

THE MILITANT

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U.S. Contempt for Life Is Horrifying Mankind

By Fred Halstead

Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for President

On Feb. 16 Lyndon Johnson widened U.S. draft regulations once again in order to broaden the scope of Washington's attack on Vietnam. About 250,000 graduate students will become eligible for the draft and monthly quotas will near the highs of 1966 — over 40,000 a month.

This happens at a time when Washington's utter contempt for human life is horrifying the entire world. The towns and cities of South Vietnam, blasted by three weeks of merciless bombing, show the complete fraudulence of Johnson's pretext that he is making that nation "safe for democracy."

What Johnson really means is he is willing to slaughter every last citizen if that is what it takes to ensure the U.S. military occupation of South Vietnam.

That is what would happen if Washington employed atomic weapons in Vietnam, and no one can have any illusions that this couldn't happen after the devastation of the cities that has already taken place.

It makes no essential difference in the calculations of U.S. generals how South Vietnamese civilians stand on the question of the war. They recognize that there is no real support for the Thieu-Ky regime. For all practical purposes, they view every South Vietnamese citizen as an enemy.

On the battlefields, Westmoreland continues to squander the lives of American youths to take or hold hills which a few days later are abandoned. Over 18,000 Americans have already died in this war. There is not a shred of evidence that the Pentagon gained one square foot of the countryside in the process.

At Khesanh, according to the newspapers, Westmoreland is "willing" to take heavy casualties in order to achieve a higher "kill ratio." The *Wall Street Journal* quotes one officer who states "any objective can be taken if you're willing to pay the price; I still remember Iwo Jima."

If I remember correctly about 5,500 marines were killed in that World War II battle — the same number Westmoreland is holding out for bait in Khesanh. Meanwhile, anxiety is in-

Antiwar Mother Defies Military

"We don't want a military funeral. I don't want any more guns," said Mrs. Arthur Jensen after learning that her marine son was killed in Vietnam.

"I protested the war and will continue to do so more than ever," the bereaved mother said. "We have no business in Southeast Asia. People don't realize how wrong our foreign policy is."

Mrs. Jensen said her son, Pfc. Robert A. Jensen, had planned to study for the ministry when he finished his service obligation. "He was very concerned with the poverty over there. He told of the Vietnamese people living in filth and he felt the U.S. was at fault."



CHILD FIRE BRIGADE. Picture taken in section of Saigon bombed by U.S. and puppet regime.

creasing in Washington about the use of nuclear weapons. That anxiety stems from the knowledge that the Pentagon's blueprints for Vietnam include using such weapons, and defeats for the U.S. like the ones suffered in the cities in recent weeks could be utilized by the atomaniacs as a pretext for unleashing their bombs.

It makes not a particle of difference that Johnson and Rusk have denied this. Everyone in the world knows the real score. The cold war fear that gripped the world 23 years ago resulted from Washington's dropping

these murderous weapons on Japanese civilians.

In 23 years only Washington has used atomic weapons. And the same murderers will be the ones who use them again, if they are ever used.

There can be no talk of safety for anyone until Washington gets out of Vietnam — no safety for the Vietnamese, no safety for American soldiers, and no safety for the world — because the threat of nuclear holocaust lies right behind any use of "tactical" nuclear weapons in South Vietnam.

Paul Boutelle in Canada Speaks at Big Meetings

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, completed a successful speaking tour of campuses in eastern Canada the first week in February, despite harassment by Canadian immigration officials. The *Montreal Star* reported Feb. 1 that "Mr. Boutelle complained that he had been interrogated by officials of the Canadian immigration department for one-and-a-half hours after arriving at the Montreal International Airport on Tuesday night. After the interrogation he was given a 24-hour permit to remain in the country which had to be renewed if he wished to stay longer."

The paper quotes Paul Boutelle's comments on the interrogation:

"I don't know whether they picked me out because I was black, because I had a beard or because I didn't wear a tie. But I suspect that they were tipped off about me. They asked why I was here, where I would speak, and who sponsored me. They seemed to know more about my move-

ments than I did, because they specifically asked me whether I would speak at Carleton University. I told them I didn't know. It was only after arriving in Canada that I learned that I was to address a meeting there."

The *Toronto Star* reported Feb. 6 that "The group that sponsored his speaking tour — the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière — has protested to Immigration Minister Jean Marchand."

"In a letter to Marchand, Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League, said:

"We are reluctant to believe that Canadian officials might comply to any possible pressures from officials of another government to block Mr. Boutelle from telling an audience of Canadians how he as an Afro-American and an opponent of the war in Vietnam sees the issues."

"However . . . such thoughts inevitably arise when such a de-

(Continued on Page 2)



Photo by LNS/Columbia, S.C., Record

SOLDIERS FOR PEACE. Unidentified soldiers at Fort Jackson, S.C., carried off their knees by military police as they attempt to conduct "pray-in" for peace in Vietnam.

Two GIs Face Trial For 'Pray-In' on War

Twenty-five soldiers at Fort Jackson, S.C., took part in a "pray-in" service questioning the war in Vietnam at the base chapel Feb. 13. Mark Sommer, writing for the *Liberation News Service*, reports that a large group of military police broke up the meeting. He adds that "The Army is instituting court-martial proceedings against Pfc. Robert Tater of New Hampshire, and Pfc. Steven Kline, Jr., of New Jersey, two of the organizers of the pray-in. Three more were arrested, and 20 others were dispersed in the blacked-out chapel area."

Doubts

Sommer reports that "The men had rejected the idea of disobeying Army rules, but decided instead to bear silent witness — on their own time — to their doubts about the Vietnam war."

The GIs distributed a leaflet on the base to build the prayer meeting, and most GIs at Fort Jackson reportedly accepted the leaflet and were friendly to the effort. The leaflet read:

"Is God on our side? We are soldiers who — like millions of other Americans — have doubts about the war in Vietnam. It's time we made these doubts known. We'd like to invite those who share our concern to join us in Chapel 1 at 7:30 p.m. Tuesday for an hour of meditation."

The LNS report continues:

"Monday afternoon [Feb. 12],

the Fort Jackson public information office told inquiring reporters that the antiwar group had been pacified and the demonstration cancelled. United Press International ran a story denying that the group had existed. . . .

"Late Tuesday afternoon, Army officials closed Fort Jackson to public access. The area in the immediate vicinity of the Protestant chapel, usually well-lit, was blacked out. A large contingent of M.P.s were moved into place around the chapel, and police vans were parked nearby. The doors of the chapel were locked."

Rights

"At 7:30 [Sp. 4 Martin] Blumsack [reputedly one of the original organizers of the pray-in] approached the chapel and reported dutifully, 'I am officially instructed to tell you that there will be no meeting tonight.' Other soldiers in uniform began to move up to the steps of the chapel and kneel in prayer. As each knelt, a small contingent of M.P.s moved in swiftly and carried him away. . . . 'Don't we have the right as citizens to express what we think about this war?' asked Stephen Kline Jr., of Northern New Jersey, as he was taken into custody."

The GIs facing court-martial are being defended by ACLU attorney Charles Morgan, who defended Capt. Howard Levy at Fort Jackson last fall.



FEB. 19 — Forty-five thousand Florida teachers are threatening to resign because of inadequate salaries. The teachers are currently paid from \$4,343 to \$8,000 a year.

In response to the teachers' threat, the Florida state legislature passed a law Feb. 16 that allows school boards to waive requirements that teachers must have teaching certificates. However, it is estimated that an absence of 12,000 of the 60,000 Florida teachers can close the school system.

St. Louis has been the scene of several bitter labor disputes during the last month, some of which have affected war production in the area. The Scullin Steel Co. plant is being converted under supervision of the Army Corps of Engineers to produce 175-millimeter shells for use in Vietnam. Mason-Rust, a firm that has received a \$28-million contract to convert the plant, has charged 18 unions with featherbedding, and is attempting to force a no-strike pact on the workers.

The shutdown of the Missouri Pacific railroad by the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen was attacked last week by J. P. Hiltz, Jr., chairman of the National Railway Labor Conference. He said that the "strike threatens to spread to all sections of the country," and accused the union of a "callous disregard of the need for ammunition and supplies for Vietnam." The railroad serves several military arsenals and establishments.

United Automobile Workers Chrysler Local No. 6 in St. Louis

Cubans Note Soviet Oil

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba — Without a word of comment the Feb. 12 and 13 issues of *Granma* reprinted articles from *Pravda* and *Izvestia* which describe in glowing terms how the USSR has been producing oil beyond all expectations because of new deposits and technological advances.

On Jan. 2 Fidel Castro informed the Cuban people of the need to institute rigid rationing of gasoline for private cars and to shelve various state construction and development projects, because of a lack of petroleum. He said that in the face of Cuba's increased oil needs, "it seemed" that the USSR could provide only "limited" assistance.

A NEW BOOK BY

James P. Cannon Letters from Prison

In 1944, James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party — along with 17 other leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis truckdrivers' union who opposed the war — was imprisoned in the government's first use of the Smith Act. These are the letters he wrote while serving his sentence in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn.

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PAUL BOUTELLE REPORTS

'First' at West Point

For those who love to talk about "the first Negro" who did this or that, here is a fact about the first black man to go to West Point which I found in the *New York Truth Seeker* of April 17, 1880:

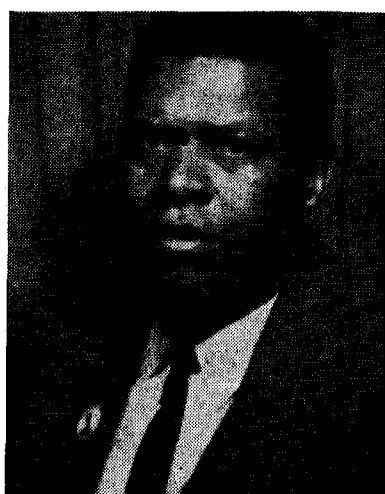
WEST POINT, N.Y., Apr. 15 — James Webster Smith, the first colored cadet in the history of West Point, was recently taken from his bed, gagged, bound, and severely beaten, and then his ears were slit. He says that he cannot identify his assailants. The other cadets claim that he did it himself.

* * *

I read a very interesting and important book recently. It is called *The Race War* and is by Roland Segal. Mr. Segal is an exile from South Africa and has written other books including, *The Anguish of India*, *Into Exile*, *African Profiles* and *The Tokolosh*.

The Race War is well written and factual with a wealth of information on African and Afro-American history and the current conflicts throughout the world between white and nonwhite, capitalism and communism and the revolutionary choice open to the western world. The book takes up the question of whether the struggles are strictly racial conflicts or racial-class conflicts between all oppressed against oppressors.

It can be purchased from Ban-



Lee Brown

tam Books Inc., 271 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y., for \$1.25 in paperback.

* * *

While I was in San Francisco last fall I met Lee Brown, an Afro-American who has had a long history of struggle as a worker and a black man. As a result of his union organizing activities and his refusal to go along with the flagrant racism he encountered as a worker, he was called before the Un-American Activities Committee in 1957 in New Orleans, La.

After refusing to answer more than 50 questions by the committee, he was indicted two weeks later by a federal grand jury on charges that he made false statements under the Taft-Hartley Law and that he had Communist affiliations and membership in the Communist Party. He was placed under \$10,000 bond, and friends and sympathizers put up the money. A local defense committee was set up and "Brown Defense Stamps" were issued to raise money.

The five-day trial opened on Nov. 4, 1957, in Judge Skelly Wright's court in New Orleans. Brown said that the government had "paid informers to testify against him." It was an all-white jury that tried him and, as Brown said, "Due to the fact that I was a black labor leader in the U.S. and Big Business controlled the courts, I knew that I was going to be convicted."

On March 27, 1958, Brown was found guilty and sentenced to three years to be served in the federal penitentiary at Texarkana, Texas. But he is still active, fighting for an America free of racism and exploitation. He supports the ideas of a black political party and an independent labor party and is aiding the Socialist Workers Party in spreading this idea in 1968.

—Paul Boutelle

The Two-Party System

Written in 1944 from the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn., where he was serving a 16-month sentence for opposing Roosevelt's imperialist war, the following letter by Socialist Workers Party National Chairman James P. Cannon discusses the two-party system. Its insights are as valuable and timely today as they were 24 years ago. (The "J.M." referred to was the writer of a letter to the editor of *The Militant*.)

Excerpt below is from *Letters from Prison* by James P. Cannon, Merit Publishers, New York, 1968, pp. 137-139.

* * *

There are differences in the Republican and Democratic parties, in my opinion, though not in the sense that J.M. takes as his point of departure — that the Republicans are more "reactionary" than the Democrats. This is an illusion entertained by many workers and fostered by the bulk of the labor bureaucracy, the Social Democrats, and the Stalinists. *The Militant* does well to center its fire on this illusion; this is the main point, and should be the burden of our agitation. Big capital rules through the mechanism of the two parties as far as fundamental issues are concerned, but not always directly in response to their unanimous commands.

There are deep conflicts of interest as well as differences of opinion in the ranks of the capitalists. The two parties, which are in reality two big factions of a unique two-party system united on fundamentals, and the numerous factions and cross-currents within them, reflect these conflicts and differences. The big capitalists on the whole are more class conscious than the workers, but they are by no means omniscient in judging their own political interests. They don't always know what is best for them; and as *The Militant* correctly observes, they are not notably grateful to politicians who have served them best in a given situation.

These Oliver Twists always cry for more with an animal instinct. And they are not a bit squeamish about their methods of getting it. Their ruthless criticism, obstruction and sabotage of the Roosevelt

administration — undeterred by the plaintive bleats of the "liberals" and labor fakers that they were hurting the "war effort" — have to be understood as methods of pressure to compel Roosevelt & Co. to do things their way.

It is not an unreasoning "opposition," as the labor fakers represent it. Results have shown that their brutal "opposition," which put Roosevelt in his place as their servant, has been far more effective than the lackeylike support of the labor leaders offered to Roosevelt as the master. Why should he pay for support that he can get for nothing?

The classes are not homogeneous, and neither are the two big class parties. There are differences of origin — this ought to be the starting point in the analysis of every organism — differences of tradition, composition, sectional interests, political machines with their own special interests to serve, different techniques and methods of demagoguery to hold various strata of the population in line. These are impor-

tant factors worthy of notice by the political analyst. But one can lose his bearing entirely if he does not recognize their secondary character.

They complicate the political situation in which the big capitalists have to manipulate the masses in order to assure their firm rule. But in the absence of an independent class opposition on the political field they will continue, as in the past, to solve the problem without too much difficulty.

What is their fundamental method? It is the two-party system. Which party do they support? They support both. And what is even more important, both parties support them in all fundamental questions. It could not be otherwise under the present political scheme.

The petty bourgeoisie (including the farmers) cannot play an independent role in politics; and the workers — under the Murray-Green policy — have renounced it. In this situation the presidential election becomes a diversion and a safety valve, not a class fight...

...Boutelle Tour

(Continued from Page 1)

plorable incident as Mr. Boutelle relates, takes place."

While in Montreal Boutelle spoke to the Young Socialist Club of Sir George Williams University. In Toronto he spoke to three large meetings. A Canadian sympathizer of the American candidate writes from Toronto:

"Over 120 people attended the Vanguard Forum on the evening of Feb. 2. The meeting at York Campus — a relatively small campus — drew over 200 people. The meeting at the University of Toronto was co-sponsored by the African Students Union, the Independent Socialist Club, and the University of Toronto Young Socialists and drew a crowd of over 150.

"Boutelle also spoke to 40 high school students at Oakwood Collegiate, attended a supper party organized by the Toronto Young Socialists, addressed a Zimbabwe freedom social organized by the

African Students Union, and met informally with a number of Afro-Americans living in Toronto."

In Ottawa, the Socialist candidate got a four-column write-up in the Feb. 2 *Ottawa Citizen*. The paper reported that "While in Ottawa he spoke to more than 200 students at Carleton University Thursday afternoon and to 30 later at Glebe Collegiate."

"In the evening he met with 30 other young people, many of them members of the Ottawa Young Socialists, at a Gloucester Street house."

A Young Socialist in Ottawa writes:

"In addition, Paul Boutelle was interviewed for 15 minutes on a local TV phone-in show — parts of which were re-broadcast on the evening news at 11 p.m. And the Carleton U. speech was replayed, in part, on the radio several nights later (about 20 minutes of it). All sorts of new people have been coming around as a result."

'Peace and Freedom'

Politics of 'Third Camp'

By Tom Kerry

"What," writes a young reader of *The Militant*, "are third camp socialists as mentioned in your article last week on the California Peace and Freedom Party, and what role do they play in the antiwar movement?"

The reference is to a quotation from an article in *New America* by Mike Hannon, national committee member of the Socialist Party and attorney for the California PFP, calling upon "every third camp socialist in California" to "become actively involved in PFP," to ward off the "danger" of the organization being "captured by any one of several disciplined groups." The phrase "disciplined groups" is third camp code for "communists."

The "third camp socialists," who like to refer to themselves as "democratic" socialists, entertain a simplistic view of a world neatly divided into three major camps. There is the camp of imperialism, dominated by monopoly capital, aggressive and antidemocratic. Opposing it is the "communist" camp, stigmatized as the "totalitarian" reds, in which no distinction is made between its component and often conflicting parts. And standing between the two is the "third camp," oscillating like a pendulum between the two major camps.

Amorphous

The distinguishing feature of the "third camp" itself is its amorphous and diffuse character. The distinguishing trait of the "third camp socialists" is a rabid phobia against anything and anybody that even remotely smacks of "communism." A somewhat ludicrous instance occurred recently around the mass meeting held in New York on Jan. 29 to protest the government persecution of Dr. Benjamin Spock, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., etc., for urging resistance to the draft.

Among the sponsors of the rally were the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and the Young Socialist Alliance. Whereupon, the National Action Committee of the Socialist Party adopted a resolution and had it published in the Feb. 15 *New America*, official SP newspaper, announcing that the SP would not endorse the rally because among its sponsors it included "organizations like the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, the National Committee for New Political (sic) and the so-called Young Socialist Alliance, who are committed to disruption as a mean (sic) of aiding the Communist side of the war."

Let no one ever accuse the "democratic socialists" of the SP of being derelict in their adherence to principle. They'll have no truck with anyone guilty of "aiding" what they call the "Communist side of the war." Or will they? Mike Hannon, a member of the SP national committee, calls upon all "third camp socialists" to enter the California PFP. One of the tentative planks in the PFP platform reads: "We demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, the cessation of all U.S. military inter-



VICTIMS OF U.S. BOMBING. North Vietnamese schoolchild being dug out after bombing. "Third camp" places "equal blame" for war on both Vietnamese and Washington invaders.

vention elsewhere in the world, and the alignment of this country with the developing aspirations of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America." Including "communist" Cuba?

The top policy committee of the Socialist Party considers the demand for "immediate withdrawal" an outright capitulation to "the Communist side of the war." In the same resolution, mentioned above, the SP National Action Committee sets forth, in no uncertain terms, the policy to which it adheres. "We," they affirm, "continue to recognize the effectiveness of political action and protest as a primary tool to accomplish the goal of a negotiated settlement in Vietnam. Thus," they continue, "our major consideration in deciding which tactics to adopt should be their effectiveness in moving the American people to support immediate negotiations based on a democratic political settlement of the Vietnam war, and to press the Johnson Administration to take meaningful steps toward this goal."

Which side of the war does that place them on? Johnson, Rusk and McNamara could vote for that formula with both hands! There is just one small amendment that Johnson might wish to add: "honorable" democratic political settlement. For, you see, Johnson is an honorable man and can permit no stigma of dishonor to besmirch his proud escutcheon as champion of peace and democracy. It's enough to make a man puke!

And where does all this leave the "third camp socialists" in the California PFP who seem to be playing both sides of the fence? We must confess to some doubt about where they stand. In an early leaflet they employed the rather dubious formula of favoring the arrangement of "a cease-fire so that our troops can be withdrawn in a calm, orderly fashion." This formulation is pilfered from the arsenal of the most authoritative pundits of "third camp" opinion in the country — the group of intellectual freebooters in orbit around Irving Howe and his "third camp" periodical, *Dissent*.

In a statement published in the June 15, 1967, issue of *The New York Review of Books*, signed by the leading lights of *Dissent* plus Norman Thomas, which tips its hat to the young militants in the antiwar movement, is the proposal

that the movement adopt as its central demand: "Cease the bombing of North Vietnam as a prelude to a full-scale cease-fire and negotiations!" Presumably to be followed by what is called a "phased withdrawal," in a "calm, orderly fashion," of American troops. This substitute for "immediate withdrawal" is offered, of course, in deference to the "third camp" in this country, which is identified as "those who stand politically at center or a bit left of center." But not too far left, heaven forbid! To make it more specific, they add, "roughly the liberal center segment" of the population.

Despite their radical rhetoric, the ideologues of the "third camp" always find themselves, in practice, playing the role of apologists and shamefaced supporters in the camp of U.S. imperialism in the worldwide struggle between capitalist reaction and the revolutionary opposition to imperialist rule, be it nationalist, socialist or communist. Any political formation tainted at birth by the virus of "third camp socialism" is not long for this world.



PROTEST DOW. Students organized by the Southern Students Organizing Committee came to New York offices of Dow Chemical on Feb. 16. Jim Davis of Duke University hands out leaflet to passerby explaining protests. Duke University owns 3,100 shares in company that produces napalm and poisons used in Vietnam.

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Monday, February 26, 1968

Fourth Int'l Statement On Vietnam Revolution

[The following statement was issued Feb. 5 by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. This is the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.]

* * *

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International salutes the indomitable courage of the National Liberation Front fighters, both those engaged in guerrilla war and those in the urban centers, who have launched a general offensive against the occupation forces of American imperialism and its Thieu-Ky regime lackeys.

The extent of the offensive, the heroism of the fighters, the mass uprising of the workers and the poor in many cities, have once again confirmed the fact that the NLF enjoys the support of the vast majority of the working people of South Vietnam — without this support it could not have stood up to the assault of the concentrated military power of the United States.

In spite of the deluge of fire and steel that the criminal imperialist bombings have rained on the cities and villages of Vietnam; in spite of napalm, suffocating gas, the destruction of villages, torture and massacre of prisoners, the Vietnamese people have more than held their own. Their heroism is an unprecedented example of what can be achieved by a people conscious that they are fighting for their national and social liberation.

Now more than ever in these days of bloody struggles in Vietnam, the most urgent duty of the international workers' movement is to come to the immediate aid of the Vietnamese revolution.

Now more than ever this aid must go beyond the stage of passive demonstrations and collecting money and medical supplies, how-

ever useful and necessary that may be.

To rise to the height of the demands posed by the struggle of the Vietnamese people, international solidarity must take the form of ceaseless harassment of the American war machine. Following the example of the Australian longshoremen and the Japanese unions, it must take the form of refusal to load and unload or transport American troops or munitions. Through ever more militant demonstrations and strikes, it must force the governments of all capitalist countries to deny all direct or indirect aid to the Yankee war machine and block any shipping of arms to the counterrevolutionary imperialist armies engaged in the Vietnam war.

The example of the small People's Republic of Korea, moreover, has clearly shown how right it was to call for a vigorous "counterescalation" of anticapitalist forces throughout the world. It has shown that American imperialism is disconcerted by counterblows elsewhere than Vietnam and that Che Guevara's appeal for the creation of a "second, a third Vietnam" — far from being irresponsible or romantic — corresponds to the opportunities and needs of the moment.

The Executive Committee of the Fourth International calls on the working masses of the USSR, the People's Republic of China and all the workers' states to bring maximum pressure to bear on their governments to increase their aid to the Vietnamese revolution and to combine this with active assistance to revolutionary movements and abandonment of their disastrous so-called "peaceful co-existence" strategy. The Fourth International once more calls on the Soviet government to reaffirm its public guarantee of support to the People's Republic of China against any imperialist aggression and on this basis to constitute a real anti-imperialist united front of all the countries that have abolished capitalism.

Glory to the heroic fighters of the NLF and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long live active international solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

Che Guevara

Vietnam and World Revolution

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

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New Episode in Long Struggle

The Escalante Case in Cuba

By Livio Maitan

[The following article was written Feb. 10 on the basis of dispatches from Havana in the European press and the text of Major Raúl Castro's report on Jan. 24 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba published by Prensa Latina. Livio Maitan is a leader of the Fourth International.]

The condemnation of Aníbal Escalante by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba is only a new episode in the intense struggle that has continued to develop in the international Communist movement; and it cannot be judged correctly without taking into account the specific context in which it occurred.

Everyone is well aware that relations between Cuba and the USSR, the same as relations between Cuba and the Communist parties of Latin America, have undergone manifold changes since the victory of Fidel Castro's movement.

Conjunctural factors have swayed things this way or that, but the direction has been determined at bottom by a permanent contradiction. This contradiction consists of the fact that while on the one hand Cuba, as the most advanced expression of the revolutionary tendencies of the sixties, necessarily comes into conflict with the conservative bureaucratic system headed by the USSR; and on the other hand, Cuba cannot do without the Soviet Union's economic and military aid and the USSR cannot contemplate a possible crushing of the revolutionary Cuban government without very unfavorable repercussions for itself both from the strategic and political standpoint.

The Tricontinental conference at the beginning of 1966 marked the greatest effort by both sides to reach an agreement, no matter how short-lived. But the rapid realization by the Cuban leaders of the impossibility of bringing the Latin-American Communist parties to accept a strategy of revolutionary struggle, which to them represented a vital necessity, led to new confrontations and to new conflicts. The decisions of the OLAS [Organization of Latin-American Solidarity] conference were the logical culmination of this.

Beginning with last October, the struggle entered a new stage — the death of Che Guevara and the serious setback suffered by the guerrillas in Bolivia were cynically exploited by the bureaucrats of the Communist parties. Backed by Moscow, they launched a counter-attack up and down the line. While the main target of this offensive was obviously the strategy for Latin America and the conception of guerrilla war, domestic Cuban policies also came under fire. The basic Castroist concepts have continued to diverge from the concepts in force in the USSR and the European people's democracies (as well as from the Chinese concepts).

The latter critique was partially facilitated by the difficulties which the Cuban economy has unquestionably experienced and is doubtless going to experience, as long as the present situation exists of blockade and isolation from the Latin-American continent.

This is the context in which the decisions of the plenum of the Central Committee at the end of January must be placed, decisions, one can be sure, which the Fidelista team did not undertake lightly and which, moreover, involved a very difficult choice. It is significant, also, that at the same time the Central Committee condemned Escalante and his "microfracción," it decided not to send representatives to the international meeting of Communist parties that is soon to be held.

The events of 1961-62 had al-

ready brought out sufficiently the nature of the tendency expressed by Escalante. No one has forgotten the famous speech by Fidel against sectarianism, in which he posed in a very clear and vigorous way the problem of the necessity for a stubborn struggle against bureaucratic tendencies. There is no serious reason to doubt that upon returning to Cuba after his luxurious exile, Escalante continued to maintain his concepts, seeking to prepare the ground for a return to posts of leadership.

The report presented to the Central Committee by Raúl Castro provides abundant information and documents, which, taken together, make up a coherent picture.

One may wonder about this or that detail, or even hold that this or that criticism made by Escalante was not entirely unjustified; but it is indisputably evident from the document that Escalante and his friends were partisans of orientations completely opposed to those of the present leaders and very close to the concepts maintained by the sector of the Communist movement under Soviet influence.

What is striking, moreover, to those who recall other documents of analogous accusations is that the report in question makes it possible to understand very clearly that the oppositionists had a rounded conception with its own internal logic and that they even set themselves quite concrete objectives. The report avoids resorting to grotesque distortions and still less to describing the persons aimed at as monsters inspired by the most abominable designs.¹



Raúl Castro

Here, very briefly, are the main points of the Escalante group's platform:

(1) The present ruling group is following a line that is departing more and more from that of the USSR, which, as a country that has the greatest responsibilities, must normally play the leading role in the camp of the socialist countries. Criticisms leveled against the USSR must be rejected, for example, in connection with aid to Vietnam and its attitude on the occasion of the crisis in the Middle East, but also in connection with its orientation in Latin America. (Escalante criticized Fidel's speech of July 26, 1966, on Soviet aid to Chile, Brazil, etc., and held that Soviet intervention in Latin America in this field in reality dealt blows to imperialism.)

(2) The strategy of armed struggle advanced by OLAS is adventurist and does not correspond to

1. "Manuscript No. 2 of Octavio Fernandez" provides interesting material on the perspectives of the group.

As to the parallel with briefs of political accusations, without referring to the classical Stalinist documents which cannot possibly be compared, it suffices to point to certain Chinese documents against Liu Shao-chi, the false and tendentious character of which is instantly transparent and which present the unfortunate victim as a frightful monster who had been plotting with capitalism since the twenties.

the existing objective and subjective situations. The Cuban CP, in fact, is following a "Trotskyist line of exporting the Revolution."

(3) Among the leaders, and particularly among some of them, a tendency clearly stands out of collaborating with French capitalism, whose policies are embellished.²

(4) With regard to domestic policy, the economy is suffering from inadequate planning. In agriculture, particularly in sugar production, objectives were set that cannot possibly be attained. Erroneous concepts are advanced particularly in putting the emphasis on moral stimulants that demand a level of consciousness among the masses much higher than the actually existing one. The unions are not fulfilling their function of giving impulse to the economy and the party leading bodies are not functioning smoothly.

Ernesto Che Guevara was a special target of the supporters of the "microfracción" and it was particularly against him that they utilized the characterization of "Trotskyist," considered to be the most damning epithet possible. But the so-to-speak "sociological" characterization applied to the Fidelista leadership as a whole was not any more flattering. According to the Escalantists, the events of 1962 signified the defeat of the proletarian tendency and the victory of a petty-bourgeois tendency which, in the final analysis, could lead to restoration of the pre-1959 regime.

Raúl Castro's report is understandably cautious in dealing with the relations between the "microfracción" and representatives of the USSR and other workers' states. Nevertheless there are many explicit indications of the relations which Escalante and his group maintained, whose political significance cannot be doubted.

Soviets Silent

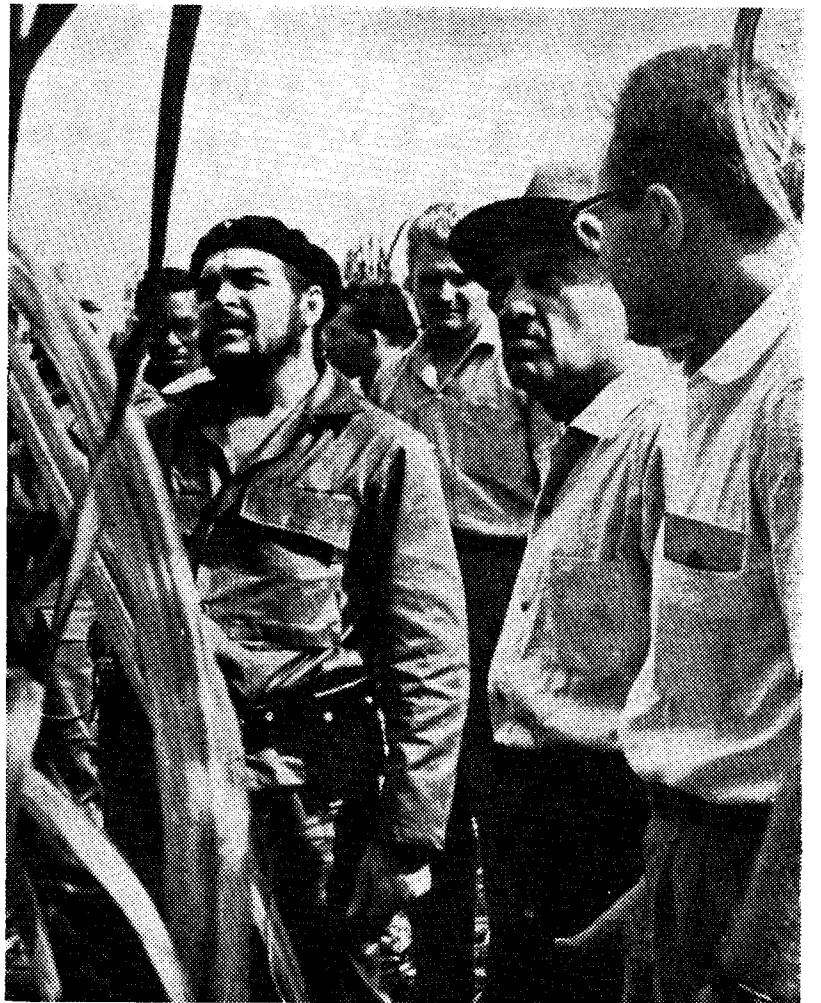
The report cites names and circumstances in a precise way, and that these allegations are well founded can scarcely be doubted. If they were really false, how is it to be explained that the Soviets, the East Germans and the Czechs have maintained complete silence up to now, despite the publicity given to Raúl Castro's report and despite the role of certain figures under fire?

In conclusion, no doubt is possible as to the political meaning of the conflict in the Cuban CP nor about the fact that Escalante and his friends represented a faction, which, in agreement with the pro-Soviet CPs, and in support of totally different concepts of revolutionary strategy and the construction of socialism, was carrying on oppositional activity against the present leadership team. The cleavage around the Escalante affair internationally will thus once more follow the already established lines in the world revolutionary and Communist movement.

There is another aspect to the events, however, of which the Cuban leaders themselves are most of all aware. Condemnation of Escalante's political orientation does not automatically imply unqualified approval of the method adopted against him and his group. In particular the fact that the Central Committee's political sanctions were followed by penal sanctions provoked and is still provoking comment that cannot be ignored.

On the one hand sincere revolutionists wonder about the meaning of a measure that appears to be in contradiction with the anti-bureaucratic concepts maintained by the Cubans; on the other hand, the Stalinist and neo-Stal-

2. In connection with the alleged relations with French imperialism, the "microfraccionistas" did not hesitate to slander Régis Debray in a foul way, attributing his expulsion from the French Communist party to links with the secret police of his country.



MIKOYAN AND CHE. Soviet diplomat went to Cuba during 1962 missile crisis to try to sell Kremlin line to Cubans, who resisted attempt to force United Nations "inspection" on them.

inist attorneys claim that the Escalante trial only confirms the inevitability of certain methods.

It would be easy to show that no analogy can possibly be drawn between what has occurred in Cuba and the tragic experiences which the USSR and the people's democracies underwent respectively in the thirties and the fifties.³ But that would not be sufficient.

There is no doubt that in a workers' state where a whole series of conditions existed which do not exist in Cuba, which was faced with loyal oppositional elements willing to accept certain rules of the game, and who, above all, were integrated in a system of workers' parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings.

But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterized by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people.

The reference is not at all to an abstract analogy — everyone knows what pressures are constantly exerted on the Cuban leaders; and, according to Raúl Castro's report, Escalante and his friends went so far as to wish that the USSR would undertake economic measures which, by having very grievous repercussions for the country, could lead Castro to correct his attitude!

Let me add, finally, that despite the caution and reticence of the report to the Central Committee, it is clear that Escalante and his group transmitted confidential texts and documents, the knowledge of which could be injurious to the interests of the revolutionary government.

It is not excluded that through their relations with the leaders of the Latin-American Communist parties they undertook actions

prejudicial to the struggle of the revolutionists on the continent. It must not be forgotten that in this field, too, a ferocious battle continues to develop.⁴

It is probable that the Escalante trial will lead some to be concerned about the danger of the Cuban regime becoming bureaucratized. But we have no reason to revise the idea we advanced at the time of the most positive moves undertaken by the Cuban leaders in the antibureaucratic struggle.

In the domestic and international situation in which the Cuban socialist experience is unfolding — given the economic limitations and constricting bottlenecks caused by the blockade and isolation; given the technical and cultural backwardness, despite the prodigious efforts of the last years; and, last but not least, given the powerful means of pressure at the disposal of the Soviet bureaucracy and its allies — the objective tendency toward bureaucratization cannot be eliminated for an entire period and certain actual bureaucratic deformations are, in the final analysis, inevitable. Against this, the eminently positive factor remains of the existence of a leading group conscious of the danger and disposed to struggle resolutely against it.

As for revolutionists, particularly the Latin Americans, their task is not to make a hue and cry over their fears, nor to take their distance or to worry about keeping up their prestige as people capable of analyzing all phenomena in time, utilizing this or that cautious formula to prove it; their task is not to forget for a single instant that the fate of Cuba will be settled, in the final analysis, in the field of revolutionary struggle in other countries, particularly Latin America.

It is by organizing that struggle, it is by carrying it forward to a victorious outcome that one also participates in practice in the struggle which the Cuban revolutionists are carrying on in their own country. By the same token the possibility is increased that the Cuban regime will not be ruined by the phenomena and tendencies which led to the degeneration of other revolutionary regimes.

4. In my opinion the circulation of the documents of other Communist parties cannot be considered a crime; at most, under certain conditions, it could represent a violation of discipline. This would seem to hold all the more since it can hardly be thought that the articles or reports of a Corvalan or Codovilla are of a kind to trouble the thinking of Cuban militants.

3. Escalante himself wrote, moreover: "I am aware that the leadership of the party did not turn me over to the State Security because of my opinions but because of my activities."

OUR MAN IN HAVANA

Talk With a Young Revolutionary

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba — During the Cultural Congress of Havana, journalists had guides assigned by the foreign press department of MINREX, Cuba's ministry of foreign relations. Mostly young, the guides were pleasant and helpful as they toured reporters around, translated for them, etc. Some of the newsmen were a bit surprised to learn that a number of their youthful guides were experienced members of Cuba's diplomatic corps pitching in while on assignment at home.

Impressive Guide

I found one of these guides particularly impressive. Interested in his assignment, articulate and helpful, he had a wealth of detailed knowledge of Cuba and its Revolution. Talking to him, I learned that although only 25, he has been with the foreign ministry for several years and has served as first secretary and then as chargé d'affaires at one of the Cuban embassies.

He comes from Santiago de Cuba where, as a high school student of 13, he became active in the movement against the Batista tyranny.

One evening we sat down for a conversation and, prompted by an occasional question, he told the following story.

* * *

To talk about the whole process of the Revolution, it is necessary to go back many years. I was born in Santiago de Cuba of a middle-class family, something that makes me proud today of being a participant in a proletarian revolution.

In Santiago I joined the political movement against the tyranny of Batista. I remember that for me the first experience of struggle came at the end of 1955 or the beginning of 1956, when we joined a procession of students against Batista. At that time the police beat the students and I was beaten for the first time. Then, in 1956,

I was elected an officer of the Student Union at my school, the Santiago Pre-University Institute.

I remember the last days of 1956. Fidel had said that in 1956 we shall be free or dead. We knew that he was coming. We trusted Fidel's promises highly, and we were getting ready for this moment. The last days of November 1956 were full of action.

In those days the police of Batista began not beating but shooting. I remember one of the last processions we undertook. If I remember correctly it was on the 27th of November 1956. There, the police shot directly at many of our students. The battle was on from months before. But here the blood began to run.

A few days later we had the plan of the July 26 Movement to control the city of Santiago de Cuba to support the landing by Fidel, which was going to take place. The landing of the Granma. For the first time the olive green uniforms went into the streets of Santiago and, for about 30 hours, the city was more or less in the control of the movement.

Fidel Lands

On the second of December we had the news that Fidel had landed. The first news was that Fidel was dead. The whole press controlled by Batista was absolutely convinced that they had killed the leader of the Revolution. But we had a feeling this could not be true.

A few days later, I think it was at the end of December 1956, we got the news that Fidel was alive. And with Fidel alive, we knew that the Revolution was alive and that we were bound to win.

The year 1957 was very difficult. The insurrection was being organized. It was a period of underground activities. Many of our people were killed, brutally tortured.

I remember, on the 30th of December, 1956, three of my very

good friends were captured by the police while placing a bomb. One of them was a tall, blond boy we used to call "The Yankee." Another was William Soler — only 15 years old. The third was Froilan Guerra.

"Yankee" was killed on the spot. The other two were taken to the police headquarters where they were tortured beyond belief. We know they didn't utter a word. If they had we wouldn't be alive today.

There were hundreds of cases like this. The feelings of the people against Batista began to mount and the city of Santiago became a battleground of the revolutionary forces against the Batista regime.

A Real Leader

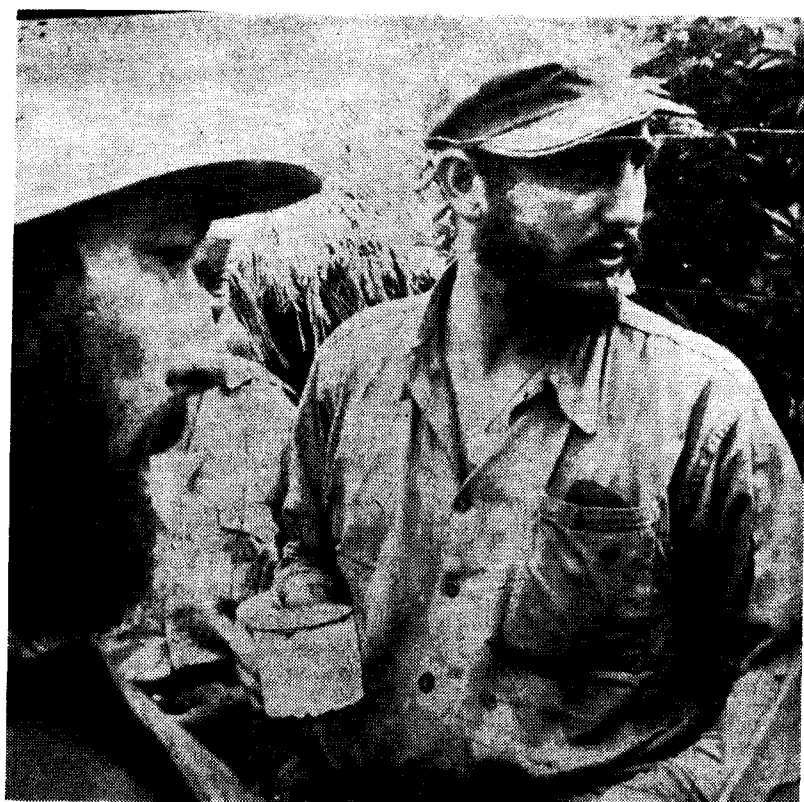
In 1957 we lost Frank País, one of the greatest men I have ever known. Although only in his early 20s, he was a real leader of the revolution. And we lost many, many others who today would have been a great support for the Revolution.

Throughout 1957, the Revolution grew stronger. New fronts were opened. The Second Front, headed by Raúl, was opened. The Third Front was opened with Almeida, close to Santiago, and we could feel already the forces of the Revolution in our vicinity.

Inside the city, a pitched battle was fought every night. Hundreds of agents of Batista, criminals like the "Tigers" of Masferrer, who is now in the United States as a "famous" political leader, were thrown into the city to try to stop the revolutionary fever. They could never do it. We were ready to fight, as we're ready to fight today.

The difficult moments that we lived are part of the total history of the Revolution, part of the historic past of our movement. And we can feel very proud of them.

In 1958, especially in the province of Oriente, the Revolution



FIDEL CASTRO. During guerrilla war.

was very strong. We were very sure of victory. In 1958 I was ordered by the movement to proceed to the Sierra Maestra. I remember what a great moment it was when I could wear for the first time the olive green uniform of the Rebel Army.

The mountains at the beginning were very difficult. We had to walk for a long time to arrive at the general headquarters of the Rebel Army in La Plata.

Meets Fidel

Throughout the Sierra Maestra, revolutionary experience was gathered. The feeling of what the Revolution meant started to become more and more clear to me.

Many of those who were in the Sierra at that time are dead today. But many others are still alive, working for the Revolution.

I remember, when we came to La Plata, feeling that we were at the heart of the Revolution. And I remember, very precisely, the day that I met Fidel. It was a rainy day and I was having a conversation with the then Lt. Vesino.

I saw this group coming down from a hilltop. A tall man was the first in the group. When he passed by I noticed that he tapped Vesino on the shoulder. It was then I realized it was Fidel. There was this legendary figure. I remember he had no gun.

That was a very famous day. Among that group was a man who planned to kill him. His name was Evaristo Venerero. He was a murderer hired by Batista. Fidel had noticed this man and walked with him and the others for more than 10 kilometers. Now this man was a perfect agent. Some said later that he was working with BRAC, an organization of Batista's dealing with "communist" activities. It was trained by the FBI.

Disarmed

Venerero went with Fidel to where he was staying. When they arrived there Fidel turned and, with Paco Cabrera, who was already a major, disarmed the man.

Fidel said he had recognized Venerero because he had seen him in the late '40s wearing a police uniform at the University of Havana. It showed the elephant-like memory Fidel had. He had seen that man only once. So the man was caught, a trial was held that night and he confessed he had been promised \$100,000 for the murder of Fidel. He was shot the next morning.

A few days later I suffered a leg injury during a bombing. I was sent back to Santiago on a mission and then, because the police were looking for me, sent abroad to recover from the injury.

The most important thing I learned during my months in the Sierra Maestra was the need for social change. When I think of how I became a Marxist I always

go back to that point in 1958 when I went into the home of a farmer, where a little child was dying. He was about six months old. Now my father sold medicines and I knew a bit about it. So I asked, What is the problem? Well, the problem was that he could not evacuate. A doctor? For heaven's sake, there was no doctor for several hundred kilometers around. Medicines? Nowhere to buy them. Money to buy them, even less.

So that little thing passed away. And I always remembered that with 10 cents — 10 miserable cents! — we would have bought the medicine that would have saved his life.

Something More

Then it was when it became clear to me that, apart from getting rid of Batista, something more had to be done. These people could not continue like that.

It was not only that experience, although it was the most striking one. The hunger, the housing — the whole state of affairs in the Sierra was so despairing that you began to understand that those people could not stay like that.

I remember one family that told me, as a normal thing, that a child had been eaten by wild boars. Another family that said, quite simply, that one of the little ones, six years old, had cut his leg and died of tetanus before they could get him to a doctor.

When you asked, how far is the doctor, the man said: Well, it would depend on the boat. What boat? Well, you see there is no road. So you have to go down, on a horse, for three days to the seacoast. Then on the seacoast, you wait until one of the boats pass by and will take you to Santiago. That's three days more. And then to see if there's a place available in the hospital.

Now, usually what you did to get into a hospital was to give your vote to a politician — your voting card — you gave it to a politician. But of course, no tetanus is going to wait for six or seven days.

It was these things that created for me the understanding of the necessity for a social change. Now, how far this social change would go was still an unknown.

I went from the Sierra and completed my mission and went abroad. It was a good experience. I learned English, which is a great advantage and which permits me now to have this conversation with you. It was very relaxing. But I couldn't forget about the Revolution, so I helped with the sale of bonds and the distribution of newspapers we used to get and things like that. I was there four months. Then, with the triumph of the Revolution, I was able to make my way home.

(To be continued)

Israeli Socialist Appeal

[The following letter was sent to *The Militant* by the Israeli Socialist Organization, an internationalist revolutionary socialist organization in Israel. The Israeli Socialist Organization is composed of both Jewish and Arab members.]

We are calling upon you with a request for help and solidarity with regard to the arrest of our comrade Khalil Toame, a fourth-year student in the Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel.

Khalil Toame is the Secretary of the Arab Students Committee at the Hebrew University and is well known for his leftist views and his opposition to all chauvinism and nationalism, whether Jewish or Arab. In the course of his public activities, he has had many meetings with various personalities, both Jewish and Arab, with the intent of increasing the understanding between the two peoples.

After the June 1967 war, Khalil Toame continued his public activity and openly expressed himself, opposing, on the one hand, the trends to annexation and expansion revealed in Israel and, on the other, the chauvinistic trends of Arab nationalistic groups.

On Jan. 8, 1968, Khalil Toame was arrested by the police, and a detention order was issued against him, for a period of 15 days. On Jan. 24, his detention was again prolonged for a further period of 15 days, despite the request by his lawyer to release the "accused" under bail, and despite a solidarity demonstration by Israeli students within the court

premises. Newspaper reports state that the police accuse him of contact with and hiding of a person by the name of Ahmed Khalifa, who is himself arrested and accused of being the ideological leader of an "illegal" resistance movement in the areas occupied by Israel as a result of the war.

Several articles regarding the arrest were published in newspapers throughout Israel and in foreign countries, among them European countries.

We see in this arrest part of a campaign to intimidate and suppress those groups, both in Israel and in the occupied areas, who oppose the continued occupation of these areas and who dare express themselves openly. In the course of this campaign, many hundreds of arrests, administrative detentions, home arrests and restrictions of freedom of movement, without trial and without publicity in most cases, have been made by the Israeli authorities.

This wave of suppression and intimidation, including even the exiling of hundreds of persons, mainly political and religious leaders, the mass punitive destruction of houses, villages and Arab towns, is based on Emergency Laws, a relic from the British colonial rule, which were supplemented by original Israeli suppressive laws, and is intended to prevent any political activities opposed to the government policy.

We call upon you to denounce the arrest of Khalil Toame, as well as this wave of suppression, by sending telegrams to the Israeli Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Defense, demanding the immediate

release of Khalil Toame. Please address to us copies of telegrams. We need the copies so that the authorities will not be able to conceal the fact that telegrams are being received, and ignore them.

It must be specially stressed that there is a danger that Khalil Toame will be tried by a military court and face heavy imprisonment sentence: As you may know, normal legal procedures and the rights of the accused are not too closely observed in such military courts.

We should like to point out that although the Israeli government formally declares that such trials are being conducted publicly, they are in fact held *unpublicly*, as they are conducted within army bases, to which any access is forbidden the public. Furthermore, the right of the accused to choose his own lawyer is denied, and only lawyers specially appointed by the military authorities can represent him.

We call upon you to let your voices be heard in this scandalous matter, where an attempt is being made to bring before a military court an Israeli civilian, and also to call upon other student organizations to do so.

A similar request has already reached several people of international stature, as Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre. We are happy to say that they have already responded positively to our request.

A. S. Bober
For the Students Committee
The Israeli Socialist Organization
P.O.B. 2092
Jerusalem, Israel

Black Liberation Notes

Emmet Doe, twice wounded in Vietnam and recipient of a Purple Heart and other decorations, was court-martialed in Atlanta Feb. 16 for allegedly calling a superior officer "a white bastard."

Army Capt. Larry Tyree pressed charges against Doe after an incident in the Atlanta induction center where they both work. It all started when Doe happened to comment to one of the inductees that black people are "not getting their proper place in history." In response to this, one of Doe's white co-workers told him, "Stop talking black power in front of the inductees."

Capt. Tyree then came into the room and ordered Doe to shut up. After Tyree left, Doe allegedly said, "I can't speak my mind without some white bastard telling me to shut up."

The court-martial board acquitted Doe only after he testified that his remarks weren't directed at Capt. Tyree and that he had simply said "bastard," not "white bastard."



Frederick Douglass

Although H. Rap Brown has been restricted by the courts from traveling anywhere outside of 11 counties in New York, he has been speaking around that area. At Columbia University 800 students came out to hear him on Feb. 15.

Columbia students have been circulating petitions asking that the Supreme Court take action against the travel restriction on Brown. The petition points out that the restriction is an obvious attempt to keep Brown from speaking around the country and that it is an attack on his right of free speech. Petitions are available from SNCC: 100 Fifth Ave., Room 803, New York, N.Y. 10011.

A film based on the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* is being planned by Columbia pictures.

'Vista' Workers Blast Viet War

NEW YORK, Feb. 14 — Spokesmen for 176 VISTA volunteers across the nation denounced the War on Poverty here today as a "pacification" campaign to keep the poor quiet, and called on Lyndon Johnson to "end the war in Vietnam now."

The poverty agency workers issued an open letter to Johnson at their press conference at All Saints Church in Harlem. VISTA is the volunteer program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The signers of the open letter said they did not speak for official VISTA policy.

The poverty workers declared in their letter:

"Our manpower and money do not belong in Vietnam. They belong in the poor areas of America. The true war is here at home, the war to free America of poverty and racism, to free the poor of needless suffering."

Joe Barthel, chief spokesman for the volunteers at the press conference, said, "We call on other federal employees and concerned Americans to join us in our public opposition to the war in Vietnam and the opposition of the poor."

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.

James Baldwin has been signed to write the screenplay.

The students at Dunbar Vocational High School in Chicago walked out of school this month in protest over plans to change the school into a general high school. They were supported two days later by 300 students from Phillips High School, who marched over to Dunbar to show their solidarity. The students from Phillips were also protesting inferior conditions at their own school.

Over long distance telephone, a black GI now living in Sweden told the *Philadelphia Tribune* why he went AWOL from a U.S. army base in Germany. He said "I resent every white officer who took things out on me just because of the color of my skin." In addition he said, "I think we're messing over the people of Vietnam just like the Negro gets messed over in America."

The real Abraham Lincoln does not measure up to the image of the great benevolent white father that black children are taught to love and revere. This is the main point of an article by Lerone Bennett published in *Ebony* this month. The article is titled, "Was Abe Lincoln a White Supremacist?" and Bennett's answer is "Yes."

Bennett shows that Lincoln was

not antislavery in principle, that he made a number of explicit statements to the effect that black people are inferior, and that he "remained fond of Negro dialect jokes, black face minstrels and Negro ditties."

"Lies enslave," Bennett asserts, and for this reason, "it is urgent to reevaluate the Lincoln mythology."

The *Ebony* article evoked a response from Herbert Mitgang of the *New York Times*, who has appointed himself the defender of Lincoln against what he calls "the meat grinder of black nationalist revisionism."

In a *Times* magazine article called "Was Lincoln Just A Honkie?" Mitgang argues that although Lincoln was not an abolitionist, he did in fact sign the Emancipation Proclamation and that he did say some good things about black people. He says it would thus be wrong to take away his title of "Great Emancipator."

No one could deny that history placed Lincoln in the position of doing a progressive thing when he had to sign the Emancipation Proclamation — despite his racism and his opportunism. But what Mitgang refuses to understand is that the Lincoln myth and the worship of the Great Emancipator helps to cover up the real history of how slavery was ended.

It hides the independent role of real Afro-American heroes such as Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists; it hides the role of the slaves who helped precipitate the Civil War by setting up the underground railroad; and it hides the decisive role played by the slaves and freedmen who fought with the Union army. The Lincoln myth hides the lessons that can be learned from the role of "black power" during the Civil War as well as many other lessons that that great struggle has to teach us.

The following news item appeared in the *New York Times* recently: "Millard West, standing beneath a bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln, became the first Negro state trooper in the history of Kentucky today."

February 23 not only marked the third anniversary of the death of Malcolm X, but it was also the 100th anniversary of the birth of W.E.B. DuBois. Another important date this month was the anniversary of the death of Frederick Douglass on February 19.

By Elizabeth Barnes

UAW Leader Challenges Meany's Lie Technique

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the 1.5 million member United Automobile Workers union, released a letter Feb. 17 that sharply attacked AFL-CIO head George Meany. The letter, which Mazey had sent to Meany Jan. 15, castigated the AFL-CIO chief for "demagoguery" in Meany's December attack on the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace, of which Mazey was an initiator.

Meany, at the AFL-CIO convention in December, claimed that the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace "was planned in Hanoi," and that "every line" of the assembly's policy statement had appeared two weeks earlier in *The Worker*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the Communist Party.

Mazey criticized Meany at the time and sent the letter which he has now made public. He said he

chose to publicize the letter now because of Meany's failure to retract his allegations.

The UAW spokesman wrote to Meany that "What you have done is to cast aside the tenets of trade union morality and truth in favor of falsehood and demagoguery... You have equated dissent with disloyalty and in twisting the facts you have slandered brother trade unionists" who organized the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace.

Mazey continued: "Your conduct in this matter raises serious questions as to your personal integrity and your capacity to lead in the American labor movement... The technique of the big lie, the use of character assassination and the suppression of dissent must not become the hallmarks of the American labor movement."

Working-Day Length In the Soviet Union

In the "Letters From Our Readers" page this week, "T.R." raises once again the charge that Isaac Deutscher's speech "On Socialist Man" is anti-Soviet — that Deutscher falsified the length of the Soviet working day under Stalin, and that "Deutscher's command of Marx and Lenin is poor" because he "makes no distinction" between the stage of socialism and that of communism. Since we defended Deutscher against William Mandell's critical review in *Political Affairs*, we presume that T.R.'s arguments are also directed at *The Militant*.

The Militant from its first issue in 1928 has defended the Soviet Union and its planned economy, as did Isaac Deutscher. But we have never regarded abject apologies for the USSR's bureaucratic misrulers as a contribution to the defense of the Soviet working class.

As for Deutscher's "slander" that the Soviet working day was 10-12 hours rather than the official seven, let us examine a few facts. The seven-hour day was introduced in Soviet textile plants in 1927. The object was not to reduce hours for workers but to facilitate going to a three-shift, round-the-clock schedule. V. V. Schmidt, People's Commissar of Labor, testified to this the following year in the Oct. 13, 1928 *Trud* (daily newspaper of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council of the USSR):

"The introduction of the seven-hour day must increase production. But our task is to keep the resulting burden from being placed exclusively on the worker's shoulders." (emphasis added)

Komsomolskaya Pravda, the official paper of the Soviet Young Communist League, testified Feb. 28, 1928: "The three-shift schedule has completely upset the accustomed pattern of life in the factory barracks [many workers lived in barracks attached to the factories]... In the extremely crowded conditions (3.7 people to a room) where about 40 percent of the families lack rooms separated from others by tight partitions and two and more members of most families go to work, frequently on different shifts, there is no chance for the worker to get normal rest."

The last statistics ever officially issued during Stalin's lifetime on the introduction of the seven-hour day appeared in 1932 and showed that on Jan. 1, 1931, only 58.7 percent of all industrial workers were even nominally on a seven-hour day (Central Statistical Office).

But the rapid institutionalization of paid and unpaid overtime soon made a mockery of the "shortest workday in the world." *Za Industrializatsiyu*, published by the Supreme Economic Council of the USSR, declared in September, 1930, "On industrial construction projects we work not less than 10 to 12 hours a day." (emphasis added)

Some other testimony: At the giant construction project at Kuznetsk, *Izvestia* reported Nov. 7, 1931, that 17-year-old boys worked "14 to 16 hours a day, like all the other workers."

At the iron foundry in Cherepovets, Moscow province, "A group of casters worked an average of 15 hours for three months; things got to the point where over-tired workers simply walked off the job without waiting for the end of the casting process." (*Trud*, March 21, 1934)

And the overtime was in many cases involuntary. In the Chusovaya Metal Works, Ural province, "Whoever dares to protest against work on days off and overtime is branded as loafer." (*Trud*, May 8, 1934)

In the Rykov Works, Donetsk Basin, a work gang was disbanded



Isaac Deutscher

and "assigned to lower-paid work" because the members objected to the introduction of the 12-hour day! (*Trud*, April 12, 1934)

A plenary session of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council of the USSR meeting several years later heard a report from its first secretary Shvernik, who said, "Abuse of overtime and work on days off is one of the fields in which the labor laws are most frequently broken." (*Trud*, May 16, 1937)

The following report came from the Molotov Machine Tool Works in Kharkov (*Za Industrializatsiyu*, March 17, 1937):

"Last year, to fulfill the production program, a great deal of overtime work was done in the plant... a few days ago, on March 11, we were in a position to observe the following in the shop which manufactures larger parts. Some comrades had worked 24 hours without leaving the plant. Comrades Poido, Chernov, and Kasyanov were kept in the plant for 14 hours after the end of their shift. And the stockroom worker Antipova, who is to take her pregnancy leave within a few days [in 1937 such leave was granted eight weeks before delivery], was also kept in and only after much pleading allowed to go home after working a mere seven hours overtime."

In 1940, the eight-hour day (again not counting "overtime") was reinstated.

The third point raised by T.R. is that Deutscher fails to distinguish between "the stage of socialism and that of communism" in the Soviet Union of Stalin's time. To answer that question fully would take more space than we have available here, but we would like briefly to quote again a spokesman for the bureaucracy itself, Nikita Khrushchev, in his speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU:

"It was determined that of the 139 members and candidates of the Party's Central Committee who were elected at the 17th Congress [held in 1934] 98 persons, i.e., 70 percent, were arrested and shot... The same fate met not only the Central Committee members but also the majority of the delegates to the 17th Party Congress... We should also not forget that, due to the numerous arrests of Party, Soviet and economic leaders, many workers began to work uncertainly, showed overcautiousness, feared all which was new, feared their own shadow and began to show less initiative in their work... Attempts to oppose groundless suspicions and charges resulted in the opponent falling victim of the repression."

Such gross violations of proletarian democracy—many of which continue to this day, witness the recent jailing of intellectuals and critics of the bureaucracy — have no place in any stage of communism or socialism. —Les Evans

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.]

Antiwar Referendum

Madison, Wis.

As reported earlier in your pages, a broadly based, nonpartisan organization calling itself Madison Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam has succeeded in placing the following resolution on the ballot of the April 2 primary:

"It is the policy of the people of the City of Madison that there be an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can determine their own destiny."

Since similar referendum attempts have failed in New York and Ohio, it now appears that the voters of Wisconsin's capital city will be the only ones in America with such an opportunity to repudiate President Johnson's criminal war.

We are now mounting a full-scale publicity and educational campaign against the war. Our resources are slender, to put it mildly, and readers who may wish to assist are urged to send contributions to: Madison Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam, 206 King Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.

Paul H. Hass
(for MCVV)

Weekly Calendar

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

BOSTON

EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM CUBA. Speaker: Lee Lockwood, author of *Castro's Cuba*, Cuba's Fidel, Friday, March 1, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH RADICALIZATION. What's happening in the foreign youth organizations? Speaker: Mike McCabe, Student Mobilization Committee. Friday, March 1, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE NEW STAGE OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION. Speaker: Dick Roberts, managing editor, *International Socialist Review*; staff writer, *The Militant*. Friday, March 1, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

REVOLT OF THE MIND: Intellectual Ferment in the Workers States. Speaker: Charles Scheer. Saturday, March 2, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

War Due to Guilt?

San Francisco, Calif.

Recently I saw the motion picture, "Live for Life" ("Vivre pour Vivre").

There were several very dramatic scenes from the American war in Vietnam and a commentator stated that the Americans were murdering the Vietnamese, just as the French murdered Algerians, because of a guilty conscience. That may not be the entire truth but it is a large segment of it.

It has been said that the war in Vietnam is a capitalistic war but it goes deeper than that. It is a war of capitalism driven insane by its own excesses.

Most Americans as individuals are goodhearted, kindly people, but the collective, subconscious mind of America is drawn to war, bloodshed and violence like an alcoholic is drawn to his booze.

We keep telling ourselves that it was necessary for our government to drop the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to end the last war quickly. But we cannot help asking ourselves if there would ever have been a Pearl Harbor and a war with Japan if we had not been intervening in the internal affairs of Asia.

We cannot forget the thousands of women and children, the school-girls dressed in white, who one minute were living and laughing and the next were charred corpses or broken bodies dying in agony.

A few years later we were burning thousands of Korean women and children to death. No one could prove it was shortening or changing the course of the Korean war.

Now we have burned to death or blown to pieces hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and there is no end in sight. We are trying to drown our guilt in a sea of blood.

Dale Rasmussen

Specific Indictment

Glen Ellyn, Ill.

Your paper frequently is guilty of many of the things which it purportedly opposes.

J. R.

Escalante Case

New York, N.Y.

I was shocked by your "matter of fact" reporting about the repression against the "microfaction" headed by Escalante in the Cuban Communist Party.

It is psychologically explicable that you may derive some satisfaction when the old-time Stalinists are treated with their own medicine. Unfortunately, there is something more at stake.

It seems to me that our revolution against Stalinism has been dictated not so much by its political line (the "general line" was in fact a sequence of left and right zig-zags) but by its introduction of the method of terror in resolving the differences among the revolutionary ranks.

It goes without question that we all have sympathy towards the revolutionary Cuba under the leadership of Castro and our first revolutionary duty is to defend the Cuban Revolution against the

threat of capitalist intervention. But the same was true in regard to the Soviet Union before the second world war. On this basis the Stalinists imposed on the international communist movement the abject obedience to Stalin's terror against his political opponents in the Communist Party. The Trotskyites — to their credit — held to the position that the unconditional support of the Soviet Union does not imply uncritical acquiescence to all acts of Stalin's regime.

It is a moot question whether the whole internal and external policy of Castro is right or wrong — anyhow there is enough room to have some serious reservations about it without being considered a counterrevolutionary. What Castro is doing right now is to follow in Stalin's footsteps of the early thirties (not of the infamous later thirties) by crushing his opposition by force, imprisoning their leaders and linking them with the symbols of the external enemy.

In the name of proletarian democracy, we are duty bound to protest against all the terror acts in Castro's Cuba against all shades of revolutionary opposition, even when we do not agree with them, be it the "ultra-left" Trotskyites or "right" followers of the Moscow line. Otherwise we are guilty of sheer hypocrisy and of the crime of silence (like the Communist parties all over the world) in face of fratricidal strife in revolutionary Cuba. We should not be restrained by the temporary benefit of being identified with one of the existing workers' states. We have to uphold the highest principle of proletarian democracy, if we do not want to be condemned by history for opportunistic dodging of our revolutionary obligations.

A. Binder

[The Militant strives to establish the facts on any particular question before elaborating its opinion. This is the procedure we are following in the Escalante case.]

Thought for the Week

"The sad and terrible truth of the decision to blow up South Vietnam's cities in order to defend them is that neither Washington nor Saigon has anything to rely on but firepower. With that, they can destroy South Vietnam, but they can never save it from Communism, or anything else." — Tom Wicker in the Feb. 20 *New York Times*.

[The full story on this case is still unfolding. In this issue we print an article by Livio Maitan, based upon the text of the report made by Raúl Castro to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, which provides a framework within which to view the case. (The full text of Raúl Castro's report is available from World Outlook, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.)

[The Militant will deal with the Escalante case and related issues, when the facts have all been gathered. — EDITOR]

Soviet Work Day

Fayette, Mo.

It seems to me that your review of William Mandell's "A Reply to Isaac Deutscher," in the Jan. 15 issue, missed the point of the original article in several respects.

First you treat lightly Mandell's charge that he could only get a hearing in *Political Affairs*: "... after reading it, one could see why." The fact that Mandell, a recognized expert on the Soviet Union, cannot get the Left to consider a favorable article on conditions in that country is a serious one. It means that the Left, so critical of the unfree capitalist press, has decided to censor views which might be considered too "pro-Soviet," even if the author is noncommunist, without giving their readers the benefit of deciding for themselves.

Second, Mandell charged that Deutscher was uninformed about the nature of conditions in the Soviet Union. Deutscher's statement about the ill-fed, overworked (the working class under Stalin labored 10 to 12 hours according

to Deutscher), and underclad workers was false. Mandell pointed out that the working day in the Soviet Union after 1927 was the world's shortest. Both your review and Deutscher, by repeating the 12 hour charge, have engaged in simple slander, not constructive criticism.

Third, Mandell points out that Deutscher's command of Marx and Lenin is poor — judged by the remarks in "Socialist Man." Deutscher's discussion makes no distinction between the stage of socialism and that of communism — this is also the "kick" of the editors of the *Weekly People*, for whom, one might imagine, Deutscher could have written. Mandell's point of course is that it is hardly relevant to take the theoretical "ideal-type" of "Communist Society" as the standard by which to criticize the Soviet Union.

Let it be noted that the terrible picture of "Socialist Man" that Deutscher says Stalin presented to the world was more the invention of the capitalist press than the Soviet reality. That picture is currently used by that same imperialist press to picture Cuba and other socialist states. It is just as false.

Finally, let me say that to be aware of what was "positive" in Stalin's Russia (the people's Russia actually) does not make one guilty of "a sterile repetition of the old Stalinist dogma." Mandell's article was quite "fresh" compared to some of the stale old charges that Russia was nothing more than a slightly more progressive dictatorship than the average.

T. R.

[See article by Les Evans, page 6]

The Great Society

'Most Perfect Example' — In a Valentine's day ceremony a heart-shaped plaque, commemorating one of California's best-known and busiest red-light districts, was set in a downtown sidewalk of the old gold rush town of Jackson. The plaque reads, "World's oldest profession flourished 50 yards east of this plaque for many years, until this most perfect example of free enterprise was padlocked by unsympathetic politicians."

Screen Gem — That most perfect example of a labor lieutenant of the capitalist class, George Meany, has made a film with LBJ that is now being shown to AFL-CIO leaders around the country. The film voices Meany's support for Johnson's Vietnam and domestic policies and outlines plans for swinging the weight of the AFL-CIO behind Johnson in November.

Self-Hypnosis — Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, in Minneapolis recently to address a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner, said that "things are looking up for President Johnson and the Democratic Party."

Self-Hypnosis (II) — On Feb. 12 the U.S. military command in Vietnam issued a 90-page booklet entitled, "1967 — A Year of Progress." An introduction to the booklet said that by the end of 1967 the "Vietcong's" military strength was at the lowest level since late 1965. "About 80 percent of his [the NLF army's] maneuver battalions were considered not combat effective," it said.

Right Number — Word has gotten around Washington that the

Democratic National Committee can be reached by dialing FED UP 68. There must be an awful lot of fed-up people, because their switchboard has been flooded with calls. "I don't think it's funny at all," said a harassed operator at party headquarters. "As fast as they call in, I plug them out."

Cocktail Hour — Huge supplies of imported wines, canned Virginia hams, smoked chicken, turkey

and duck, cocktail napkins, assorted nuts, and various wine, whiskey and cocktail glasses, were sent to the Dominican Republic, courtesy of the Agency for International Development, which is in charge of aid to underdeveloped nations. Other items for raising the standard of living of the masses, financed by AID, included an automobile for the Japanese embassy and a stereo system for the embassy of El Salvador.

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

873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

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Nat'l Campus Primaries —Halstead to Top Ballot

[The following is the text of a Feb. 13 Associated Press dispatch by AP writer Tom Stewart.]

WASHINGTON (AP)—If American college students would rather have Fred Halstead than Lyndon B. Johnson for President, they'll have a chance to let it be known April 24.

That's voting day for Choice 68, a nationwide presidential preference "primary" to be held on more than 1,000 campuses.

The 11 students who make up the project's board of directors unveiled Monday the 14-name ballot that will be used. And, lo, the name of Fred Halstead led all the rest.

While Halstead's name may not ring a bell with the average adult voter, he is well known on many campuses as the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

"Significant Following"

The directors said their method of deciding what names to offer the voters was simple: If a man was felt to have a "significant" following among college students, they put him on the list.

Since the list is alphabetized and no candidates with names beginning A through G passed the directors' screening, Halstead's name is at the top.

The full list:

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party; Mark O. Hatfield, Republican; Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat; Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat; Martin L. King, Independent; John V. Lindsay, Republican; Eugene J. McCarthy, Dem-

ocrat; Richard M. Nixon, Republican; Charles H. Percy, Republican; Ronald W. Reagan, Republican; Nelson A. Rockefeller, Republican; George W. Romney, Republican; Harold E. Stassen, Republican; George C. Wallace, American Independent Party.

Time magazine is paying the bills for Choice 68. The young directors said the magazine has made no attempt to influence their decisions.

Robert G. Harris, a 1965 Michigan State graduate who conceived the idea and is now the project's executive director, said the poll should destroy the notion that the attitudes of students are known and predictable.

Young People Competent

"No one, absolutely no one, knows what college students are thinking," Harris said.

Among the two million or more young people who will participate in the mock election, he said, an impressive number are well informed and, but for the law, would be competent to vote in a real election.

"I feel the number is greater among the 18 to 21 year olds than among the 40 to 50 year olds," he said.

There were several suggestions during the news conference that the project will give support to those who favor lowering the legal voting age.

"We are not very far away from it," said John Kesler, president of the Associated Students at the University of Utah. "Perhaps it needs just a little more emphasis."

Afro-American Boycott of NYAC: Sports Revolt Gains Momentum

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK — The New York Athletic Club track meet on Feb. 16 was slated to be one of the highlights of the indoor track season. It marked the 100th anniversary of the first NYAC track meet in this country, and it was the first track and field event to take place in the new Madison Square Garden.

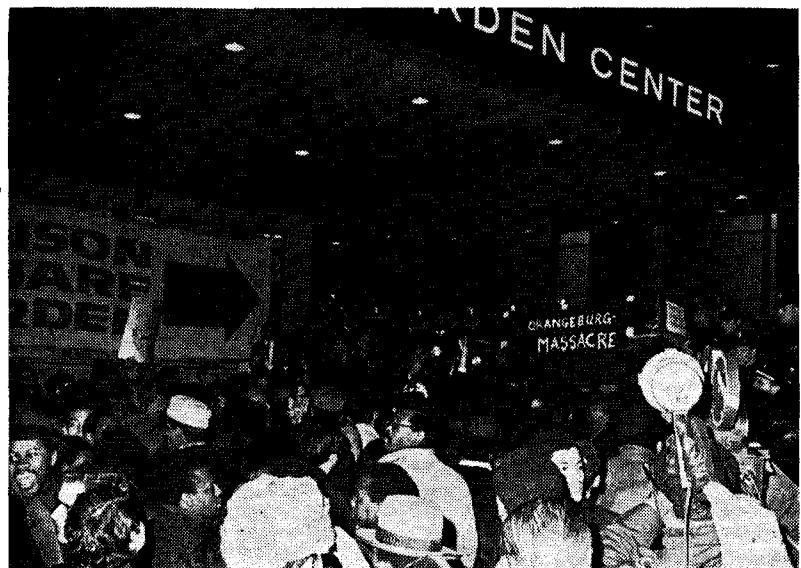
But a boycott of the meet by black athletes was successful in putting a serious damper on it. Support for the boycott snowballed during the last weeks and with very few exceptions black athletes, including stars such as high jump champion John Thomas, did not take part in the event.

This was the first successful demonstration against the New York Athletic Club, a powerful

private amateur sports establishment, which has an explicit policy of refusing membership to Afro-Americans and Jews.

A large, militant picket line was thrown up around the outside of the Garden during the meet, to remind those coming in of the boycott. Some of the athletes coming in to take part in the event turned around when they saw the pickets. Inside the Garden there were very few black people among the spectators.

Some colleges supported the boycott by refusing to take part in the track meet. Among these was Villanova, which has one of the strongest teams in the East. In addition, a number of important high school organizations, including the Public School Athletic League and the "Street Boys of New York," withdrew from the meet.



AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN. Rally and picket line protested racial discrimination of New York Athletic Club.

SWP Ballot Drive in Philly Opens With 8,500 Signers

By Doug Jenness

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 18—This weekend dozens of supporters of the Socialist Workers presidential ticket in Pennsylvania stood on windy street corners in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and signed up nearly 8,500 registered voters on nominating petitions. Only 2,000 additional signatures are needed to put the names of SWP candidates Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle on the ballot in Pennsylvania, but the socialist campaign committee here is planning to obtain at least 18,000 signatures before the March 6 filing date.

These petitions will also put Pearl Chertov on the ballot as a candidate for U.S. Senator for Pennsylvania, Frederick Stanton for State Auditor General, and Richard Lesnik for State Treasurer. In Pennsylvania, the ballot designation for the SWP is Militant Workers Party.

Petitioning is being organized by the Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, and anyone who is interested in helping should contact them at 686 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19130, Tel. CE 6-6998.

Pennsylvania is only one of 26 states where the Socialist Workers Party is attempting to get on the ballot in 1968. Over 20,000 signatures were collected in Michigan last summer to meet the official requirements in that state. In addition, the SWP is attempting to get on the ballot in Maine, New



MICHIGAN PETITIONING. Last summer, Michigan SWP supporters gathered 22,000 signatures of registered voters to place SWP candidates on ballot.

Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Washington, Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma.

One of the major projects of the state and regional campaign committees at the present time is to secure the names of people who will serve as presidential electors. These names must appear on the nominating petitions. Usually the required number of electors is equal to the number of congressmen and senators in a state, although some states permit fewer electors. In Alabama, for example, it is possible to have as many as 10 electors, but only one is required.

Some states, such as Iowa, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Virginia, require that at least one elector be obtained from each congressional district. This makes it virtually impossible for the SWP to get on the ballot in Virginia in 1968 and adds extra difficulty in Louisiana, Tennessee, Iowa and Wisconsin. The requirement is discriminatory against parties other than the Democrats and Republicans, and the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee is investigating the possibility of legal action against it.

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle at the University of Wisconsin in Madison have already lined up nine of the 12 electors for that state. Needed now are electors who live in the 3rd, 4th, and 10th congressional districts. Three of the nine electors have been secured in Iowa, with the 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 7th congressional districts, plus two at-large electors, to go.

In Indiana, there are several active campaign supporter groups — in Indianapolis, Bloomington, and Terre Haute — as well as numerous individuals in other parts of the state. Although there are nearly 9,000 signatures required and 13 electors to secure, it is expected that the Halstead-Boutelle ticket will be on the ballot there. Already a thorough investigation of the laws has been made and several electors obtained.

After the names of the electors are obtained, the usual procedure is to petition to get the Halstead-Boutelle ticket on the ballot as

an independent ticket. In some states, however, it is possible for the SWP to meet the state's requirements to get on the ballot by holding a state convention (e.g., Montana and Washington).

In many states the number of required signatures on independent nominating petitions is too restrictive for the SWP to get on the ballot in 1968. For example in very populous states like Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, and California, the numbers of signatures required are 25,000 (including 200 from each of 50 counties), 900,000, 70,000, and 670,000 respectively. The Peace and Freedom Party was able to get on the ballot in California by reregistering registered voters as members of the Peace and Freedom Party, which requires 67,000 names.

In Massachusetts, it is permissible to put the names of the electors and the party on a sticker which can be pasted to the ballot, and the New England Socialist Workers Campaign Committee is planning to organize a "sticker campaign" for Halstead and Boutelle.

The SWP will be breaking into the South for the first time, with serious attempts to get on the ballot in Alabama (300 signatures), Kentucky (1,000 signatures), and Tennessee (25 signatures per elector). Petitions are being prepared now for Alabama and Kentucky, and petitioning will begin soon. Filing dates are May 6 and April 3 respectively.

Persons interested in helping to petition, or in serving as electors in any of the states where the SWP is trying to get on the ballot, should write to: Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel. 212-673-0790.

Fallen Soldier's Opinion of War

"I don't know what he was fighting for. Neither did he," said James H. Vaughn upon learning of the death of his marine son, Sgt. Howard Vaughn, in Vietnam.

"When he was home on furlough, I asked him. I asked him how he felt about the war, what he was fighting for, what he was willing to get killed for," the black truckdriver said.

"He didn't know."