "Che Lives," he said. "Today the heroic commandante is regarded by progressive North American youth as one of humanity's great fighters."

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.

Int'l Writers Group Blasts LeRoi Jones Sentencing

By Elizabeth Barnes

LeRoi Jones was released from jail Jan. 9 on \$25,000 bail, pending appeal of his case. The judge who sentenced the black writer to two and a half to three years in prison and a \$1,000 fine refused to let him out of jail on bail at the time of the sentencing. But, later the Newark Superior Court ordered that bail be granted. The large sum of \$25,000 was raised by supporters.

Defense efforts for Jones are being organized. United Black Artists, a national group of artists, is planning a "LeRoi Jones Week." During that week plays and poems written by Jones are to be presented in various cities across the country. Larry Neal, black poet and spokesman for the group, told *The Militant* that it is hoped the week will be a "very big thing." Anyone who would like to help with this defense effort should contact Ronald Hobbs, 475 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.

At the trial, the judge admitted that he was basing the stiffness of the sentence on his dislike for the ideas in one of LeRoi Jones' poems. Many groups and individuals are protesting against this in particular. PEN, the largest international association of writers in the world, in a letter of protest to the *New York Times* stated: "Since its founding in 1921 the International P.E.N. has defended freedom of expression by writers of every persuasion. The American Center now wishes to take a position on the sentence imposed on

LeRoi Jones.

"The charge against Mr. Jones — illegal possession of weapons — is a criminal charge, and hence outside the province of P.E.N. However, according to the *New York Times*, of Jan. 5, Judge Kapp, in imposing virtually the maximum sentence, 'indicated that he based the severity of Jones's punishment to a large extent on a poem published last month in *Evergreen Review*, a monthly magazine.' The judge also read the poem aloud to the courtroom.

"P.E.N. vigorously protests the impropriety of any judge imposing a sentence the severity of which is based on his disapproval of a literary work of the accused. This is a serious assault on freedom of expression, a right not only of every writer but of every American citizen, as stated in the First Article of the United States Constitution."

Another group of poets, including Allen Ginsberg, Peter Orlovsky, and Diane Di Prima, have signed a statement declaring, "We believe LeRoi Jones, not the Newark Police, that the poet carried no revolvers in his car, no revolvers at all, that the police beat Jones up . . . that after the double whammy of beating and the rabbit-in-hat guns, his trial before an all-white jury was triple whammy. Lo and behold! fourth execrable whammy — his Judge addressed LeRoi's poem in a butchered version . . . and sentenced him to two and a half years for it."



LeRoi Jones

There will be a defense meeting for LeRoi Jones and co-defendants Barry Wynn and Charles McCray at the Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, New York City on Jan. 26 at 8:30 p.m. Larry Neal of the United Black Artists will speak, and Barbara Ann Teer, actress, writer, and director, will present a reading of LeRoi Jones' most recent poetry.

A Talk with Ron Lockman's Mother

By Pearl Chertov

PHILADELPHIA — Ronald Lockman is a black GI from North Philadelphia who has refused to go to Vietnam. He was court-martialed last November, and is now serving a 30-month sentence at the prison in Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Lockman, 23, is a member of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

Mrs. Vivian Williams, Ronald's mother, who has been active in speaking in defense of her son, agreed to an interview with *The Militant* on his case.

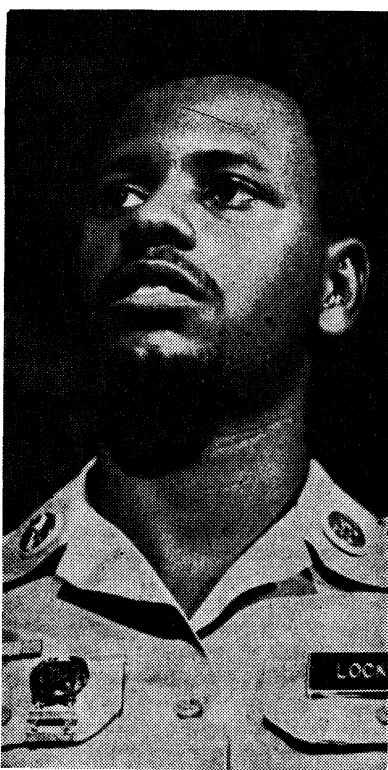
I went to her home on Jan. 3, and as I entered I saw that Christmas decorations were being packed away for next year. It reminded me of something Mrs. Williams had told me, that her son loved to decorate the tree for the holidays. I couldn't help but think of the many homes with someone important missing because of the war.

The warm welcome I received from Mrs. Williams and her children reflected the pride they felt for their Ronald. Mr. Williams, a night worker, had already left for work, but Mrs. Williams made it clear that he backed up his son all the way.

I asked Mrs. Williams how she felt, as a mother, for a son who had taken the stand Ronald did. "I am proud of Ronald," she said.

"My son told me, 'Mom, I just can't go over there and kill Vietnamese people. I believe my fight is at home. People who live in the ghetto live in poverty — good schools, jobs, better homes are needed for the black people right here.'"

"It is only in recent years that our family conditions have improved," Mrs. Williams continued, "and as a young boy Ronald knew poverty. In 1963, Ronald graduated from Edison High School



Pfc. Ronald Lockman

and went from job to job with little pay. He then decided to go to barbering school and learn a trade." After working in a barbershop, he was drafted.

Mrs. Williams said that she first became aware of her son's decision not to go to Vietnam when he was home on his 30-day leave before assignment. "I didn't want him to go and yet I didn't know when I would next see him if he didn't go. Would it be five or ten years in a jail? I figured he would finally make up his own mind not to go in."

Response from others has been encouraging. "People I do not even know," Mrs. Williams said, "helped to make it possible for

me to go to the trial in San Francisco. Many just read about it, or heard it on the news, and called to show sympathy. Even from London, Christmas cards have been sent to Ronald. Women Strike for Peace, the Anti-Draft Union, and others working to end the war have shown interest. My neighbors are generally in agreement, although those who do not have kids do not say anything."

She went on to say in a very firm but soft voice, "I wouldn't care how many sons I'd have, I wouldn't want any of them to go into this terrible, immoral war. Look what they are doing over there to those people. I have five sons, one the war machine has and another is due to register next month."

Most Agree

Discussing the attitude of young men who had known her son in the neighborhood and in school, she said, "As to the young fellows, most of them agree with Ronald but are bothered about prison sentences. They've heard so many stories about life in prison that they don't want to go."

"Some who went to Vietnam and are back say, 'I don't blame Ronald.'"

"Former schoolmates of his still come around the house. One of them, now a college student who works part time, left money in an envelope for my trip to the trial in San Francisco. When I asked him why, he answered, 'I am out here making it while Ronald is behind bars for us.'"

In New Haven, Conn., a rebellion broke out at Hillhouse High School after a black girl was reportedly hit by a white boy when she did not stand to recite the Pledge of Allegiance.

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Saigon Police Break Strike

At the AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbour, Fla., last month, George Meany explained that the "one overriding fact" in his vociferous support of Washington's dirty war in Vietnam is the existence of "free trade unions" under the Saigon regime.

The utter falsity of this statement was underscored on Jan. 13, when Saigon police broke a strike by electrical workers, rounding them up at gunpoint and forcing them back to work.

Charles Mohr, writing in the *New York Times* from Saigon, reported on Jan. 13: "The police arrested six leaders of the Electrical Workers Union yesterday, shortly after they had left an inconclusive bargaining session with officials of the state-owned power company and the Labor Ministry . . ."

"The electric power plant workers had demanded a 12 percent increase in wages to meet chronic inflation. The union voted Wednesday to go on strike if the demands were not met. The union leaders arrested yesterday were accused of inciting a strike.

"The workers called a two-hour power blackout Thursday night. This morning, they reduced — but did not completely cut — power to various parts of town. At noon today, informed sources said, Premier Nguyen Van Loc signed a decree authorizing the 'mobilization' of all electrical workers. He justified the action on the ground that South Vietnam is in a state of emergency.

"The police then moved into the headquarters of the General Federation of Trade Unions and seized about 130 electrical workers staging a sitdown. They were loaded into trucks at gunpoint and taken to the seven power plants in town. The police sent out other squads to pick up electricity workers at their homes.

"We told them to get into our trucks to go to work immediately or be sent to jail," said Lieut. Col. Nguyen Van Luan, chief of the Saigon police force. About 200 workers were picked up in this way. Colonel Luan said that the search would continue until all of the approximately 1,000 strikers were back on the job."

Trade unionists in this country should vigorously protest this attack on Vietnamese workers by the U.S. puppet regime in Saigon.

Cops Attack Protesters In S.F. Demonstration

By Howard Cohen

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 11 — The exclusive Fairmont Hotel here was the scene of a police attack tonight on an antiwar demonstration — in a clear violation of the right to dissent.

About 1,000 marchers braved a cold winter's evening to demonstrate their disgust as Secretary of State Dean Rusk rationalized U.S. foreign policy at a dinner affair of the all-white Commonwealth Club — an association of businessmen in northern California. The assembled capitalists reportedly enthusiastically applauded Rusk's defense of their blossoming war profits.

The demonstration, organized by a coalition of antiwar groups, began about 6 p.m. with about 500 present. As the ranks swelled, the police forced the demonstrators to the sidewalk on the opposite side of the street from the hotel.

By 7:30, almost 1,000 demonstrators had arrived. The police, using the excuse that someone had thrown some garbage and a "sack full of blood," announced that the demonstration was unlawful and had to disperse.

Then about 20 cops attacked the marchers, swinging nightsticks. Many were clubbed; some required hospitalization.

Police chased after fleeing demonstrators. Astride motorcycles, they drove into small gatherings of protesters. Plainclothesmen were seen arresting people they thought were leaders of the demonstration.

Some 50 demonstrators, shouting "amnesty, amnesty!" were chased by police onto the grounds of Grace Cathedral. About 40 were pursued into the church rectory,

when a priest at the doorway raised his hand, gesturing to the police to halt. He then ushered to safety the remaining protesters, and the police did not enter the church building.

Earlier, before the cops attacked the demonstration, the antiwar protesters had showed their sympathy for a group of striking machinists, who were also protesting Rusk — for his role in allowing scabs to work in struck Quantas Airlines. "We support the machinists," the antiwar activists shouted, and "Rusk is a scab."

Camejo, Others Get Sentenced In Berkeley

A Berkeley, Calif., judge sentenced seven men to fines ranging from \$50 to \$150 Jan. 3 for their part in student protests at the University of California in November. They were convicted of attempting to raise a pirate flag, the "Jolly Roger," on the campus. The act had been intended as a symbolic protest of the punishment of antiwar activists by the university administration.

Peter Camejo, a Cal student and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, received a \$150 fine. All seven, including two nonstudents, were given 10-day suspended jail terms.

It was ironic that the two nonstudents, who were the only others besides Camejo to be given \$150 fines, were both veterans of Vietnam.

Visit to Santa Clara

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba — With a large group of journalists here for the Cultural Congress, the press section of the Foreign Ministry was hard pressed to show all of them around Cuba, particularly since the gasoline rationing made it difficult to break them up into smaller groups and send them out in cars. A number of bus trips were organized to cope with this problem. I went on one that went to Santa Clara, capital of Las Villas Province. It was a 2½-day trip.

With more than 30 newsmen traveling together, it was difficult to get a comprehensive picture of all the places we visited. Some were particularly important and I hope to be able to go back. Meanwhile, a diary-style report of the trip should give an impression of some of the things happening in Cuba today and some of the places the Cuban people now are able to go to.

Our first day was devoted to a visit to the Zapata Swamp and Playa Girón, scene of the 1961 U.S.-sponsored invasion. The counter-revolutionary forces had landed at Playa Girón and advanced as far as the Zapata Swamp, from which they were driven back after 68 hours to the beach, where they surrendered in mass.

Cultural Congress Ends in Havana

HAVANA, Jan. 12—The Cultural Congress of Havana ended today with a plenary session in the afternoon and a speech by Fidel Castro at the Chaplin Theater in the evening. Most of the work of the Congress was carried on in five separate commissions and the reports of these commissions are just becoming available in written form. A report on the Congress will be forthcoming for a future issue.

Playa Girón and Laguna del Tesoro (Treasure Lagoon) in the Zapata Swamp were resort areas completed by the Revolutionary Government a short time before the invasion. We went first to the Laguna del Tesoro, a beautiful place deep inside the swamp that is reached by an artificial canal. On arrival we boarded a large motor launch and enjoyed a scenic hour's ride to the resort area. There we dined in a large, lovely restaurant, which, like the cottages surrounding it, is designed to suggest the Indian tribe that had once lived there. Laguna del Tesoro is a popular honeymoon resort. In addition to the restaurant, there is a gift shop, recreation room, snack bar, and a big swimming pool. There are walking trails and a museum-type reconstruction of an Indian village. It's a wonderful place for camera bugs.

At Playa Girón the resort area has been replaced by a fishing school that trains personnel for Cuba's new fishing fleet. A member of the school administration explained its program and it gave me some conception of what it means for a country like Cuba to start building a fishing fleet from scratch.

Two Fleets

Cuba now has two principal fleets: the Cubana fleet, which fishes throughout the world, and the Gulf fleet, which fishes in the Gulf of Mexico.

To man these fleets, Cuba must train merchant seamen as well as fishermen. The school at Playa Girón has 1,282 pupils ranging in age from 14 to 18. Soon the school will be expanded to include another thousand.

To give the students the necessary technical training (some go on to advanced schools to become ship's officers and engineers), it is necessary in most cases to complete their elementary education. They stay at Playa Girón for two years and some then go to advanced schools while others join the fishing fleet. The salary for fishermen and seamen is higher than that of most Cuban workers. The pay scale is complicated, with bonuses paid to the Gulf fleet on the basis of their catch. But in the Cubana fleet the pay ranges from \$175 a month for an ordinary seaman to \$340 for an engineer and \$400 to \$500 for a captain. They receive reduced pay while shore side.

Our first night away from Havana we stayed at the Hotel Jagua in the city of Cienfuegos. A magnificent luxury hotel, it had been the property of Batista's son Poppo. Now it's operated by INIT, Cuba's tourist ministry, and rooms are the same rate as most resort areas, \$6 a night for a couple.

I tumbled into bed at night without looking at much. On awakening I walked out on the balcony and saw a really spectacular view. The hotel overlooks the harbor which is surrounded by old Spanish-style homes with tile roofs. Saul Gottlieb, the writer, who is here for *Evergreen Review*, stood on the balcony and said that he had traveled all over Europe and never seen such a view.

Cienfuegos is now being developed as a major industrial center and principal sugar port. Cuba's first big fertilizer plant, which is being put up by a British firm at a cost of \$90 million, is now in construction there. A cement plant is being built and a thermoelectric plant. A plant for building diesel engines is already in operation.

We visited a sugar storage bin, an enormous, quonset-hut style structure, which has a storage capacity of 96,000 tons. The sugar is removed for loading onto the ships by what sounded like a very ingenious, suction-type operation, which is highly mechanized. The sugar is bulk-loaded onto the ships, something that was never done before in Cuba, which always shipped sugar in bags. On completion, Cienfuegos will be the sugar port for all of Las Villas province and part of Camaguey as well.

From there we went to a cane field, which for me was a distinct emotional experience. I have always known that cutting cane is hard work. But I didn't know how hard it actually is until I saw it close up. Just walking through a field where the cane has been cut and is on the ground, waiting to be picked up, is hard work. A stalk of cane is just about the toughest thing I've ever seen (It's delicious though just to chomp on a piece and enjoy the juice.)

Back-Breaking Work

Working in the blazing sun, the cutter moves from one stalk to the next, one at a time, wielding his machete. He cuts as close to the ground as possible to get the maximum piece of cane. Before it took four strokes to cut a piece of cane into two pieces and strip it. Now mechanization takes care of the center stroke and stripping, but it's still back-breaking work. I looked at the miles of canefield stretching down the road and thought of the men and women who work in the sun, cutting each and every one of those millions of cane stalks. I don't think I'll ever be able to take a spoon of sugar again without realizing the amount of back-breaking work that goes into it.

From the field we went to the nearby Guillermo Moncado sugar mill, which I'm told is one of the smaller ones. It was a giant factory in the field, to which the trucks and a train bring in loads of cane at one end. Through a complicated process of grinding and cooking in giant vats, unrefined sugar comes out at the other end. It was such a fascinating place that I overcame my phobia about heights and joined an expedition along the catwalks high atop the vats.

There were several old vats and several new-looking ones. The new ones, I was proudly advised, were built in Cuba. Overhauling of the mill since the revolution, I was further told, has not only increased productivity, but reduced accidents by 80 percent.

From there we went to the city of Trinidad, an old, old colonial town. We visited a shop where women made straw hats, baskets and purses. This has been a major home industry in Trinidad, where the products were sold for very little. Now the women work for the government and, if I understood correctly, make \$7 a day, which is a very good wage in Cuba.

We visited an ancient convent, now a public school with half a dozen classes going in the various rooms. The kids loved the visiting cameramen.

From there we went to the much-discussed Banao Project, a big farm operation manned largely by women. Unfortunately we were hours behind schedule, arrived after dark, and were able to stay only a short while. Dozens of curious young women surrounded us and a number of the more



Photo by Harry Ring

CUTTING CANE. Work to harvest sugar cane is back-breaking labor.

jaundiced newsmen perked up visibly. At Banao, 750 caballerias (about 25,000 acres) are being farmed, with strawberries, asparagus, grapes and onions the principal crops. Before, onions were the only one of these crops that had been grown in Cuba. (From what I've had in restaurants, the strawberries and asparagus are excellent.)

All of the women who work at Banao are from Las Villas province. Five hundred live there and others come in daily from the surrounding area, working for an hourly wage. At peak crop times there are as many as 5,000 working there. The women range in age from 17 up. Most of the technical management of the farm is still done by men, but administration is in the hands of women.

There is regular night school with all the elementary grades, and the local Party unit organizes cultural and recreational activity and sports. Theater groups and other entertainment groups come there regularly.

Some of the women are already receiving technical training and all eventually will. Eleven of them are now driving small tractors and 40 are just completing a training course on tractors.

A group of girls listened with great interest as we questioned a motherly looking woman who is the Party representative. There wasn't a single giggle as newsmen asked her if there was a sexual problem with such a concentration of women. Not particularly, she replied. There are men as well as women and the administration makes no effort to control the private lives of the workers. But where can these young men and women go for privacy, a reporter persisted. "As anywhere else in the world, there are places," she replied with a patient smile.

We concluded our brief stay with a visit to the store on the project, which was well stocked with clothing, some costume jewelry, and other items.

Then a night's sleep and the ride back to Havana.

Four American Figures Protest Travel Ban

HAVANA, Cuba — Three U.S. scientists and a writer protested here that the State Department had refused to give them authorization to travel to Cuba to participate in the Cultural Congress of Havana which closed Jan. 12. All of them, and others from the U.S., had been officially invited to be delegates to the Congress.

The four were José Yglesias, Prof. Roy John, Prof. Stephen Chorover and Prof. Mark Ptashne. They made their protest public at a press conference here during the Cultural Congress.

Yglesias, novelist, translator and essayist, is the author of a forthcoming book on Cuba, *View from Mayeri*, describing life in a Cuban village as he observed it during an extended stay.

Prof. John is in the brain research department at New York

Medical College; Chorover is in the department of psychology at MIT, and Ptashne is in the Biology department at Harvard.

Yglesias said he had finally been given travel validation by the State Department as a journalist. All had been advised that it was not "in the interest" of the U.S. to authorize them to come here to be delegates to the Congress, since Washington views the Congress as a "propaganda" medium.

Prominent intellectual figures from every part of the globe participated in the Congress. Prof. John told newsmen he found the Congress to be not a Cuban propaganda vehicle but a serious gathering of intellectuals. Yglesias pointed to the contradiction of the U.S. position in approving his reporting the Congress but denying him the right to participate without fear of reprisal.

Che Guevara Vietnam and World Revolution

His April, 1967, declaration from the guerrilla front in Bolivia.

20 cents

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Charge CIA Is Altering Guevara's Field Diary

In an article appearing in the Mexican magazine *Siempre!*, journalist Luis Suárez charged that the CIA has been altering Che Guevara's field diary. Excerpts from the article, which was reprinted in the Dec. 3 *Granma*, organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, follow.

* * *

Major Ernesto Che Guevara's field diary is being expanded — as a telephone book — in the agile hands of CIA calligraphers for an obvious purpose.

The changes made in the diary of the guerrilla leader assassinated in Quebrada del Yuro are intended to blemish his pure spirit and his revolutionary integrity, presenting him as an inept leader who indiscreetly mentioned names, characteristics and distinguishing marks of those with whom he worked, thus, through lack of foresight, turning into an informer.

Bolivian Additions

The Bolivian-U.S. repressive apparatus has embellished Che's diary with names and details to justify the attacks it is now levying against many persons belonging to the opposition, accused, on the basis of such "irrefutable" evidence, of having belonged to the guerrilla apparatus . . .

Based on the accepted authenticity of the field diary in the state in which that historic document was taken from Che Guevara on Oct. 8 . . . its pages have been altered by CIA experts in psychological propaganda, who add what they deem necessary to discredit Che and use his diary as a basis for division and enmity within the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in Bolivia and throughout Latin America . . .

The military prosecutor in the Régis Debray trial, Colonel Remberto Iriarte, read — during the trial — 50 pages from that field diary which, according to France-Presse correspondent Marc Hutten, fills 280 pages of a notebook with notes that run from Jan. 1 to Oct. 7, 1967 — the eve of Che's death. This is in violation of the Bolivian penal code itself, for under its statutes the period for introducing evidence ran out in October.

The reading of these 50 pages, doubtlessly already altered, can only serve the dual purpose of promoting the sale of the diary itself, whose price has been steadily going up, and involving more members of the opposition in the Camiri trial . . .

It would seem that the Bolivian military regime is, along with its CIA advisers, skillful in both falsifications and salesmanship.

Sale of the diary is a flagrant violation of literary rights. The Bolivian government cannot sell it, even though that is precisely what it is doing, because the diary belongs to the Guevara de la Serna family . . .

News from La Paz reports that the Ministry of the Government headed by General Barrientos fre-

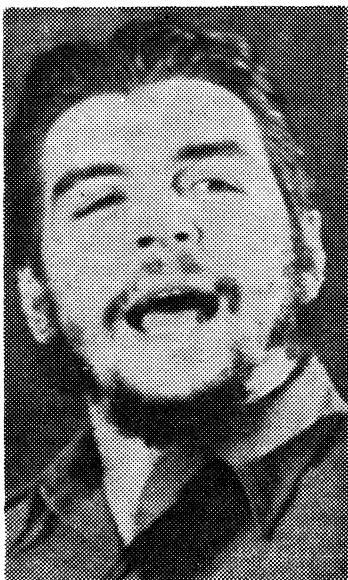
quently mentions Che's diary to justify arrests, imprisonment of members of the opposition in concentration camps, and other repressive measures.

CIA experts, working out of an office set up for this delicate job of falsification on the top floor of the U.S. Embassy in La Paz, are adding the names of students, teachers, professionals and workers in order to use Che's field diary as a giant "informer."

What they are trying to do to the guerrilla leader, who can no longer defend himself, is to add insult to injury . . .

Who could possibly believe that Che Guevara, so careful to use aliases to protect his comrades-in-arms, and to use codes, would write the real and complete names of his comrades in the struggle in the rear guard, where it is so much easier to be identified and eliminated?

In the paragraphs published [in La Paz dailies] up to now there appear real names alongside aliases, as if anonymity were tac-



Che Guevara

tically advisable for some but not for others, though all are part of the same apparatus of struggle, on different fronts.

In these paragraphs, for example, mention is made of journalist Gonzalo López Muñoz, who was Press Secretary of the Bolivian Presidency, a rightist belonging to the group of Walter Guevara [no relation], recently appointed Foreign Minister in the reorganized Barrientos Administration.

López Muñoz, correspondent of *Visión* magazine, traveled to the United States a short time ago at the invitation of the U.S. State Department.

López Muñoz

Taking it for an established fact that Che Guevara mentioned López Muñoz in his diary as a follower, the journalist has been arrested. In Bolivia it is felt that the motives for this specific maneuver are within the play of factions in the Bolivian Government, and, of course, that the maneuver is designed to intimidate intellectual circles, keep them from expressing themselves, that it is a warning to them as well as to journalists who sympathize the slightest with the opposition.

The hand of the experts is seen, moreover, in the fact that the supposed excerpts from the field diary — with names added on the top floor of the U.S. Embassy — were not published all at once, but in dribbles.

First they publish excerpts from the diary, and, when the repressive apparatus has done its dirty work, other excerpts from the diary appear with new names.

In this way repression is methodically carried out and no one knows whether or not his name will appear in the field diary the next day . . .

OUR MAN IN HAVANA

At the Cultural Congress

HAVANA, Cuba (Free Territory of the Americas)—Newsmen covering the Cultural Congress here were given red-carpet treatment. Housed at the excellent Hotel Nacional, they dined in style, and plenty, in the hotel's veranda dining room, overlooking the oceanfront. A European reporter said to me, "They told me there wasn't enough food in Cuba. Why, we're eating like kings!"

When he has a moment, a waiter who put in eight years in New York ("I learned to move fast," he says) stops at my table to talk. Yesterday, after taking an order at another table, he came over shaking his head. "Do you know what he told me?" he said. "People in Cuba eat too much!"

We discussed the rationing and what it means for the Cuban people. New York has not corrupted him. "The problems are hard to understand for some of those who aren't really revolutionary," he said. "They don't realize we're at war."

* * *

The hospitality extended foreign journalists, particularly stomach-wise, has tended to distort waistlines as well as some reporters' concept of Cuban reality. Consequently, it was a small pleasure, on a trip to Las Villas province, to finally be denied something. Instead of the usual coffee with milk for breakfast, we were served black coffee. A few of the newsmen seemed a bit astonished on being advised that milk was available only for children. I felt a bit better.

* * *

Two Cairo newsmen covered the Congress. In conversation, they both almost immediately asked me what stand *The Militant* had taken on the Mideast conflict. It was a good feeling to be able to tell them we had given unequivocal support to the Arab people against the aggression of the Israeli cat's-paw of the U.S.

One told me there is still a deeply militant mood among his people. "In Cairo," he said, "the man on the street will tell you: 'It's better to die than to live in humiliation.'"

He said that he had been heartened when, after the U.S. and USSR arranged the UN cease-fire, Fidel had declared that the word "cease-fire" is not in the language of the Cuban people.

* * *

A reporter for a Stockholm trade-union daily told me that, with the rising militancy among Swedish youth, there is a growing interest in Latin America in general and in Cuba in particular. There is a functioning committee on Latin America, which organized a militant demonstration on behalf of Hugo Blanco, the imprisoned Peruvian peasant organizer, and now a Cuban-Swedish friendship society has been established.

She said that for several years the Cuban Consulate in Stockholm has been publishing a bi-weekly bulletin of news and information about Cuba. Subscriptions are entered on request. It now has a reported circulation of 30,000.

* * *

After discussions with several dozen reporters from all parts of the globe, I found one who supports the U.S. position in Vietnam. A very proper young man, representing a Belgian travel magazine, he said: "Perhaps you should not have gone in there. But now that you're there, how can you simply get out?" He seemed a bit startled when I repeated the reply of folk singer Bill Fredericks: "By boat."

* * *

To get back to Cuba: In the office of the manager of the Paragas cigar factory here in Havana there is framed on the wall a quotation from Fidel. It says: "If



Photo by Harry Ring

MAKING HATS. Straw hats, baskets, etc., were made by women at home in Trinidad, Cuba, before revolution. Now conditions are much improved as women work in shops for nationalized industry.

some of the bureaucrats would not believe that they are Al-mighty, which is to confuse socialism with feudalism, there would not be the confusion of ideas that some people have."

* * *

The widely used method of birth control here is the intra-uterine device. The Public Health Service distributes the loop with a unique guarantee. Anyone who becomes pregnant using it can have an abortion.

Otherwise, legal abortions are still available only on a limited basis, the principal one being that women with five or more children can have abortions if they choose.

A doctor explained to me that the limitations on abortions are not based on so-called moral considerations. It's a problem, he said, of the lack of available facilities and personnel.

* * *

A sidelight on how the Revolution changes patterns of life: When I visit my friend Pepe, he gets out the family photographs and everyone gathers around to look again. It's like a typical scene in the U.S., but with a difference. There are the usual photos of family and friends. But as the chronology advances past the wedding and the children as babies, a new element comes into focus. There is Pepe on maneuvers with his militia unit; Fidel's helicopter landing at his encampment during the 1961 mobilization; Pepe's graduation class at the Party's School for Revolutionary Instruction; shots of the *bohío* (hut) where Pepe slept during the *zafra* (cane harvest); and, for contrast, the substantial building where his daughter's high school class was housed.

* * *

I had turned down the invitation extended to newsmen to spend New Year's Eve at the Tropicana, assuming that it would be just as boring as similar huge clubs in New York. But Cuban

friends tell me that while the floor show is still a fantastic super-extravaganza, it's no longer the old girlie show but includes worthwhile ingredients of Cuban folk art.

* * *

Film critics for *Juventud Rebelde*, newspaper of the Communist Youth, and *Verde Olivo*, the Army magazine, selected *The Battle of Algiers* as the outstanding foreign film of the year — a choice that has my heartiest concurrence.

Morgan was a strong runner-up with the *Juventud Rebelde* critics.

* * *

It's an abstract question in the U.S. where you can't get any anyway, but authentic Bacardi rum is now called Caney. When the revolutionary government intervened the famed Cuban distil-

Militant reporter Harry Ring is now in Cuba, and will be writing a series of articles on his first-hand observations of the development of the revolution. To be sure of receiving the complete series, use coupon on page 6.

lery, the Bacardi family headed for the U.S., taking along a sizable fortune. They set up a plant in Puerto Rico and instituted legal proceedings to bar Cuba from using the name. Rather than become involved in such a proceeding, Cuba dropped the name and began producing Bacardi under the Caney label. The Caney distillery has been functioning in Santiago de Cuba since 1862. Call it Bacardi or Caney, it's still a smooth, potent drink. (According to the label, it's only 70 proof. But after a couple of shots I'm convinced that's either a misprint or a different standard of measure.)

—Harry Ring

Leon Trotsky
on
Black Nationalism
and
Self-Determination

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Black Liberation Notes

For two years now the students at Howard University in Washington, D.C., have been fighting to get rid of compulsory ROTC. This year they were victorious after 80 students sat in at the president's office and a poll of male students revealed that 91 percent favored abolition. In addition, this year's freshman class twice walked out of freshmen assembly as part of the protest.

Last week we reported that the Navy has circulated a memorandum instructing sailors who plan to attend the Mardi Gras in New Orleans to go along with the segregation practiced at many festival balls.

Since then, Navy Secretary Paul Ignatius has been deluged with protests, and the Navy brass has been busy trying to get out from under the heat. Navy officials have claimed that the memo was for "information only," and that it was "without the force of an order." In addition, they have denied any complicity with issuing "segregated invitations."

But the contents of the memo, now in the hands of the press, prove that Navy officials actively aided the segregationist policies of festival organizers. The memo gives instructions on how to handle printed festival invitations, explicitly stating, "Because of the civil rights problem [sic] the invitations are sent to an individual, and the invitations are not to be traded or passed along to some other individual." The memo explains, "Whether or not this meets with your personal or official approval, it is the way things are, and we have to go along with it."

The ironic thing is that the Navy was put on the spot for a racist attempt to prevent black sailors from doing something they probably wouldn't want to do anyway — spend the evening with a bunch of backward white racists.

Thomas Wansley of Lynchburg, Va., has spent five hellish years since he was first arrested at the age of 17 and framed on charges of rape and theft of \$1.48. He has been before every type of court in Virginia and in the federal judicial system. He has been sentenced to die twice, and has spent five years in jail, including 18 months in death row. Wansley

... Halstead Tour

(Continued from Page 1) ism, on a level, Halstead reports, higher than he found at some college campuses.

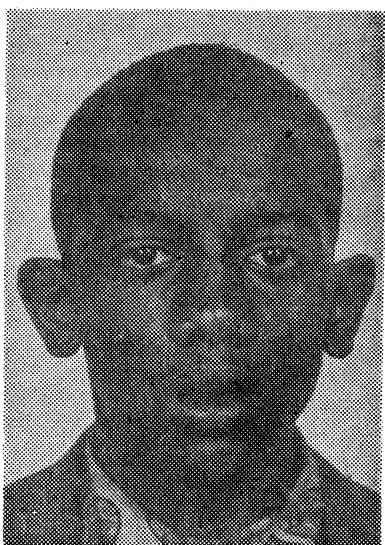
That evening, he addressed a meeting of about 40 students at the Whitewater campus of the Wisconsin State University, sponsored by the Whitewater Students for a Democratic Society chapter.

On Jan. 7, before the meeting at the University of Wisconsin, Halstead went to Milwaukee and talked at a small meeting at the university's extension there; this developed into a debate with members of Youth Against War and Fascism on the strategy of the antiwar movement.

During his stay here, Halstead held a press conference, appeared on two TV stations and two radio stations. Despite subzero temperatures, his stay helped generate support for the campaign on every campus he visited, and interest and support for Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 11. — Upon arriving here from Madison on Jan. 9, Fred Halstead held a press conference at SWP campaign headquarters which received coverage on radio and TV.

That afternoon, the candidate



Thomas Wansley

is alive today only because a national campaign of protest was waged around his case.

Recently, Wansley's situation took a small turn for the better when the Virginia Supreme Court agreed to hear an appeal of the case. His lawyers appealed to this higher court after his most recent trial in February 1967, when he was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of robbery and rape. His lawyers spent two days at the trial, showing how the racist press campaign against Wansley ruled out chances of a fair trial.

The death penalty for rape is an integral part of the racist system. According to an article by Carl Braden in the December 1967 *New South Student*, 90 percent of the 451 persons executed in the U.S. for rape since 1930 were Afro-Americans.

The death penalty for rape is still imposed in 11 states of the South, six border states, and Washington, D.C. Only five nations in the world still have it: South Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Taiwan, and the United States.

Stokely Carmichael is actively working to unite the various black leaders and organizations in Washington, D.C., into a coalition called the Black United Front. About 100 people with many differing points of view attended the first meeting of the coalition, held Jan. 9 at the

New School for Afro-American Thought.

When actress Diana Sands and four other black celebrities went to dinner with LBJ, they found that the White House social staff is "lily-white," while the waiters and servants are black.

Reporting on her visit in a recent issue of *Look* magazine, Miss Sands wrote, "Everything was lily-white until we hit the dining room . . . I mean the aides who escorted you in the door and danced with the ladies, everybody who was anybody in that place — except the guests of honor — was white." But, she said, "Everyone who served you was black."

In the article Miss Sands said she wondered how a foreign dignitary from a colored nation must feel dining at the White House, "when everything is lily-white and then, suddenly, he is being served by people of color . . . What kind of business can LBJ do with such an ignorant setup?"

—Elizabeth Barnes

The Soviet Writers' Trial

By George Saunders

The second week of January saw the opening of a semi-secret trial of four young literary dissidents in the Soviet Union, who have since been convicted and sentenced.

One of those on trial in Moscow was a young man who drew attention in 1965 by his one-man demonstration at the U.S. Embassy — against U.S. intervention during the armed uprising in Santo Domingo. This young rebel is Yuri Galanskov, 28, a poet. His fellow defendants were Aleksandr Ginzburg, 31, also a poet; Aleksei Dobrovolsky, 29, an aspiring writer; and Vera Lashkova, 21, part-time drama student.

The four were charged under the same reactionary catch-all law against "anti-Soviet slander" as were the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel in 1966.

The "slandorous" material produced and circulated in the Soviet Union by the four defendants consisted of a "White Book" on the Sinyavsky-Daniel affair (including the trial transcript and texts of protest statements by Soviet intellectuals), and a typewritten "underground" journal called *Phoenix-1966*.

Among the "anti-Soviet" contents of *Phoenix-1966* was an open letter by Galanskov, who edited the journal. The letter attacked novelist Mikhail Sholokhov for supporting the Sinyavsky-Daniel conviction. Also in the journal was the text of the novel *Journey Into the Whirlwind* by Evgenia Ginzburg (no relation to the defendant). It is an autobiographical account of what a Communist woman experienced in Stalin's purges and prisons for 18 years before being "rehabilitated" in 1954.

The Soviet bureaucracy, aware of what an unconvincing case it had, took steps to improve matters. Having arrested the four on Jan. 19 and 22, 1967, the police held them incommunicado for nearly 12 months. (In itself a violation of Soviet law, under which the accused may be held for a maximum of only 10 months — and then only in exceptional cases.)

The bureaucrats apparently used the time to build up their case. One of the four, Aleksei Dobrovolsky, pleaded guilty at the trial and charged that the defendants were in touch with and acted as agents for an émigré anti-Soviet group.

The intent of the charge was to

Strikers Protest At L.A. City Hall

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — About 2,000 representatives of the trade union movement here marched from the struck plant of the *Herald-Examiner* and gathered at the doors of City Hall Jan. 12 to demand a city ordinance against professional strikebreaking.

Inside, the City Council was hastily adjourned when the sergeant-at-arms rushed in to inform the council president that the angry demonstrators were massing outside.

Strikers say that perhaps 2,000 scabs, some of them armed, have been brought into Hearst's *Herald-Examiner* since the strike-lockout began Dec. 15, and that perhaps 15 percent of these remain on the job to put out a token newspaper. The *Herald-Examiner* had a circulation of 800,000, the largest afternoon circulation in the country.

This strike saw the first use of

professional scabs here in some time, and the demonstration was an awakening of the labor movement to the danger of strikebreaking spreading to other industries.

Strikers and their families turned out en masse for the demonstration, but other unions represented in the march mainly by union officials.

Unions represented included the United Auto Workers, the Packinghouse Workers, the Electrical Workers, Plumbers' Local 280, Office Workers, Hospital Workers, Railroad Trainmen, Meat Cutters and Rubber Workers.

One of the marchers remarked that it was the first time that most of the union men and women had been on the streets in 20 years in any kind of union activity. Nonetheless, they aggressively shouted "Stop Scabbing!" "Mayor Yorty, Come Out!" plastered their stickers everywhere, and sang "Solidarity Forever."

blur over the question of their literary activity and to conjure a picture of bomb-throwing agents of imperialism. The role of Dobrovolsky and the reliability of his testimony were called into question in an appeal for world condemnation of the trial.

The appeal was put out Jan. 12, the last day of the trial, by Mrs. Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel, wife of the imprisoned writer Yuli Daniel, and Pavel Litvinov, grandson of Maxim Litvinov, Stalin's foreign minister in the 1930s.

Mrs. Daniel and Litvinov charged that it was a rigged show trial, that it followed a script previously worked up by the secret police, that the judge and prosecutor, with support from a specially selected trial audience, aided Dobrovolsky in his false testimony. They charged that defense lawyers were not allowed to ask questions, and witnesses favorable to the defense were cut short or intimidated to prevent refutation of Dobrovolsky.

The trial was indeed surrounded by great secrecy. Press reports from the scene relate that only those with special passes were admitted and that even the immediate families of the accused had difficulty getting in.

If it is true that Dobrovolsky buckled under pressure during the long detention period, it seems he was rewarded. His sentence was only two years, the year of detention being counted as one of them. Vera Lashkova was sentenced to one year; thus her release seemed imminent.

The vengeance of the regime was reserved for Ginzburg and Galanskov, who have a record of defiant activity in Moscow's literary underground. Galanskov received a seven-year sentence, and Ginzburg, five.

Ginzburg was jailed for two years in 1960 after editing an underground journal called *Syn-taxis*. In 1954 he was again de-

General Hershey Beats a Retreat

General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the U.S. Selective Service system, had to beat a strategic retreat Jan. 12 in his war against opponents of the war. The doughty general, who has ordered draft boards to move against antiwar protesters, canceled a speech before a group of Boy Scouts in a Philadelphia suburb for fear of an antiwar demonstration.

tained for continuing his literary activity.

The regime's chief grievance against these two, however, was their role in publicizing materials on the Sinyavsky-Daniel case. Soviet dissidents have made use of the only weapon they have — publicity, telling the truth of what has happened. For the world to know what it has done seems more than the bureaucracy can bear.

Supporters of socialism and democracy should respond to Litvinov's and Mrs. Daniel's appeal and support their demands, which point in the correct direction — for greater Soviet democracy in the interest of the workers and against stultifying bureaucracy.

Harvard Poll Shows 94 Percent of Class Oppose Viet War

An overwhelming 94 percent of the senior class at Harvard University declared themselves opposed to U.S. policy in Vietnam in a poll published in the Jan. 15 *New York Times*. The practically unanimous antiwar position of the students was made even more striking by the fact that "only 1 percent — six students — indicated that they thought 'the military effort should be increased.'"

Of the 529 students — 43 percent of the class — who answered the questionnaire sent out by the campus paper, *The Harvard Crimson*, in late December, only 8 percent said that if they were drafted they would go with "enthusiasm."

The antiwar frame of mind of the Harvard seniors was also indicated by their reactions to the prospect of being drafted to carry out U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Twenty-two percent said they would leave the country or go to jail rather than accept induction and "one-third of the students polled said they would refuse to obey orders to fight in Vietnam."

Should Know Better—The Jacksonville, Fla., City Council has just completed a most embarrassing dechristening job. It seems that in recent years they named a library for Lemuel Sharp, a city councilman; a city park for City Commissioner Dallas Thomas; and a sports complex for George G. Robinson, Sr., a former city recreation director. All three officials were subsequently charged with theft of city funds.

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.]

A Thought

Flushing, N.Y.
I've gotten some kick out of the feature "Thought for the Week." I think I may have one that others will certainly reflect upon.

Working out of New York Resistance I frequently received the critical attack that:

Draft resisters are selfish!

W.C.

A Profitable Defense

Buena Park, Calif.
Have things reached such a pass in this country that defense orders are given to enrich the corporations rather than for defense?

Philip Wylie in an article in *Popular Science* for January asks: "Will McNamara's 'thin shield' of anti-ballistic missiles improve my chances to survive a nuclear war?"

His conclusion is: "Since our present aims do not give sound reasons for being safer, they amount only to an escalation of the standing stalemate. The only sure advantage in such a program is the resulting profits of the myriad industries involved and the military gain in empire."

"Any double ABM array designed now will be no more than a double Maginot Line when in place years hence."

The article is entitled "McNamara's Missile Defense — a Multibillion-Dollar Fiasco?"

Murla Kyrian

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

THE REFERENDUM CAMPAIGNS AGAINST U.S. WAR POLICY. A symposium. Speakers from referendum committees in Los Angeles, Compton, Beverly Hills. Friday, Jan. 26, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

* * *

BIWEEKLY RADIO COMMENTARY over KPFK (90.6 FM) by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Monday, Jan. 29 and Feb. 12 at 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesday, Jan. 30 and Feb. 13 at 9:45 a.m.

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NEW YORK

DEFENSE MEETING FOR LeROI JONES, CHARLES McCRAE and BARRY WYNN. The background and recent developments of this case will be presented by Larry Neal, poet and spokesman for United Black Artists, which is supporting the defense of these three men.

There will be a reading of LeROI Jones' most recent poetry by Barbara Ann Teer, actress, writer and director. Friday, Jan. 26, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

THE REAL STATE OF THE UNION. Friday, Jan. 26, 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin, Hall 240, Mpls. Aup. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

"The Curdler"

New York, N.Y.
When I first read Elizabeth Barnes' note in *The Militant* that the Philadelphia police had tried to obtain some armored antiblack "antiriot" tanks "capable of emitting a high-frequency mind-deranging noise called 'the curdler,'" I was confused. I couldn't figure out how the cops would be immune to the effects of their new weapon.

But then I realized.

Robert Gebert

Decline and Fall . . .

San Francisco, Calif.
The "Report on the International Situation" by Joseph Hansen in the January-February *International Socialist Review* is a remarkable essay and it almost seems that there is nothing more to be said on the subject, but I would like to add a few facts and ideas I believe to be relevant.

I am sure many of us have seen the epic motion picture, "The Fall of the Roman Empire," and it is tremendously interesting to note the various ways in which that period of Roman history resembles modern American imperialism, or as I prefer to call it, our industrial empire.

As the Roman Empire moved into its final years, the colonies began revolting and the emperor sometimes gave orders that every 10th person in the rebellious colonies be burned to death.

But America does it much more efficiently; with napalm and fragmentation and incendiary bombs we obliterate whole villages and, in one case, an entire leper colony.

Though it was not brought out in the film, an interesting parallel lies in the "games" held in the Colosseum. Just like in America, as the Roman legions were fighting in far corners of the earth the people at home were kept so amused by all kinds of sports that they temporarily forgot their sons were killing and being killed in senseless wars.

Gloomy as that picture is it also has its bright side. In trying to enslave the world, the Roman Empire only destroyed itself. A lawless government inevitably creates a lawless people and Rome collapsed, not because of military defeats, but because of moral disintegration and corruption at home.

It is time for the American people to face up to it; we are governed by men who, like Nero and Napoleon and Hitler, have been driven insane by greed and the lust for power, and the nearer they come to controlling the world the closer our American civilization — or at least what passes for civilization — is to its own death.

Dale Rasmussen

A Reader

San Bernardino, Calif.

I've enjoyed reading your paper and will continue reading it throughout my socialist career.

E.S.

Opposes "Cuban Line"

Iowa City, Iowa
Barry Sheppard made several amusing points in attacking the Maoists in his article dealing with *World Revolution and Progressive Labor's* diatribes against Cuba and the Debray-Castro thesis on guerrilla warfare ("A 'Radical' Attack on Cuba," *The Militant*, Dec. 18). It is rather a pity that he wastes so much time and cleverness defending such a degenerate position.

That PL and the Maoists are frequently a joke is of course no news to anyone. Nevertheless I read the same things that Sheppard read for his review — *Revolution in the Revolution?* and the article in *World Revolution and Progressive Labor* — and, while I am hardly inclined to agree very much with their line, I would say that Rosen's article, especially, made some attacks on Debray (and

Castro) which were fundamentally correct.

Sheppard deals only with one of these points. Rosen's attack on the Cuban CP as "bureaucratic," "with no inner life, no real activities, which actually debates nothing and decides nothing."

Sheppard replies by pointing out that the Chinese CP, which Rosen so admires, is a bureaucratic, anti-democratic organization, and hardly a model for anything. This is exactly true and a good point, but it also exactly sidesteps the real issue: despite intentions, is *what Rosen says about the Cuban CP also true?*

I think it is, and I doubt if Sheppard has any real evidence to indicate the opposite.

It was probably no accident that Sheppard chose to quote only Rosen's comments about the internal democracy of the Cuban CP (a side issue at best), whereas if he had dealt seriously with the real issues in Rosen's attack — those regarding the militarism and adventurism of the Debray-Castro line — he would have been in serious trouble indeed. These are the real points made, these are where the "Cuban line" is vulnerable, and it is instructive that Sheppard never mentions them in his article.

It is doubly unfortunate that *The Militant* and the SWP have chosen to tail-end after the leadership of the Cuban state in this manner, and to fashion themselves as an uncritical rooting section for all the bureaucracy's works.

The practical consequences of

Thought for the Week

"Indeed, there is even warrant for fear that a settlement based on the free choice of the South Vietnamese people—the avowed objective of both sides—might result in a peaceful Communist takeover in Saigon." — Editorial in the Jan. 14 *New York Times*.

the Castro-Debray thesis on Latin America should not be played down: the death of Che Guevara is the greatest of these. The continuing defeats of guerrilla groups should lead you to take a hard look at the theory which produced them.

If you would contrast to your present false line on Latin America one which returns to Leninist principles, one which is based on the great possibilities of developing urban proletarian struggles there, you would not have to spend your time and waste your space in shadowboxing with Mao Tse-tung and his American acolytes.

Dave Cunningham

[The purpose of my article referred to above was not to analyze Debray's book. I refer Dave Cunningham to Livio Maitan's critical article on Debray in the Sept.-Oct. 1967 *International Socialist Review*. Maitan is a leading member of the Fourth International. — Barry Sheppard.]

The Scales of Justice

Toronto, Canada

When Stalin's daughter came to the USA one journal mentioned that, because of her book critical of the Russian government, she received "a home, God, and a million dollars."

When LeROI Jones, however, wrote a poem critical of the American system, one could say he received "a prison, the Devil and not a damn cent."

The hypocrisy of bourgeois justice!

J.R.G.

The Great Society

Let's Just Burn 'Em All — A letter to the editor of the *Sacramento* (Calif.) *Bee* suggests that Gov. Reagan sell the greater portion of the collections of the University of California libraries at Berkeley and Los Angeles, as well as the state library in Sacramento. The economy-minded bibliophile offers the following supporting data: "I have always felt that huge library expenditures are communistic. A recent article I read pointing out that the largest library in the world is in Moscow confirms me in this belief. If Communies go in for books in such a big way, there must be something basically wrong with them."

Hold That Line, Now — Pay raises of \$17,000 for the Vice President, \$20,000 for Cabinet members, and \$15,000 for members of Congress are recommended in a report, by a committee of "leading citizens," that LBJ has kept secret for months. Chairman of this generous and guideline-less committee was Frederick Kappel, former president of AT&T; vice chairman, AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Ultior Motive — We were quite impressed when we read that Ebsco Industries in Shrewsbury, N.J., is offering its workers a bonus of \$10 a month to stop smoking. Then we read on. The boss estimates that about 30 minutes of working time is lost each day for each smoker. Thirty minutes a day is about 10 hours a month. On a worker who gets \$2.50 an hour and gives up smoking, the bonus saves the company \$15 per month; on a worker whose hourly rate is \$3, the company will save \$20 per month.

Union-Buster Busted — An expansion-minded entrepreneur, who is proud that his North Carolina textile machinery plant (Roberts Co. of Sanford) is nonunion, took over a firm near England's industrial Midlands. Class-conscious workers, with a long and militant trade-union tradition, resented being further exploited by introduction of time-saving, efficiency-expert methods. The company advertised for scabs, asking for "those individuals who appreciate working in a free atmosphere rather than the bureaucratic and restrictive environment of a union shop." Two thousand unionists responded by overpowering the cops and breaking almost every window in the plant. The boss has given up and is now trying Spain.

Icy Insults Melt — Now that McNamara is on his way out, he can ski in peace. Last winter fellow-skiers at Aspen, Colo., pursued him up and down the slopes with antiwar comments. One woman even caught him in a lodge dining room, just as he was putting ketchup on his hamburger, and said, "I hope that reminds you of all the blood that is being shed in Vietnam and spoils your appetite."

Rings No Bell With AT&T — Ingenious young engineers and computer operators have been figuring out ways to make free long-distance calls, reports *The Wall Street Journal*. One group of students at Harvard and MIT developed six methods, ranging from a musical instrument that activates the telephone company's electronic call-placing equipment, to a system for avoiding the billing computers. In New York an enterprising student built an electronic attachment to his phone that permitted friends in other cities to call him free. AT&T calls all this "stealing." And we thought they stood foursquare for rewarding individual initiative — the American Way.

Palm Beach Wedding — "The bride wore a dual-length ivory satin gown, trimmed with Alençon lace, and a long veil of French illusion hanging from a crown of seed pearls . . . The groom was conservatively attired in a white top hat and black bow tie . . . After the wedding party posed for pictures, everyone retired to the patio for a short reception." High society event? Yes. But bride, groom, and many of the guests had four legs apiece — which is only natural since they were French poodles.

—Ruth Porter

New Readers

If you would like to be sure of receiving every issue containing Harry Ring's special on-the-spot series from Cuba, order an introductory four-month subscription now. In addition, you will receive FREE a copy of the November-December 1967 issue of the *International Socialist Review* containing Fidel Castro's speech at the OLAS conference held in Cuba last summer, and the general declaration issued by OLAS. Send this coupon and \$1 to

THE MILITANT

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Photo by Shannon

PAUL BOUTELLE, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate chats with students at Queens College.

Students Hear Boutelle At N.Y. Tour Meetings

By Bill Martin

NEW YORK — Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, completed a tight schedule of campus meetings, public forums, and radio appearances here, before going on to Boston for his next stop in a four-month national speaking tour.

On Jan. 9 the candidate addressed a group of about 100 students at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. The meeting was sponsored by the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

The following day he spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society at Manhattan Community College, and at a meeting at Columbia University organized by the Young Socialist Alliance.

Despite administration restrictions on advertising, more than 90 students turned out at Manhattan Community College to hear Boutelle, and a lively discussion followed his talk. The candidate appeared later that evening for an interview on the Caspar Citron radio show.

Boutelle spoke Jan. 11 at meetings at Bronx Community College and at Queens College. The Bronx meeting was sponsored by the Afro-American student organization SIMBA, and drew more than 125 students. The discussion period lasted for about two hours, centering around the relationship between black nationalism and socialism. At Queens College Boutelle introduced his campaign to about 75 students.

In the course of the week's meetings the vice presidential candidate

spoke directly to close to 700 student activists in the antiwar and Afro-American struggles, and reached thousands more over the radio. Boutelle's tour also enlisted the active support of many more students for the Socialist Workers ticket in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans.

Boutelle taped an interview Jan. 12 with radio station WBAI-FM. In the evening he participated in a symposium with John Wilson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Carlos Russell of the National Conference for New Politics. The discussion topic was "Nationalism, Socialism and the '68 Elections." About 150 people attended the meeting, which was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

Ralph Schoenman Speaks in Boston

BOSTON — Before an audience of about 600 people, Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell, spoke on "The World in Revolution." Most of the audience were students at Tufts University.

The main thrust of Schoenman's talk was to condemn U.S. imperialism as the main cause of poverty and oppression in the world and to defend the rights of oppressed people to struggle by any means necessary to gain their freedom.

The generally receptive audience gave Schoenman a standing ovation at the conclusion of his talk.

N.Y. Social Workers Vote Bring the Troops Home Now

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 — In a repudiation of AFL-CIO President George Meany's parroting of Johnson's prowar line in the name of the entire labor movement, the Social Service Employees Union here approved by referendum vote a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

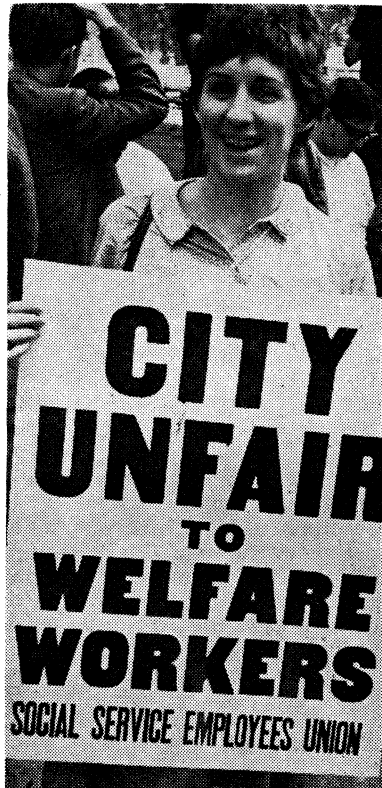
The membership of the union approved the resolution by a better than two-to-one margin.

This vote, as well as other labor opposition to the war, shows that Meany does not represent the rank and file of the labor movement in his jingoistic stand in favor of the war. Unions like the California Federation of Teachers (whose recent convention passed a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal), the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Woodworkers and the Amalgamated Butchers and Meatcutters are only a few of the unions whose top officials have expressed sharp differences with Meany about the war.

A Gallup poll released on Jan. 2 revealed that 43 percent of trade unionists nationally believe the whole war was a mistake.

The key phrase in the referendum, "Be it therefore resolved that we declare that the Social Service Employees Union is in favor of an immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam," was backed by 2,260 members, and opposed by 1,118. Thus, on this referendum, where the question of withdrawal had to be voted straight up or down, 68 percent voted for it. This is significantly higher than the vote for similar referendums conducted in San Francisco and in Cambridge, Mass., last November, indicating the growing opposition to the war.

A petition signed by 2,000 members of the union called a mem-



SSEU STRIKE. Welfare workers' union struck for better pay and conditions last year. Members have voted against war in Vietnam.

bership meeting on Nov. 8, which set the wording of the referendum. Opposing points of view were published in the union newspaper, and both formal and informal debates took place in many welfare centers during the following weeks. Supporters of the referendum also passed out leaflets urging fellow welfare workers to vote in favor of it.

It is significant that the size of the vote was almost as large as the number of members voting in the election for union officers

last April. The fact that over half of the union's 6,500 members voted in the referendum is an indication of the concern SSEU members have about the war, and a reflection of their desire to do something about it.

Scope of Cuban Oil Discovery Still Unknown

HAVANA, Jan. 12 — There is still no word as to the extent of the oil strike made Jan. 8 in Guanabo, a town some 12 miles from here. It is said that it will be several weeks before geologists will have definite findings on this. Research is reportedly being conducted by Soviet and Cuban geologists. There were virtually no geologists in Cuba prior to the revolution, but for the past number of years there have been 20 geology graduates a year. The search for oil here has been going on for several years.

Unconfirmed reports in Havana have it that the geologists say there is the possibility that the oil strike in Guanabo may have tapped a rich area of oil deposits which is believed to run from Venezuela to Texas.

With Cuba now compelled to ration gasoline and institute other rigid controls over its use, a significant oil supply here would, of course, be a tremendous boon. Since the U.S. instituted the trade blockade, Cuba has had to rely completely on the Soviet Union for oil. On Jan. 2 Fidel Castro informed the Cuban people that, while Cuba's need for oil had increased enormously, the USSR would not be sending increased amounts.

Carmichael Attacked by French CP

The French Communist Party printed a slanderous attack on Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leader Stokely Carmichael in the Dec. 18 issue of the party's newspaper *l'Humanité*. The author of the attack is Thomas Buchanan, who is identified as "a progressive American journalist" and author of the book *Who Killed Kennedy?*

The full text of Buchanan's article, along with a reply by Joseph Hansen titled "In Defense of Stokely Carmichael," appears in the Jan. 19 issue of the labor press service, *World Outlook*.

Buchanan begins by favorably citing resolutions of a "recent" conference of an unidentified "group of 80 black Marxists" that took place in New York. This anonymous gathering, we are told, "implicitly rejected, among other things, Stokely Carmichael's thesis in favor of a kind of 'guerrilla movement' in the black ghettos."

Buchanan recounts some of Carmichael's comments to reporters while he was in Havana attending the conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity last August. Fundamentally, what outraged the "progressive journalist" was Carmichael's rejection of the concept of "peaceful coexistence" and his insistence that black people will win their rights in the United States only through a total change of the system by any means necessary.

Actually, the French CP and Buchanan are aiming their fire not only at Stokely Carmichael

and SNCC, but also at the Cuban leadership, which shares Carmichael's view of "peaceful coexistence."

If Buchanan had made this clear-cut political difference the axis of his article, the issue could be clearly debated. This American literary hatchet man for the French CP carefully avoided that confrontation of views, however. He chose instead to launch a smear attack on Stokely Carmichael.

Carmichael's background, he tells us, "is not typical of American blacks." That is because Carmichael was "born in Trinidad in a mulatto family . . . A cultured young man, he was socially accept-

ed in this Northern city [New York] by the white intellectuals with whom he associated . . ."

Carmichael is pictured as an immature foreigner, who is ignorant of the real lives of black people because he has lived in the North and associates primarily with whites.

SNCC is described by this "progressive" as "a minority section of the black student movement largely originating from the black bourgeoisie, who, unlike most of the black population, have the means to send their children to universities like Harvard, where Carmichael went to school and from which he graduated."

This is followed by the assertion that Carmichael's "experience of the conditions in the struggle in the Southern states has been limited to organizing a few 'expeditions' which he undertook . . . during his stay at Harvard."

The reality is that Stokely Carmichael went to *Howard* University in Washington, D.C., on the border of the South, and spent years in the South as a SNCC organizer — he spent almost a year in Lowndes County, Ala., helping to found the Lowndes County Freedom Party, and worked in many other parts of the South.

Finally, after he has completed his smear job, Buchanan spends several pages eulogizing the obscure "conference of 80 black Marxists." From the amount of space devoted to this gathering, we must assume that the French CP

regards this formation as the real leadership of the black masses in America.

We are never told who attended this illustrious assembly, but the author finally informs us that the "principal spokesman of the group of 80 Marxists" was Henry Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party, USA. Winston was presented as having spent his life in "organizing the struggle of the black people in the racist South."

Joseph Hansen discusses the basic political question at issue:

"Stokely Carmichael's suggested course of action conforms much closer to the reality than the 'peaceful coexistence' line of Winston and Buchanan. For their line is equivalent to advising the blacks to bow their necks to the master race, while Carmichael urges resistance, whatever the cost."

This does not mean, Hansen says, that there are no tactical questions to be discussed, or that the formula "guerrilla warfare" settles everything. "But it is quite pointless," he says, "to discuss these things with people who are in disagreement on the most fundamental question; that is, the historic pattern of struggle in the period we are now living in. Is the pattern one of colonial uprisings and socialist revolutions or of 'peaceful coexistence'?"

World Outlook may be obtained at 50¢ per copy. Their address is P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.



Stokely Carmichael