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GUERRILLAS ATTACK. This rare photo was taken by a National Liberation Front photographer in South Vietnam as NLF soldiers advanced against U.S. forces.

NLF Attack Blasts Johnson War Line

By Ed Smith

JAN. 31 — As we go to press, the dramatic guerrilla attack on at least 11 provincial capitals and U.S. bases in South Vietnam is still continuing in all but two places. It has already spectacularly refuted key contentions of U.S. and Saigon military authorities.

For months, U.S. officials have been feeding stories to the press about the "sagging morale" of the guerrilla troops and their "loss of the will to fight."

Saigon itself has remained a major battleground throughout today, and the Saigon regime was telling civilians to move out of certain areas so that they could be bombed. Dictator Thieu also pleaded with the people of Saigon to stop allowing "Viet Cong sanctuary in their homes."

These attacks show that the morale of the Vietnamese patriots is high and that they are heroically determined to fight to the end to liberate their country.

"In all the raids," *New York Times* Saigon correspondent Tom Buckley conceded, "the enemy displayed coordination and offensive strength without precedent in the war."

The Johnson administration contends that the Saigon regime "controls" all the major cities of central and northern South Vietnam and that this control has been expanded in the past year. But the NLF attacks hit every large city and in at least one case Saigon was forced to bomb a "controlled" city to repulse the guerrilla offensive.

"Earlier [Jan. 30]," a Reuters dispatch from Saigon reported,

"government planes dropped bombs near the center of Danang in battling the guerrilla force near the center of the city."

According to Tom Buckley, "At Danang, South Vietnamese rangers and United States marines, supported by waves of helicopter gunships, pursued the enemy through the southern outskirts of the city."

Even if the U.S. troops cannot control large land areas, the Pentagon sometimes concedes, at least it has a network of huge bases "secure" from guerrilla attack. This is one of the main props of the "enclavist" argument.

"While South Vietnamese military and governmental installations bore the brunt of the attacks," Buckley states, "the American command disclosed that several American installations had also been hit."

"These included an Army airfield nine miles north of Camranh Bay, the vast supply base that has been visited twice by President Johnson. It was regarded as the most secure area in the country."

"The primary consideration in the construction [of the American Embassy in Saigon which was occupied by NLF soldiers for six hours] was security."

In catching Washington and Saigon totally off guard, it looks like the Vietnamese revolutionaries borrowed a page from American history. That was when George Washington led American patriots across the Delaware River in freezing winter temperatures to surprise attack the Prussian armies Christmas Eve.

World Student Strike Called for April 26th

By Les Evans

CHICAGO, Jan. 29 — The largest and most representative student antiwar conference held to date closed here today, after voting to call an international student strike against the war in Vietnam on April 26.

More than 900 students and young people, from over 150 high school and college campuses in 27 states, took part in the conference called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In addition to the student strike, the conference voted to call for 11 days of student antiwar action April 20-30, and planned student participation in an international day of protest on April 27.

Another important development of the conference was the formation of a national black antiwar committee. The black caucus of the Student Mobilization Committee voted to reconstitute itself as an independent organization, the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union, which would maintain close relations with the SMC, but would carry on its own projects [see story, p. 2].

Political Strike

The international student strike was planned as a political strike to protest the war. It was voted that each campus decide what kind of tactics to use and activities to call during the strike. Specific suggestions included teach-ins to reach new layers of students who were not on campus during the original teach-ins, actions against the draft or against campus complicity with the war, or demonstrations and leafleting in local communities to help build the mass mobilization scheduled for the next day.

Organizers said that everyone participating in campus antiwar action April 26 anywhere in the world would be counted as part of the strike. They said they expected hundreds of thousands of students to participate in this country alone, even if few schools were closed by the strike.

It was announced that SMC was already in contact with students throughout the world and that massive student strikes were expected in Japan, as well as Western Europe and Latin America.

The student antiwar conference began Jan. 27 at the University of Chicago. Registration figures, which are incomplete, showed stu-



Photo by Shannon

STUDENT CONFERENCE. Final plenary session of SMC conference.

dents from 110 colleges or universities and a significant turnout from high school campuses, with 42 high schools from 10 states represented.

A majority of the young people present were affiliated with the Student Mobilization Committee or were members of independent antiwar committees, but there was also significant representation of young members from a broad spectrum of political organizations engaged in the fight against the war in Vietnam. These included Students for a Democratic Society, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, University Christian Movement, Young Socialist Alliance, DuBois Clubs, Southern Student Organizing Committee, Vets for Peace, Socialist Workers Party, Resistance, Communist Party, Committee for Nonviolent Action, War Resisters League, Harlem Black Anti-Draft Union, and Progressive Labor Party. The conference was chaired by Clark Kisinger, former national secretary of SDS.

The conference opened with greetings by Linda Morse, executive secretary of the SMC. This

was followed by an organizational report by Kipp Dawson, a national coordinator of SMC. She reported that the Student Mobilization Committee was working with active groups or organizers on 700 campuses in 49 states (Alaska was the lone exception).

The gathering was addressed by Arthur Kinoy, a well-known civil rights attorney. Kinoy called on the students to rally to the defense of the victims of legal persecution by the government, including Dr. Spock, H. Rap Brown and the DuBois Clubs.

Carl Davidson, interorganizational secretary of SDS, spoke on the significance of the seizure of the *Pueblo* by North Korea. Davidson declared that the Korean incident had been an American provocation designed to obscure "the greatest and most significant escalation of the Vietnam war to date." He said that while the SDS National Council had not taken a position on the proposed international student strike, local chapters of SDS were free to decide for themselves whether or not to participate and that he was con-

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Seizure of the Pueblo

By Dick Roberts

JAN. 30 — The seizure of the spy ship *Pueblo* off the coast of Korea Jan. 23 served to remind the world of the global scope of Washington police action and the latent danger of world war inherent in the policies of U.S. imperialism.

It underscored the fundamental similarities between the explosive situation in Korea and the war in Vietnam. Both are direct products of the postwar military occupation of the underdeveloped nations by imperialist powers.

In both Korea and Vietnam, artificial partitions into North and South "legalize" U.S. protection of dictatorial landlord regimes.

Not the least ominous suggestion that the *Pueblo* crisis could be used to "justify" a U.S. attack on North Korea was the similarity between the *Pueblo* and Gulf of Tonkin incidents revealed by Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, J. W. Fulbright, Jan. 24.

Fulbright made public for the first time the fact that the two

U.S. destroyers supposedly torpedoed off the North Vietnamese coast in Aug. 1964 were spy ships of the same type as the *Pueblo*. And it is an open question, Fulbright indicated, whether the two destroyers were actually in North Vietnamese territorial waters.

But that was the incident Johnson used as a pretext for putting Washington's plans for bombing North Vietnam into action. Fulbright told reporters Jan. 25 that the truth about the *Pueblo* incident would also probably not be known for another "two or three years."

Outside of a few flag-waving legislators in the U.S. Congress, the almost universal response to the *Pueblo* crisis was fear that Johnson would open up another war.

The White House received official support from only one other government, the prowar Wilson government in Britain. But most British papers dissented from Wilson's stand. The *London Times* ap-

pealed to Johnson "not to be provoked into any rash countermeasures."

Fear of a new escalation of war in the Far East was not mollified by pronouncements emanating from Washington and military measures actually undertaken.

Johnson's four-minute commentary on the crisis began with an assertion that "Over the past 15 months the North Koreans have pursued a stepped-up campaign of violence against South Korea and the American troops in the demilitarized zone."

Within minutes of the *Pueblo* capture, the giant nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, accompanied by other war ships, was diverted from its Vietnam destination to the Korean area. Air task forces in South Korea were reinforced the following day, and on Jan. 25 Johnson called up almost 15,000 members of the Air Force and Naval Reserves.

The Defense Department meanwhile enumerated a number of

(Continued on Page 3)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

In last week's column we quoted extensively from the *Wall Street Journal* on problems labor "statesmen" have in keeping their rank and file under control. On Jan. 27, in New York City, 3,500 members of the Teamsters Garage Employees Local 272 met to hear the terms of a settlement worked out with the Garage Board of Trade. Below is a verbatim account of that meeting as printed in the *staid New York Times*:

When Robert Frank, president of the union, called the contract the "best we ever got," there were shouts of "We should have had that 20 years ago."

Union members ran off the ballroom floor and leaped to the platform to denounce the proposal. They called for a strike and their demands were repeated by others in the hall.

When Mr. Frank and other officers announced they would take a secret ballot on the proposals, there were protests from the floor.

Mr. Frank said a ballot was necessary if the men were to receive strike benefits from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Shouts of "Open vote!" resounded through the hall.

"You don't want International benefits?" Mr. Frank asked above the din.

"No!" the men shouted.

"You don't want International backing?"

"No!"

A standing vote was then taken for rejection of the contract, and only a handful did not stand up.

The strike began at 12:01 Jan. 28.

* * *

Situations like this are the reasons Teamsters Acting-President

Draft Opponent Gets Conviction

By John Chairat

SEATTLE — After holding an antiwar demonstration in front of the federal district courthouse here, some 200 supporters attended the trial of Ernest Dudley. Dudley, father of five, had refused to take the symbolic "step forward," indicating induction into the armed forces.

The Afro-American dissenter is basing his refusal to fight in Vietnam on the following grounds:

- (1) The Nuremberg Laws, which make an individual legally responsible for war crimes even though he is carrying out orders;
- (2) The unconstitutionality of the Vietnam war — Congress has never voted a declaration of war;
- (3) Discrimination — 35 percent of the soldiers in Vietnam are black. In addition, in Texas (where Dudley is registered for the draft), black people comprise 12.4 percent of the population but only 1.1 percent are on draft boards.

Dudley, for whom the phenomenal bail of \$250,000 had been set as an example to the rising antiwar movement and especially to black people, was found guilty by Judge Beeks. Sentencing will take place on Feb. 9.

"What will five years of jail be to me when all my life I've been suffering?" Dudley commented. He went on to say that books such as *Malcolm X Speaks*, the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and the works of LeRoi Jones had helped open his eyes.

Contributions are needed to help Dudley appeal his case to a higher court. They should be sent to: Ernest Dudley Defense Fund, P.O. Box 713, Seattle, Washington 98111.

Frank E. Fitzsimmons sings a whining editorial in the January 1968 *Teamster*, claiming that most contract rejections are the fault of "outside agitators."

According to this editorial, there have been 1,900 contract rejections nationally, in cases handled by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

"We in the Teamsters," says Mr. Fitzsimmons, "believe that the rank and file should have final say-so on terms of a contract in the spirit of union democracy... We do not believe the welfare of the membership is served if a rejection is based on outside agitation or rumor, by a 'sea lawyer' who suggests that the new contract language means something other than what it says."

Fitzsimmons is the faker whose own national membership twice threw his national contract proposals back in his face during negotiations with the over-the-road trucking industry last year!

* * *

The Appellate Division of the New York State courts has upheld American Airlines' right to fire a stewardess for old age. The stewardess is 32 years old.

In throwing out the suit brought by the young woman, the court held that discrimination because of age applies only to people between 40 and 65. Judge McNally, who wrote the opinion, said, "Arguments that discrimination of employment based on ages under 65 was unlimited in scope is contrary to the public policy of the state against employment of minors."

* * *

According to the *Union Labor Report*, "a good indication of the Administration's intention to head off major strikes this year comes from, of all places, the Treasury Department report on the balance of payments problem." The report "urges that leaders of labor and management should be prepared seriously to consider whether there is any feasible way to give advance public assurance that there will be no work stoppages for the next year or two in industries capable of causing significant balance of payments troubles."

In other words, Johnson now plans to use the "balance of payments" question, alongside the pretext of the Vietnam war, as a new alibi for the government's attack on the right to strike.

* * *

On Feb. 1 the federal minimum wage laws will increase hourly minimum wages for semiskilled workers to \$1.60 per hour, for unskilled to \$1.15. It is estimated that while both these categories of workers total 33 million, most of the first category are already earning more than \$1.60. About 5.9 million workers will actually get the 20 cents per hour increase from \$1.40.

—Marvel Scholl

Che Guevara Vietnam and World Revolution

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

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All-Black Antiwar, Antidraft Union Formed at Chicago SMC Meeting

By Derrick Morrison

CHICAGO, Jan. 29 — An event that heralds a new stage in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam was the formation of the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union by the black caucus at the conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam held here this weekend.

The call for the organization was issued by Gwen Patton, an internationalist black nationalist who is on the staff of the SMC, and John Wilson, a New York field secretary for SNCC who has been active in the antiwar movement.

The call emphasized the necessity to mobilize black people against the imperialist war and the draft. Gwen Patton stated in her position paper submitted to the black caucus: "... black militants find it necessary to coerce the Peace Movement to call for certain demands which in fact can have only black implementation. This is one of the greatest contradictions that exists in the total Movement. The contradiction exists because white radicals are still paternalistic in spite of their revolutionary thinking..."

"The only way we can solve these contradictions is by the establishment of a black base that will deal with imperialism. SNCC has an International Affairs Office, but we need a national base that can explicitly involve itself with liberation efforts by all oppressed peoples... Without such a base, black people will forever be absorbed by the Peace Movement..."

"We must separate our forces at this time in order to build a stable coalition in the future. Black People from a power base can mandate and dictate certain demands, or even make the decision for no action, without damaging the solidarity with oppressed peoples across the world. With this black national base we will not find it necessary to coerce a white assembly to support our demands. With this black base black people will be their own dictators for action and will be the keepers of their own works."

Eartha's Stand Backed By Most in Community

By Susan Harris

The *Philadelphia Tribune*, one of the largest Afro-American newspapers in the country, did a survey last week on reactions in the black community to Eartha Kitt's confrontation with Lady Bird.

Out of the 50 people questioned, 39 were more or less sympathetic to Eartha Kitt, eight had no opinion, and only three were opposed to what she did.

The *Tribune* printed a representative sampling of some of the responses. Among them were the following:

Marcus Burns, 36, sheet metal worker: "I heard some of these rich white women on TV say Eartha should've apologized to Lady Bird. If you ask me, Lady Bird should apologize to Eartha and all other Negro mothers because her power-mad husband is sending thousands of our best young black men away from their families to be killed off for nothing."

Bertha Warren, 28, nurse's aide: "I'm surprised Lady Bird didn't call her a nigger. You know darned well it was in the back of her mind."

Lynn Rose, 23, graduate student: "It's unbelievable that Lady Bird is so protected that as soon as



John Wilson

Photo by Shannon

Over 60 black militants attended the caucus meeting where it was decided to launch the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union. John Wilson, who chaired the meeting, was elected national chairman, and Gwen Patton was elected national secretary. Regional committees of the Union were set up in 14 cities.

Among the actions the Union will carry out in the next couple of months will be a national black antiwar antidraft conference on April 12-14. The tentative site is New York City.

Some of the other actions include: participation in the Black Women's Conference in Detroit on Feb. 3; participation in an international conference with representatives of the NLF in Montreal on

Feb. 10; and issuing a call for nationwide demonstrations in support of heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali on March 4 when a bout between Joe Frazier and Buster Mathis occurs in Madison Square Garden for Ali's championship.

The Union also issued a call for an international student strike on April 26 in support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism.

The call stated: "The 26th day of April has been set aside by the Black Antiwar Antidraft Union as the day for all students throughout the Third World to join the black students of the United States in an International Student Strike. This is an act of solidarity against racist oppression of Black America, racist United States aggression against the Vietnamese people and the violation of the right to self-determination of the peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America."

One of the last statements issued by the founding body of the Union was one that called for support to the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea in the Pueblo seizure.

GIs and the Fight Against War

By Mary-Alice Waters

Introduction
By Fred Halstead

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She added, "I wish they would hurry up and send the body home. It doesn't take them long to send them over there, but it sure takes them a long time to send them home after they're killed."

Discussion at SMC Conference

By Barry Sheppard

At the Student Mobilization Committee national conference held in Chicago Jan. 27-29, a sharp debate took place during a workshop discussion on "war and racism," which was continued in the final plenary session of the conference.

Two fundamentally divergent perspectives for the antiwar movement were reflected in the debate, with spokesmen for the Communist Party on one side and spokesmen for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance on the other.

The debate centered around proposals by the CP to turn the Student Mobilization Committee from an organization built around the struggle against the war in Vietnam, into a "peace and freedom" movement, organizing a "struggle against racism" as well as the fight against the war.

Coupled with this general perspective, the CP put forward an organizational proposal that the black caucus at the conference be given 50 percent of the vote. This was the same gimmick the CP supported at the National Conference for New Politics convention last fall.

If it had been accepted, this organizational procedure would have turned the conference into a sham, since any proposal from the black caucus would have passed with a single white voting for it, limiting any meaningful discussion and decisions to the black caucus. The character of the antiwar movement as a coalition of many forces united around agreement to engage in mass actions against the war would have been threatened, since such a coalition cannot exist on any basis other than common agreement.

Paternalism

The black caucus rejected this paternalism, however, and proceeded to take an important step forward by organizing a National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union. The Union will attempt to organize the opposition to the war developing among black people.

The SWP and YSA supported the establishment of the Black Antiwar Antidraft Union, as a step forward for the movement as a whole. On the related question of the character of the movement, the SWP and YSA projected the perspective of maintaining and expanding the antiwar coalition, and opposed the CP concept of turning the movement into a "peace and freedom" organization.

At stake in this discussion at the conference, which is bound to continue during this election year, are questions of fundamental importance to the antiwar movement. The Student Mobilization Committee, like the antiwar movement as a whole, is a coalition of organizations and individuals. The cement which holds the antiwar coalition together is agreement to organize mass actions against the war, and to conduct educational work exposing the facts about the war in order to win wider circles into active opposition to it.

The importance of the general antiwar coalition, and its student wing represented by the SMC, should not be underestimated. It has succeeded in creating a sizable movement in opposition to an imperialist war during wartime, something that has never been done before in U.S. history.

As millions of Americans become opposed to the war, the potential of the antiwar movement is increasing. It has the realistic perspective of forging a truly massive movement which can organize workers, Afro-Americans, and other sections of the population, including GIs, into a mighty force capable of forcing the war makers to get out of Vietnam.

The antiwar movement here has already become an important factor in international and domestic



Photo by Shannon

VOTE ON CHARACTER OF SMC. Nearly unanimous vote reaffirmed character of student group as antiwar organization.

politics. The war in Vietnam is the key international issue in the world today. The worldwide struggle against imperialism is most concentrated at present in Vietnam, and the outcome of the war in Vietnam will have an important influence upon the general course of world politics. The antiwar movement has already been an inspiration to people everywhere who are opposed to imperialist ventures like the Vietnam war.

The movement is also an important factor in domestic politics. The war and the opposition to it have helped break down the Johnson "consensus," have exposed the imperialist nature of U.S. foreign policy to many, have brought hundreds of thousands into active opposition to the capitalist government and have raised serious doubts in the minds of millions. The activity of the movement has helped torpedo attempts by Washington to use the war to achieve a "voluntary" slowdown of the black and labor struggles in the name of the war. The antiwar movement has been and will increasingly become a central factor in creating a new political climate in the U.S., bringing us out of the conservative climate of the recent past and helping to stimulate a new radicalization.

Any light-minded tampering with the antiwar movement could result in a serious setback to the struggle against the war and to mass struggles generally. And the CP proposal represents just such irresponsibility.

The antiwar movement is a coalition of many different groups and individuals, who have profound disagreements on many questions, including how to fight racism. For example, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have sharply opposed views on the question.

The Communist Party does not unequivocally support black nationalism, and even went so far a few years ago as to characterize the Black Muslims as "fascist." In a statement issued recently, the CP deplored the "violence" of the ghetto uprisings. In opposition to the formation of an independent black political party, the CP urges black people to vote for liberals in the Democratic Party — for example, they hailed the electoral victories of Democrats Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher to the mayoralty in Cleveland and Gary in the November elections as a "big step forward" in the fight against racism. And, in 1964, they described LBJ's victory in the same way.

The CP approach to this question flows from their fundamental

line of class collaboration — politically supporting one section or another of the capitalist class through supporting capitalist party candidates.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, on the other hand, reject all forms of class collaboration. The SWP and YSA support black nationalism and the right of black people to complete self-determination. As against the policy of supporting the racist Democratic Party, the SWP and YSA support the formation of an independent black political party to fight for black power.

The two approaches can be seen in the different attitudes the CP and SWP and YSA took on the black caucus. While the CP initially proposed that the way to further antiwar activity among blacks and "combat racism in the SMC" was to give 50 percent of the vote to the black caucus, the SWP and YSA supported the proposal for the black caucus to form an independent antiwar organization, *fraternally* linked to the SMC but under the control of the black antiwar fighters themselves. Black people in their mass will become active against the war *through their own organizations*.

Within the antiwar movement are many other groups with still other positions on the black struggle. In the first place, there are many black struggle groups, such as SNCC, CORE, SCLC — all with different approaches to the question.

To turn the antiwar coalition into a "peace and freedom" organization would raise the question of what program the movement should have on how to fight racism. For, unless the stand taken "against racism" was to be purely verbal and therefore meaningless, a course of action would have to be projected to carry out this objective.

This would mean deciding among the different approaches on how to fight racism. Should the movement support the black power concepts of SNCC and CORE? Should it support the more moderate and pacifist approach of Dr. Martin Luther King? Or should it adopt some other perspective? The Communist Party, of course, would attempt to impose its own line, and hopes their perspective of "fighting racism" through support to liberal capitalist peace candidates would be adopted.

Clearly, the adoption of any general approach would tend to exclude tendencies from the antiwar movement that didn't agree with that approach. This would make working together in the coalition more difficult, if not impossible.

For example, if the SMC should decide to support the general program of the NAACP, would it then exclude a chapter of SNCC or some other organization with a different program from joining the antiwar fight? Such an approach could only narrow and cripple the antiwar movement.

It would not be a step forward for the black struggle, either, to have a new "peace and freedom" organization on the scene, especially with the kind of program the Communist Party stands for. This development would only be one more obstacle in the road of the organization of the black masses into their own political party, independent of the parties of the ruling class.

Not only that, but the crippling of the antiwar movement would be a blow against the black struggle. A strong and powerful antiwar movement which draws white masses into active collaboration with black antiwar fighters will help break down racist attitudes a thousand times faster and more completely than any attempt to educate whites about racism in the abstract. And, a powerful antiwar movement helps expose the nature of the system, and provides an important example of struggle to all sectors of the mass movement.

The antiwar movement can best aid the fight for black liberation by organizing the widest possible opposition to the war. In addition, one job the antiwar movement is in a position to accomplish is to expose the racist aspects of this imperialist war against a non-white people, and to expose the racist side the imperialists' prosecution of the war which results in the high draft and death rates among black men.

After a discussion at the SMC conference, the delegates voted by a significant majority to reaffirm that the primary purpose of the SMC is to oppose the war in Vietnam.

The discussion, however, appeared confused to many, because the Communist Party did not clearly state its position, but attempted to interject its conception through a motion to title the call for the student strike "An International Student Strike Against the Vietnam War, Racial Oppression and the Draft." Socialist Workers Party spokesmen introduced a counter-motion that the strike be against "the racist war in Vietnam." In the heated discussion that followed, SWP spokesmen introduced the motion that the primary purpose of the SMC was to oppose the war. Once this was passed, the SWP spokesmen withdrew their counter-motion to the title, to make clear that while

still objecting to its wording, they wanted to emphasize the basic issue involved and not the wording of a particular leaflet.

The discussion was further muddled by the CP's use of a tactic they have been known to employ in the past. They attempted to get their way on this question through the use of demagoguery; they implied that anyone who didn't agree with their perspective was refusing to "take a stand against racism," but the tactic, while creating confusion, didn't work.

Now we come to another question. Why has the CP begun a campaign around this issue at this particular time? The answer is to be found in the CP's perspective for the 1968 elections.

CP Line

Their basic outlook this year is no different in its fundamentals than it has been in the past. For over 30 years the CP has been engaged in class-collaborationist politics. This has meant CP support to one or another wing of the capitalist parties, usually a section of the Democratic Party, with the exception of their support to the ticket of Henry Wallace and his third capitalist "peace" party in 1948.

In 1964, they backed LBJ as a "peace and freedom" alternative to Goldwater. This year that line is a little hard to put over (but it shouldn't be excluded, especially if the Republicans nominate another ultraconservative).

So far this year, the CP has a "two-pronged" strategy of class collaboration. On the one side they are pushing dove Democrats like McCarthy, while on the other advocating the formation of a third capitalist "peace and freedom" ticket to oppose Johnson when he gets the Democratic nomination. (At the National Conference for New Politics convention, they supported the unsuccessful attempt to launch such a third ticket.)

The CP's current tactics in the antiwar movement are tied into this general perspective. They want the antiwar movement to become a "peace and freedom" movement — even if only verbally — in order to lay the basis for dragging the movement into support for a capitalist "peace and freedom" electoral ticket, whether inside or outside the Democratic Party. They want to present such a ticket as the meaningful way to fight war and racism in 1968.

SWP Position

Not everyone in the antiwar movement will agree with the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance that any form of support to capitalist candidates, no matter how liberal and no matter if they are in the two major capitalist parties or a third capitalist formation, only aids the system responsible for war and racism. Nor will everyone in the movement agree that the way to fight war and racism on the general political arena is to fight for a break with capitalist politics through the formation of independent labor and Afro-American political parties.

However, everyone concerned with ending the war has a stake in not allowing the antiwar coalition to be destroyed by attempting to transform it into an electoral machine for "peace and freedom" candidates. There is no more agreement on this issue within the coalition than on other issues, and to saddle it with one electoral perspective in 1968 would necessarily break it up and narrow it.

The antiwar movement has an important job to do in the election year of continuing to mobilize all opponents of the war — whether Democrat, Republican, Socialist Workers or Peace and Freedom — in mass action against the war. We can agree to disagree about electoral politics while continuing to work together in building a massive, powerful movement to end the war in Vietnam.

OUR MAN IN CUBA

A Visit to Oriente Province

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba — My first visit to Oriente province, heartland of the Cuban Revolution, was brief. At the close of the Cultural Congress of Havana it was arranged for a group of newsmen to go to Santiago de Cuba by bus and, after a few days there, to return by plane. I joined up.

It was very interesting to make the bus trip across the island. Just looking out at the countryside gives an impression of the level of Cuban development. You see, of course, mile after mile of cane-field. Much of it is on level ground that lends itself to mechanized harvesting. As you approach the foothills of the Sierra Maestra mountains, this changes.

You see many other crops, but as a city boy I don't recognize what most of them are. You also see one of the things Cubans are concerned about—significant areas of uncultivated land. At the present time a major drive is under way to clear such areas for cultivation. This drive is sparked by the Che Guevara Brigade, a huge component of young volunteers who operate across the country on a near-military basis, doing the hard, hot, dirty work of clearing previously neglected land.

Changes

You see many of the new homes that have been built for Cuban farmers. Often standing directly by it is the old *bohío* where he lived before. You also see that many Cuban farmers are still living in *bohíos* and you realize how much work the Revolution has to do. You speed by new, impressive-looking farm complexes. But there are also remote clusters of *bohíos* that give you the feeling that the dwellers are almost outside the nation's fabric.

But the main impression that you get is that the Cuban people are building up their country almost with their bare hands.

Our first stop in Oriente was in Holguín, where we visited an institution in which Cubans take a particular pride, the Lenin Hospital. Completed in 1965, the hospital has 888 beds and extensive clinic facilities. It serves all of Oriente province.

It costs an estimated \$15 a day to care for a patient at the hospital, but all services are free.

There is a big blood bank at the hospital. Because of the many problems in the U.S. relating to blood banks, and the often outrageous cost to patients, I asked some questions about this.

I was told that Cuba is able to maintain an adequate supply in its blood banks across the country. All of the banks are coordinated nationally. Three organizations — the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Cuban Federation of Women, and the Confederation of Labor — solicit blood donors who contribute a pint once a year. In addition relatives and friends of blood recipients are asked to volunteer blood.

The hospital is sterilized three times a day, with each change of shift, I was told, and there has not

been a single incident of staphylococcus infection, a problem that plagues many U.S. hospitals.

There are no private rooms. But there also aren't any big wards of the kind that you see in New York municipal hospitals. The smallest rooms are for two patients and the largest are for eight. Which you go into is not determined by your ability to pay but by the nature of the illness. The only exception on size is in the neuro surgery department. There the patients are in wards of 18. This is necessary, it was explained, because it would not be possible otherwise to provide the intensive care needed in these cases.

The section for premature babies is sealed and air-conditioned to guard against infection, as is a special section for the care of burns. This section is headed, I was told, by a doctor who has made a significant contribution in the field of the treatment of burns.

Like all Cuba's institutions, the Lenin Hospital is open to all who need it. Perhaps symbolic of Cuba's role in the hemisphere, in the last room we looked into there were two Haitians. After being tortured by Duvalier's police, they had escaped to Cuba in a rowboat.

Next we went to the Camilo Cienfuegos school city, near Caney de las Mercedes. This project had been initiated in 1960 as a school city for the children from isolated rural areas, and it functioned on that basis until 1965. By then, coincident with the drive to mechanize Cuban agriculture, there were sufficient elementary schools in the area so that the purpose and function of the Camilo Cienfuegos school could be changed.

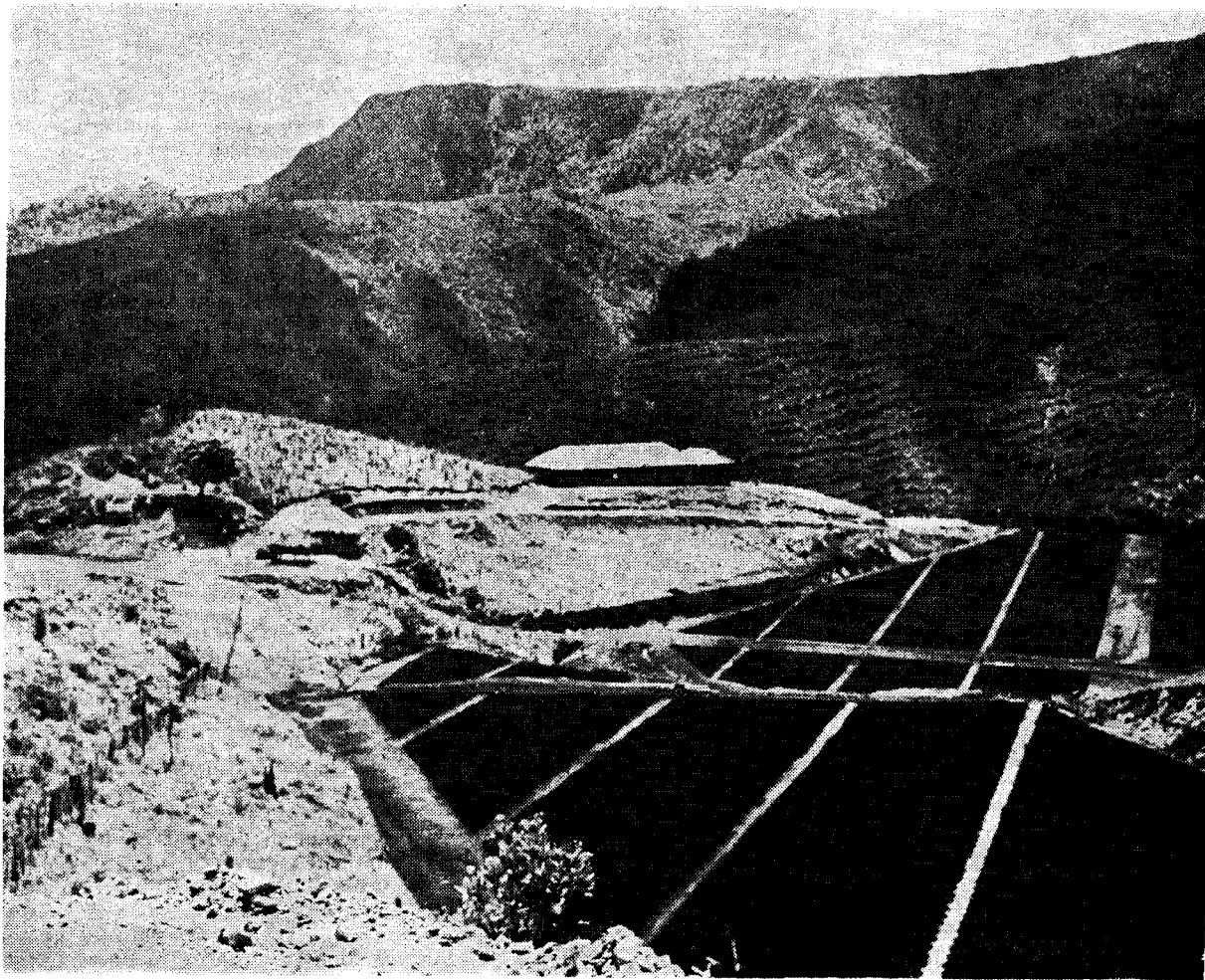
Agricultural School

Now it is an agricultural school for young men of 16 to 25. It is one of 12 such technical institutes across the island and has an enrollment of 24,000 pupils. When we were there 20,000 of them were away for a 90-day period of cane-cutting.

The students fulfill their military conscription obligation while attending school. They have classes for seven weeks, a week of military training and then a week's vacation at their homes. They attend school for a period of three to three-and-a-half years.

Those who don't have a sixth grade education attend a special primary school until they have that level of education. While studying technical courses, they also complete a ninth grade education. Those who qualify will be sent on to other institutes for further schooling, with some going through the universities.

In addition to food and clothing, students received a monthly allowance. This ranges from the Army pay of seven pesos a month to 25 pesos a month for older single men and up to \$75 for a man with four children. Those with more children may borrow up to \$50 a month to be paid back after the completion of their education. All such loans, as with govern-



PILOT AGRICULTURAL PROJECT. This farm is in Oriente province. Cubans are determined to bring the revolution to countryside.

ment loans to farmers, are free of interest.

The school has 13,000 hectares (about 32,000 acres) of land and produces enough rice, beans, meat, dairy products, root vegetables, coffee and citrus fruit to supply the entire student body and staff.

The next day we traveled up into the Sierra Maestra to visit the building that had been the headquarters of the Second Front of the July 26 forces under the command of Raúl Castro. It is preserved as a museum and there are photographic reproductions of many interesting documents and other materials. The headquarters turned out to be several very comfortable dwellings which had been the home of a wealthy landlord who took off as the guerrillas advanced.

There were reproductions of two letters that I found of particular interest. One, dated Aug. 19, 1958, was from the Information Chief of the U.S. Army Mission to the director of Batista's Army cadet school. It discussed how to fight the guerrillas and advised:

"The Desire To Kill"

"MOTIVATION: Motivation is achieved by constantly dwelling on why we fight, the reasons for eliminating the revolutionaries, etc. Another method used successfully is to never use the word 'enemy,' because it conveys a scant psychological meaning. But the use of 'pigs' or 'bastards' seems to generate the desire to kill."

And there was a reproduction of a note from Fidel to Celia Sánchez, referring to the death of a comrade killed by U.S. grenades.

Prophetically, Fidel wrote: "As I saw the grenades that were thrown in Mario's house I swore to myself that the Americans will pay a high price for what they are doing. When this war is over, a war will start for me that will be even longer and bigger. I realize that the war I am going to wage against them will be my real destiny. Fidel."

From the headquarters of the Second Front we drove to a nearby, newly created town. Alto Songo has all the qualities of a pioneer town except that there is nothing primitive about it. With

lovely homes, a school, nursery, shopping center and theater, it was built to house 256 families who work on a nearby *granja*, or state farm.

At a Nursery

We visited the local nursery. In one area the youngsters were out front on cots, having their morning naps in the sunshine. In the next building there was a big playpen with a half dozen tots of about a year to two. The cameras clicked and they put on a splendid performance.

I'm not familiar with nurseries so I don't know how it compares, but the nursery personnel seemed uniformly cheerful and gave a strong impression that they really enjoy the kids. It could have been put on for the visitors, but I really don't think so.

They seemed to think it a bit strange that I was from the U.S. and when I indicated that I was not a regular journalist, but a revolutionary, they burst into enthusiastic applause.

Back in Santiago, we had a moving experience. We were taken to the 26th of July public school — formerly Moncada Barracks, scene of the historic July 26, 1953, attack by Fidel and his comrades. It was really a thrill to walk through the entrance and be surrounded by hundreds of spirited young children. They clamored to have their pictures taken and we could hardly hear above the din. A revolutionary told me that Raúl Castro had been the principal speaker at the ceremony which opened the barracks as a school. He said that in the middle of the speech, Raúl choked up and couldn't continue. He picked up and embraced the daughter of a close personal friend who had been killed at Moncada. With tears in his eyes, Raúl said: "This was what your father wanted."

José Martí Houses

We concluded our stay in Santiago with a visit to a new housing development on the outskirts of the city. Situated a short distance from the cemetery where José Martí is buried, the José Martí houses were opened last July 26. Although the development is still in construction, there are

432 families living there, and it will eventually house 50,000.

Those moving in find their apartments already furnished with attractive, modern furniture. For rent they pay 10 percent of their income plus 2 percent toward paying off the furniture. In 1970, like all Cubans, they will pay no rent.

The development will have all the facilities of a city — school, nursery, shopping area, theater, sports stadium, etc. Some of these things are already available.

The families already living there, plus those who will be next to move in, come from the same place, the district of San Pedrito, a shanty town in Santiago.

New Homes

We visited one of the new homes. It was a family of 12 people and they were living in the largest-size apartment available in the development — four bedrooms, plus a dining area that can be converted into a sleeping unit. With bunk beds in several of the bedrooms they managed to fit. Previously they had lived for 16 years in a three-room shack in San Pedrito. They didn't live there because they were poverty stricken. The father and two of the sons have worked regularly as mechanics at the Santiago airport, but were simply never able to find a decent place to live.

In response to questions, the mother of the house said that before the Revolution none of them had been active politically, but now they are "integrated in the Revolution." She said her husband and two sons are members of the militia at the airport and that she and the older daughters are members of the Cuban Federation of Women and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. The young children, she said with pride, are members of the Young Pioneers.

How had the Revolution changed her life, she was asked. She laughed heartily and replied: "As from day to night."

When we left I asked if we could go to San Pedrito. It made the worst New York slums look like Park Avenue. The difference between there and the José Martí houses was truly as of day to night.

If you enjoy reading *The Militant* and are interested in what the young socialist movement is thinking and doing, you will want to subscribe to America's leading young socialist magazine

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Black Liberation Notes

The Jan. 26 *New York Post* reports that a Pentagon official gave the following reply when asked if Eartha Kitt would entertain troops in Vietnam: "We're not trying to create more problems for Gen. Westmoreland — he's got enough as it is."

When the Black Unity Party in Peekskill, New York invited H. Rap Brown to speak, the local police responded by blocking every entrance to the town in order to intercept him. In addition, according to the *Aframerican News Service*, the cops would not let local militants go to the county line to see if Brown was all right.

The courts have denied Rap Brown the right to fulfill speaking engagements around the country and have ordered him to remain within the boundaries of a few small counties in New York. But, Peekskill happens to be in one of these counties.

For a while, the cops in their panic were stopping cars in Peekskill at random under a "search and seizure" law. There was one instance when a black family had to stand on the highway in below-zero weather while police searched the car as if they were hoping to find H. Rap Brown under the floor mats.

Although you would never know it from reading the press, there is a filibuster going on in the Senate against Johnson's 1968 civil rights bill. The bill is what the *New York Times* refers to as "noncontroversial." What they mean is that it is aimed mainly at the South (guaranteeing federal protection for civil rights workers and people seeking to exercise their civil rights) and does not include the open housing pro-



Nathan Hare

vision which caused Northern Senators to turn against last year's bill.

A black policeman has been given a citizen's "law enforcement award" in St. Louis for drowning out SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown while he was speaking to a neighborhood crowd. The cop carried out this act of super Uncle Tomism by setting up a loudspeaker and playing music over it. The award was "for preventing a serious incident from developing out of a volatile situation."

The U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington has refused to reinstate the five Howard U. professors, including author Nathan Hare, who were fired last June

because of their support for student demonstrations at Howard.

In announcing the addition of 710 more cops to the army of police maintained by the city of New York, mayor Lindsay stated that "crime in the streets" is the "number one priority" of his administration. He has thus not only caved in to the demands of the police department for more cops, but, like Johnson and Lady Bird, he has adopted the racist "crime" slogan as well.

On TV Jan. 28 he was very blunt about what he was doing. While admitting that bad housing and conditions are the root of the "problems" in New York, he took the position that because the government is not finding a solution to these basic ills, we must fight "crime in the streets" in the meantime.

An editorial in the *Carolina Times*, an Afro-American newspaper, had the following to say on the subject of the South African heart transplants: "If, therefore, the time ever arrives when heart transplanting becomes as common in medical circles as an appendectomy . . . we tremble to think of the fate that awaits many a strong healthy black of South Africa. It does not strain the imagination to visualize many a strong and healthy South African black being de-heated to furnish a sound and healthy organ for a white man dying of a serious heart ailment."

—Elizabeth Barnes

Nashville Reports Over 700 Arrests

Aframerican News Service — There has been a complete and total news blackout on the events that occurred within the past week in Nashville, Tenn. Here are the facts:

On Wednesday, Jan. 16, two policemen were shot in Nashville, one killed, the other wounded, following an incident which is still not very clear. The Nashville press reported that five black men were involved in the shooting incident and that "black power" literature was found in the car. The five men were reported to be from Cincinnati, Ohio.

Scare Headlines

Starting the next day, the press in Nashville immediately began to carry headlines and stories blaming SNCC and Stokely Carmichael for the shooting. One headline said: "SNCC Starts Murder Campaign." On the front page of one Nashville daily it was falsely announced that "Stokely Carmichael is in Nashville." Stories and headlines such as these continued all week.

The infamous Nashville police Chief Sorce has used the white press attack to convince the Nashville community that it is necessary for white folks to arm themselves against the "murderous" black militants, and that the police force must get more and better "riot" equipment.

Police, armed with "riot" weapons, have flooded the North Nashville black community and completely taken control of the area. They have picked up over 70 black people, including 30-40

students from Fisk and Tennessee State A. & I. campus. They are also picking up anyone who "looks" militant, who wears their hair natural, or anyone they just take a notion to pick up.

These brothers and sisters have been taken to police headquarters or jails and have been "questioned" — without benefit of legal counsel and without being able to communicate with anyone. The interrogation lasts anywhere from a few hours to a whole day, with the cops getting a complete run-down on the personal life and political views of those questioned and their friends.

It is known that one such "questioned" victim was horribly beaten during his "visit" with the police. Another, a former SNCC chairman in Nashville, was taken from the jail to the prison farm, where his "Afro" hair style was cut. He was then released.

Intimidation

Using these tactics, Police Chief Sorce has succeeded in frightening the Nashville black community and is adding names to his list of "subversive" black folks.

We remind black folks in this country that it was Sorce who went to Washington to testify with his stories and reports on SNCC, Stokely Carmichael, "black power advocates," and the liberation school in Nashville. The government is using this "testimony" to build their case against SNCC and against all of us. We remind you that certain "law-makers" from Tennessee have asked that Stokely Carmichael be deported from the United States or tried for treason.

...Student Strike Called

(Continued from Page 1)
fident that many would work to build the strike.

During the afternoon the gathering broke up into workshops for a general discussion of perspectives for the antiwar movement. Later Saturday evening another series of workshops was held on specific topics, in order to prepare resolutions to bring before the body as a whole at a plenary session scheduled for Sunday. These workshops included discussions of future actions, campus complicity, defense of the movement, the draft, war and racism, and national structure for the Student Mobilization Committee.

The Sunday sessions were held at the Chicago Coliseum. The meeting opened with an announcement by the black caucus that it had reconstituted itself as the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union.

John Wilson of SNCC addressed the conference on the perspectives for the black antiwar committee.

The question of the student strike was then debated by the body. A small group, largely members of the Progressive Labor Party and some chapters of SDS, opposed the strike and called for the "dissolution" of the Student Mobilization Committee. Their motion received only a handful of votes and the strike was approved by the conference.

A more important discussion took place around the question of basic perspectives of the antiwar movement — whether it should maintain its character as a coalition organized to end the war, or should become a "peace and freedom" organization [see article, p. 4].

After a heated debate the con-

ference voted overwhelmingly for a motion which declared that "The purpose of the Student Mobilization Committee is to fight against the racist war in Vietnam." After thus reaffirming the central character of the SMC as an antiwar coalition, the body voted to circulate the call for the strike of the newly formed National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union, under the title, "An International Student Strike Against the War in Vietnam, Racial Oppression, and the Draft."

In the discussion on structure, the conference adopted proposals for a national conference every six months, the establishment of a national continuations committee, and a working committee to be set up in New York. The continuations committee is to be made up of one representative from each campus or local committee that supports the aims of the SMC, the working committee, and a few prominent individuals in the antiwar movement to be invited by the working committee. The working committee is made up of the SMC staff in New York, plus representatives from national organizations that support the SMC, and representatives from campus committees in the New York area.

Other questions, such as actions against the draft, were referred to the working committee.

On Monday several workshops were held to discuss implementation of some of the conference decisions. A press conference was held at Chicago University where spokesmen for the SMC and the new black antiwar organization announced the results of the conference in front of a bank of television cameras and to newspaper and wire service reporters.

The Escalante Case in Cuba

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba, Jan. 31 — The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba meeting here Jan. 24-26 decided that Anibal Escalante and eight others should go before a Revolutionary Tribunal or criminal court on charges of acts against the party and the revolution. They were branded "traitors to the revolution."

It was charged that they had organized a "microfraction" to oppose the political line of the party, that they illegally obtained secret or confidential party and government documents, and that they sought to have the USSR and other countries apply economic and political pressure on Cuba to force it to change its political line.

The Central Committee also voted not to send delegates to the upcoming meeting of Communist parties in Budapest.

The charges against Escalante and the others were detailed in a lengthy report to the committee by Raúl Castro. The report is now being published serially in the Cuban press. Two installments have appeared as of this writing.

In addition to the criminal charges against the nine, one person was dropped from the Central Committee and another expelled from the party for having cooperated with the Escalante group.

In 1962 Escalante was removed as organization secretary of the Integrated Revolutionary Organization, precursor of the new united Communist Party of Cuba. A long time functionary of the old Popular Socialist (Communist) Party, Escalante was bitterly assailed at that time by Fidel Castro as guilty of bureaucratic and sectarian abuses of his position. He left Cuba, first for Czechoslovakia then the USSR. He returned in 1964 and was made manager of a small farm near Havana engaged in experimental poultry breeding.

On the basis of the report given by Raúl Castro on behalf of the Commission on the Armed Forces

and State Security, the Central Committee announced it had established the following:

"1. A small group of old and bitter sectarians and opportunists led by Anibal Escalante organized a microfraction and carried out activities that must be judged by the Revolutionary Tribunal.

"2. The members of this tiny grouplet never utilized the regular party organs to express their point of view and nonetheless dedicated themselves to the task of ideological diversion and proselytizing . . .

Activities

"3. The outstanding activities of this group were the following: attacking by way of intrigues, the principal measures of the Revolution; distribution of clandestine propaganda against the line of the Revolution; giving false and slanderous information to functionaries of foreign countries regarding the plans of the Revolution, with the aim of undermining Cuba's relations with these countries; illegally obtaining secret documents from the Central Committee and the Ministry of Basic Industries; ideological diversion and proselytizing among some old militants coming from the ranks of the Popular Socialist Party; as well as other deeds that are under the jurisdiction of the Revolutionary Tribunal."

The report said Escalante and the others "accepted their responsibility." The group was charged with reprinting and circulating the attacks on Cuban policies by the leaders of the Venezuelan and other Latin American Communist parties that oppose the line of armed struggle.

The report asserted that because the line of the Escalante group "coincides with that of the pseudo-revolutionaries and U.S. imperialism, it places them in the ranks of those forces opposed to the revolution."

The group was reported to have propagated the idea that Cuba was

following a "Trotskyite" course of "exporting revolution" and that Che Guevara had left Cuba because he was a "Trotskyite." They reportedly assessed Che's departure as beneficial for Cuba. They are further charged with characterizing the Cuban leadership as "petty bourgeois" and "anti-Soviet."

They also reportedly circulated Soviet materials extolling the virtues of material incentives in increasing production as opposed to the moral incentives that Cuba is relying on.

In addition to the promotion of ideas, Raúl charged that the group committed the following acts: "Establishing contacts with Soviets, Czechoslovakians and East Germans — some of them members of the party, others members of the government, and still others reporters with access to members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — with the aim of informing them of the antiparty views of the Escalante group; forming a favorable state of mind for the views of this group so that there should be political and economic pressure by the Soviet Union to compel Cuba to adopt a political line more closely paralleling that of the Soviet Union."

One of the defendants, Emilio de Quesada, reportedly told the investigating commission, "we came to desire a certain amount of political and economic pressure. This may appear to be monstrous, but it is understandable if you consider that we believe that the coincidental road [literally in Spanish, "camino de coincidencia"] would be that which would save the Revolution from grave danger."

Raúl also charged that various members of the group had illegally taken various confidential and secret party and government reports for Escalante's information.

There is no word as to when the trial will be held.

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.]

Shadow and Substance

New York, N.Y.

"The United States Government, the political arm of the U.S. Armed Forces, issued a statement . . ." Sounds crazy, doesn't it? But it's no more crazy than the establishment press continually characterizing the National Liberation Front as the "political arm of the Vietcong."

The National Liberation Front governs about three-quarters of the people of South Vietnam, makes laws, administers schools, hospitals, a judicial system, a fiscal system that collects regular taxes — in short, performs most, if not all, of the functions of government.

When at times the establishment press has to acknowledge that the NLF is a government, it is called a "shadow government." But the real shadow government sits in Saigon — given substance only by the billions of dollars and the blood of our young men poured into it by the U.S. government.

R.S.

Terror in New Mexico

Scottsdale, Ariz.

It is my desire and obligation to call your attention to a very serious matter — one of our traditional boomerang mistakes. This is occurring in New Mexico.

In the early days of the settling of that country, Mexican emigrants moved in from Old Mexico. They

were assigned territory under the Spanish grant law. Later when New Mexico was granted statehood, big business monopoly power moved in and took over. Early history indicates that the mining, livestock and land grab was combined and executed under illegal take-over by one combined corporate power.

This big business monopoly was centralized in Wall Street and, at the adjunct of the state to the Union in 1911, set up their banks and set their juggernaut of thievery, brigandage, exploitation and murder under the protection of a puppet government out of Washington.

Their primary and cardinal move was the great land grab. The vast spreads of land grants were the largest thorns in their flesh. And while the small farmers and stock men suffered under their merciless ax, the Mexican nationals were the first to be fallen upon, scourged, disfranchised, driven from their lands and homes; also in many instances, falsely imprisoned and murdered, so it has been reported.

Recently these people organized into guerrilla bands and went to the hills and challenged their oppressors. They were attacked and pursued by the state militia and soon overwhelmed with modern bullets and hardware. It is reported that the state administration, since their victory, has swelled into flaunting exuberance and now extol varied treatments of torture, terror, starvation, false imprisonment without trial, and even murder.

It is reported that the militia, police, and FBI hound these people continually, and at the least provocation frame them and dole out a rigorous prison sentence while their families suffer from ill housing, inadequate clothing and starvation. It is claimed that small children have been found abandoned, while their fathers were in jail.

Please make up boxes of clothing of all sizes, nonperishable food, what cash you have to spare. Mail to: Mrs. I. Garcia, 8917 Guadalupe Trail N.W., Albuquerque, N. Mex. C.H.

1917 Draft Sucker

Clearwater, Fla.

As a 1917 draft sucker I was especially interested in the debate between Jerry Rubin and Fred Halstead. My support leans more toward Halstead's contentions, but I sympathize with Rubin's attitude toward things as they are.

I consider demonstrations as a valuable type of advertising. The millionaire-owned propaganda sheets and shopping news have had the floor too long now and should be compelled to give the workers a chance at the public ear.

In 1917 we were bamboozled, brainwashed and befuddled by that expert phrase-maker, Woodrow Wilson, who told us we were going to "make the world safe for democracy." After the war was over he admitted that it was to protect the interests of American investors.

That means, of course, the 1 percent who own 60 percent of stocks and bonds here in the U.S.

Now that the other imperialists have become bankrupt and are no longer rivals of the U.S. imperialist gangsters, the latter have arrogantly taken on the job of fighting the working class in every country weak enough for our brave militarists to attack safely (with the assistance — willing or not — of the workers in this country).

C.B.W.

Antiestablishment

Detroit, Mich.

I enjoy your paper tremendously. Keep printing the news that we never see in a regular, establishment paper.

L.D.

On Socialist Man

New York

In the Jan. 15 *Militant* B.S. reviewed "A Reply to Isaac Deutscher," the article by William Mandel that appeared in *Political Affairs*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party.

B.S. might be interested to know that some new information has come to light on conditions in the Soviet Union, and on the socialist man that reputedly inhabits that country.

Matty Berkelhammer, of the New York DuBois Club, toured the Soviet Union recently and wrote a letter back home that appeared in the January 1968 *Activist*, bulletin of the DuBois Clubs. Although lavishing praise on the "socialism" he found there, Berkelhammer tells more than he, perhaps, intended.

"The Soviet people also seem to have a selfless dedication to the tasks that confront them," says Berkelhammer. "It was quite common to see rather elderly women

Thought for the Week

"I am calling upon the people to refuse to allow Viet Cong sanctuary in their homes and to tell the Viet Cong to leave their homes." — Saigon puppet President Thieu, as reported in the Jan. 31 *New York Post*.

shoveling snow in the street with real gusto (in sub-freezing weather)."

"But there still seems to be a great variety in economic conditions of the Soviet people," observed the recent visitor. "Many people here in Tashkent live in crowded, semi-feudal dwellings. There are tremendous contrasts within the Soviet Union — economically, socially, and culturally."

Better conditions do exist for some, though, and Berkelhammer indicated them:

"We are being treated royally — too royally, in fact, so that sometimes it is embarrassing. We stay in hotels of high quality, are driven around by chauffeurs in cars (not big limousines but still more than the average Soviet citizen has), and are given the best seats at cultural performances. We dislike this super-fancy treatment and I'm planning to raise it with hosts tomorrow."

Alas, but tomorrow never comes or so it seems for those "socialist men" who also "merit" the same benefits.

Although there is somewhat less than perfect equality in the land of socialism, at least we might expect that "socialist man" would be well advanced in his thinking. After all, it's 30 years since Stalin decreed the establishment of socialism in the USSR. But, observes Berkelhammer, "despite the fact that they live in socialism here, even many of the young people are conservative in many ways."

G.H.

Opinion on the Draft

Macedonia, Ohio

Rebelling against present draft practice, our antiwar activists must learn to distinguish two quite different things, namely, to resist the draft and military training which is necessary in order to defend our country in the case of an attack by a foreign power, and secondly, to resist the draft and military service which is aimed at attacking and subsequently an enslavement of another nation or nations.

As loyal citizens we all have not only a constitutional but also a moral obligation and responsibility to defend our country, and for this reason if we wish to keep our country independent, we cannot refuse military service.

But there is a quite different situation in the case of the present Vietnam war. As is well known, an involvement of the United States in this war is not defensive but purely aggressive and imperialistic (Vietnam never did attack or plan to attack the U.S.). So the citizens of this country have all the right not to be involved in this particular war (although they still can be drafted for military service within this country).

There is no paragraph in the Constitution of the United States according to which the citizens of this country have a duty or obligation to support any aggressive war against other nations, and this should be remembered by all imperialists and their lackeys, as well as by all anti-imperialists.

J.M.

The Great Society

Good Old Days — White mercenaries, who three years ago killed thousands of blacks in the Congo for Uncle Tshombe, are now for the most part respectable businessmen in Johannesburg, South Africa. But they still yearn for the excitement of jungle battles — and the prospect of looting a well-stocked bank. "The smell of cordite is like perfume to me," said one ex-mercenary, now an advertising executive trying to promote toothpaste.

'President of All the People' — A new book, scheduled for publication in March, is entitled *My Hero LBJ, and Other Dirty Stories*.

No Escape — Barely had poor Lady Bird smoothed down the feathers ruffled by Eartha Kitt when she was confronted by antiwar pickets in front of the Woman's National Democratic Club, where she was to be guest of honor at a reception. Placards read, "We support Eartha Kitt" and "Hell no, don't go."

Of Elephants and Men — Officials at the U.S. embassy in London went out of their way to assure protesting British animal lovers that elephants airlifted to war zones in Vietnam would not be parachuted to their destination but would be "tranquilized, equipped with giant slings and carried beneath helicopters," to spare them a long walk. British people-lovers, who have protested U.S. bombing, napalming and machine gunning of Vietnamese, have not as yet heard from the embassy.

Lots of Luck! — Democratic headquarters in Washington announced a program aimed principally at recruiting youth for the party on "the campuses, ghettos and picket lines" in the 1968 cam-

paign. Maybe their recruiters should have a little chat with Dow Chemical Co. recruiters first.

Free Advice — At a federal hearing into discrimination in the hiring of white-collar workers, David Rockefeller called on minority groups to develop more initiative, a "do-it-yourself" philosophy, to achieve better jobs. Well, we must admit, David did it himself — overcame the handicap of being born a Rockefeller and went on to become president of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Rich Get Richer — Now if we'd only had the "initiative" to purchase 100 shares of IBM back in

1914 for a mere \$2,750, today it would be worth about \$18,478,000. Not to mention the \$879,000 in dividends and the \$101,900 from sale of rights we would have received.

No Housing Shortage — Multi-millionaire Howard Hughes keeps five homes in the Los Angeles area — even though he hasn't been in any of them for years — just to make sure he'll have a roof over his head in case he finds himself in the neighborhood. He also keeps two bungalows constantly reserved at the Beverly Hills Hotel, in addition to owning several hotels in Las Vegas. [Ruth Porter]

Weekly Calendar

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CHICAGO

MALCOLM X DISCUSSES THE AMERICAN POWER STRUCTURE AND HOW IT FUNCTIONS. A tape, with commentary by George Breitman. Friday, Jan. 9, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS. Speaker: Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Friday, Feb. 9, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Donation \$1. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

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MINNEAPOLIS

NO FORUM. Feb. 9 or 10. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

New Readers

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THE MILITANT

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LeRoi Jones Defense Gains Strong Backing

By Elizabeth Barnes

Jet magazine recently commented that "The arrest and conviction of firebrand poet-playwright LeRoi Jones on charges of possessing guns during last summer's riot in Newark, N.J., have aroused a broad spectrum of Negroes in the U.S. like nothing since the ousting last year from Congress of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell."

Increasing numbers of people are realizing the gravity of a situation where one of the foremost intellectuals and artists in the black community is allowed to be physically attacked, jailed, denied the right of free speech, and framed up and sentenced to a two-and-a-half-year prison term.

Even National Urban League director Whitney Young has made a grudging statement in Jones' behalf: "While I do not regard LeRoi Jones as a civil rights leader," he said, "I think his sentencing appears harsh, and due to his prominence, designed to intimidate rather than to get an understanding of the real causes of racial disorders."

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, was also moved to state, "The spectacle of that trial has seriously damaged whatever vestige of faith Negroes have in the judicial system. They do not believe, for instance, that Jones was tried before a jury of his peers. . . They do not believe that it was Jones who broke open his own skull in jail and knocked loose some of his own teeth."

Poetry

Referring to the fact that the judge gave LeRoi Jones an especially harsh sentence because he didn't like the content of his poetry, Rustin commented, "And we were under the impression that in a free society writers are not thrown into prison for their poems. Well, we too can now suspect that such freedoms apply to everybody else in the society but Negroes."

More important than statements by prominent individuals is the fact that first steps are being made toward organizing defense activities for LeRoi Jones, educating people on the facts of the case, and raising money for legal fees and publicity. At the Los Angeles Youth Conference last November, James Forman called for the building of "viable defense committees" so that "it will be more difficult to isolate and destroy any of us." The United Black Artists (UBA), a group of over 200 black artists from all over the country, are already working toward this goal in organizing defense for Jones.

Among other activities, UBA is planning a national "LeRoi Jones Week." During that week plays and poems written by Jones are to be produced in cities across the country.

Immediately after the sentencing, members of UBA got together to put out a statement in Jones' defense signed by such prominent people as Pulitzer Prize winner Gwendolyn Brooks, writer Julian Mayfield, saxophonist Archie



Photo by Finer

Barbara Ann Teer

Shepp, writer Lerone Bennett, and Hoyt Fuller, managing editor of *Negro Digest*.

Over a thousand people turned out for a defense meeting for LeRoi Jones held in New York last week. After a program of music, dancing, and poetry reading for the benefit of the legal defense fund, LeRoi Jones spoke on the need for a program and organization for the black liberation movement. SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown also spoke.

At a defense meeting for LeRoi Jones at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, poet Larry Neal of UBA explained that UBA was working with other groups to organize the defense and was attempting to rally support on both a national and international level. Neal also spoke on LeRoi Jones' poetry, describing him as "one of the first poets to stop writing for the benefit of the power structure." Actress and UBA member Barbara Ann Teer read a series of Jones' poems. About \$94 was raised for the defense.

Support for LeRoi Jones has also come from a group of sixteen poets belonging to the Committee on Poetry. Among those who signed a statement issued by the committee against the frame-up, were poets Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Diane Di Prima, Michael McClure and Peter Orlovsky.

In an article in the Jan. 20 *National Guardian* Archie Shepp describes his friendship with Jones over the years and sums up some of the important aspects of the case: "A true artist of any complexion," he says, "is a liar if he does not speak out against the schizophrenic disorder of the American process: the criminal war in Vietnam and the forced impoverishment and neoenslavement of black men."

Shepp goes on to say, "Ultimately I think we must all feel at one with Jones, for he is not the exclusive recipient of this indictment. The judge's decision was aimed first at any black man who dares to publicly dissent (note the other defendants received lighter sentences), and ultimately that decision is aimed at all people, regardless of color, who dissent."

It Makes Sense — After detailing all the government's Big Lies he has swallowed in the past few years (the U-2 that "strayed into Russian skies"; the bombing of Havana by "rebel Cuban planes" just before the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba; the marines sent to Santo Domingo "to rescue civilians"; the Tonkin Gulf fabrications), *New York Post* columnist Murray Kempton declares: "Thus, on the Pueblo, I believe North Korea. I don't remember its having lied to me lately."

Right-Wing Broadcast Fails To Slow Boutelle Campaign

By Leonard Gordon

BOSTON, Jan. 21 — Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President, completed a week-long speaking tour of Boston and Springfield last night with a meeting in the Roxbury black community.

Earlier in the week, on Jan. 15, after addressing an audience of about 50 at Harvard, he appeared on the Steve Fredericks interview and call-in program on WMEX radio. Brandishing an old Young Socialist Alliance internal discussion bulletin, lent him by self-appointed "red-hunter" Gordon Hall, Fredericks baited the SWP candidate for nearly three hours. He referred to the Socialist Workers Party as the "Trotskyite wing of the Communist Party" and intimated that the SWP received its finances and political line from Moscow.

Exhibiting behavior often seen at Boston Bruins hockey games, Fredericks continually tried to provoke Boutelle into being as vicious as himself. At one point he told Boutelle to "shut up" and at another he called him a "nutcake."

What Fredericks did not tell his listening audience was that Gordon Hall and one of his "apprentices" were present in the studio during the entire interview. During news breaks, Fredericks and Hall left the studio to confer.

However, the program boomeranged for Fredericks. For days after the broadcast, people called the campaign committee to contribute money and offer their time and energies to work for the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. People who had listened to the program appeared at various campus meetings at which Boutelle spoke, and many became campaign supporters.

During the week, Boutelle spoke to Afro-American groups at Boston U. and Northeastern U. He also addressed a general meeting at Northeastern, sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society, and a meeting of 150 at Boston U., sponsored by Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle. A noon-



PAUL BOUTELLE. Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President (right) speaking with people interested in socialist campaign at opening of campaign headquarters in Cambridge, Mass.

time address at MIT was sponsored by the MIT Socialist Club. At all these campus meetings, a great deal of socialist literature was sold, campaign material distributed, and new endorsers and supporters won over.

On Wednesday a side trip was made to Springfield College, where Boutelle was invited by two professors to lecture to their political science classes on socialism. One professor wanted his students to know something about socialism, and wanted them to hear it from a socialist. He felt that his own antisocialist bias would prevent him from presenting the subject with objectivity. An informal discussion with Boutelle was taped for the campus radio station.

At a reception Friday evening, the SWP candidate discussed black history, black nationalism, and revolutionary socialism. A lively discussion took place over refreshments, and badly needed funds were raised to carry on the 1968 election campaign.

For many campaign supporters,

the high point of the week was the grand opening on Saturday afternoon of the headquarters of the New England Halstead and Boutelle Campaign Committee and Militant Book Store at 15 Bay Street in Cambridge. A crowd consisting mainly of young people stood elbow to elbow to discuss politics, buy books, and meet Paul Boutelle.

The New England Halstead and Boutelle Campaign Committee and the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle invite people in the area who are interested in the campaign and in socialist ideas to drop into its campaign office or to write to Box 152, MIT Station, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

DuBois Club Faces SACB In New York

Leaders of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America have been subpoenaed by the Senate Subversive Activities Control Board for hearings in New York City Feb. 5 under the McCarran Act.

Under new provisions of the act, passed by the Senate by a vote of three in favor and two against and approved by President Johnson Jan. 2, any organization can be labeled a "communist front" on the testimony of a government stool pigeon, and then forced to submit to severe penalties after being so registered by the government.

The Young Socialist Alliance declared, in a statement supporting the DuBois Clubs, "This is another government violation of the freedom of speech. The YSA recognizes that this attack on one section of the movement is an attack on all sections of the movement. The DuBois Clubs have asserted their right to refuse to testify and cooperate with the SACB. We firmly defend the DuBois Clubs and support their right of noncooperation with the SACB. We call on all other youth and student organizations to do the same."

The DuBois Clubs have called for demonstrations at the hearings, which they have requested be postponed until the end of February. The time and place will be announced later.



Photo by Finer

SUPPORT SPOCK. Over 5,000 antiwar fighters gave a tumultuous welcome to Dr. Benjamin Spock and four co-defendants when they returned to a mass meeting in New York after being arraigned in Boston courts for "counseling" draft resistance. More than 3,000 people crammed into Manhattan Center long before the start of the meeting. A hastily rented annex was quickly filled with another 1,800 people and 800 more stood in a dark street and listened to speeches over a loudspeaker. Speakers at the meeting included Dr. Spock; Michael Ferber, one of the defendants; SNCC foreign affairs director James Forman; Jarvis Tyner, chairman of the DuBois Clubs; and lawyer Arthur Kinoy.