

Gov't Sets New Attack On Peace Movement

THE MILITANT

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Castro's Speech On Gas Rationing

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba, Jan. 2 — The enormous problems confronting Cuba, and the determination of the Cuban people and their leaders to meet those problems in a revolutionary way, were given dramatic expression today as half a million Cubans massed here to celebrate the ninth anniversary of their revolution. In a two-hour address, Fidel Castro spoke bluntly

of an excruciating problem — an insufficiency of the oil which is so indispensable to the economy.

Since the U.S. economic blockade, Cuba has been compelled to rely almost exclusively on the Soviet Union for oil. Today Fidel said the USSR has "helped considerably" in meeting Cuba's needs. But, he added, in the face of sharply increased needs, Moscow could be expected to give only "limited" additional assistance. Nor, he stated, would it benefit Cuban dignity to ask the Soviet Union for an earlier delivery of future commitments.

Citing a mass of data, Fidel explained to the people gathered in the Plaza of the Revolution how the development of the Cuban economy has accelerated the need for oil. With the huge number of trucks, tractors and bulldozers now employed in agricultural development, and expansion of other industries, the consumption of gasoline has increased enormously since the revolution came to power.

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Cuba Strikes Oil

HAVANA, Jan. 9 — It was reported that after an extended period of exploring, Cuba struck oil yesterday just 20 kilometers (about 12½ miles) outside of Havana. Geologists are studying the strike and have not yet determined the extent of the deposit, although it is said to look promising.

The strike came just six days after Cuba instituted rigid controls over the use of gasoline because the supply from the Soviet Union no longer meets Cuba's expanding needs.

Ho Chi Minh's Letter To Peace Supporters

[On Dec. 30 the United Press International carried on its wires the following New Year's greetings from Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam to Americans opposed to U.S. involvement in the civil war in Vietnam. While many papers in the United States may have referred to the message, few provided the text.]

I send you, friends, my best wishes for the new year 1968.

As you all know, no Vietnamese has ever come to make trouble in the United States. Yet half a million United States troops have been sent to South Vietnam who, together with over 700,000 puppet and satellite troops, are daily massacring Vietnamese people and burning down Vietnamese towns and villages.

In North Vietnam, thousands of United States planes have dropped over 800,000 tons of bombs, destroying schools, churches, hospitals, dikes, and densely populated areas.

The United States Government has caused hundreds of thousands of United States youths to die or

to be wounded in vain on Vietnam battlefields.

Each year the United States Government spends tens of billions of dollars, the fruits of the American people's sweat and toil, to wage war in Vietnam.

In a word, the United States aggressors have not only committed crimes against Vietnam, they have also wasted United States lives and riches and stained the honor of the United States.

Friends, in struggling hard to make the United States Government stop its aggression in Vietnam, you are defending justice and, at the same time, you are giving us support.

To insure our fatherland's independence, freedom and unity, with the desire to live in peace and friendship with all peoples the world over, including the American people, the entire Vietnamese people, united and of one mind, are determined to fight against the United States imperialist aggressors. We enjoy the support of brothers and friends on the five continents. We shall win, and so will you.

Dr. Spock Indicted In Boston

By Barry Sheppard

JAN. 9 — The indictments handed down by a federal grand jury in Boston against five antiwar figures is an attack on the whole antiwar movement. (See editorial, page 3.)

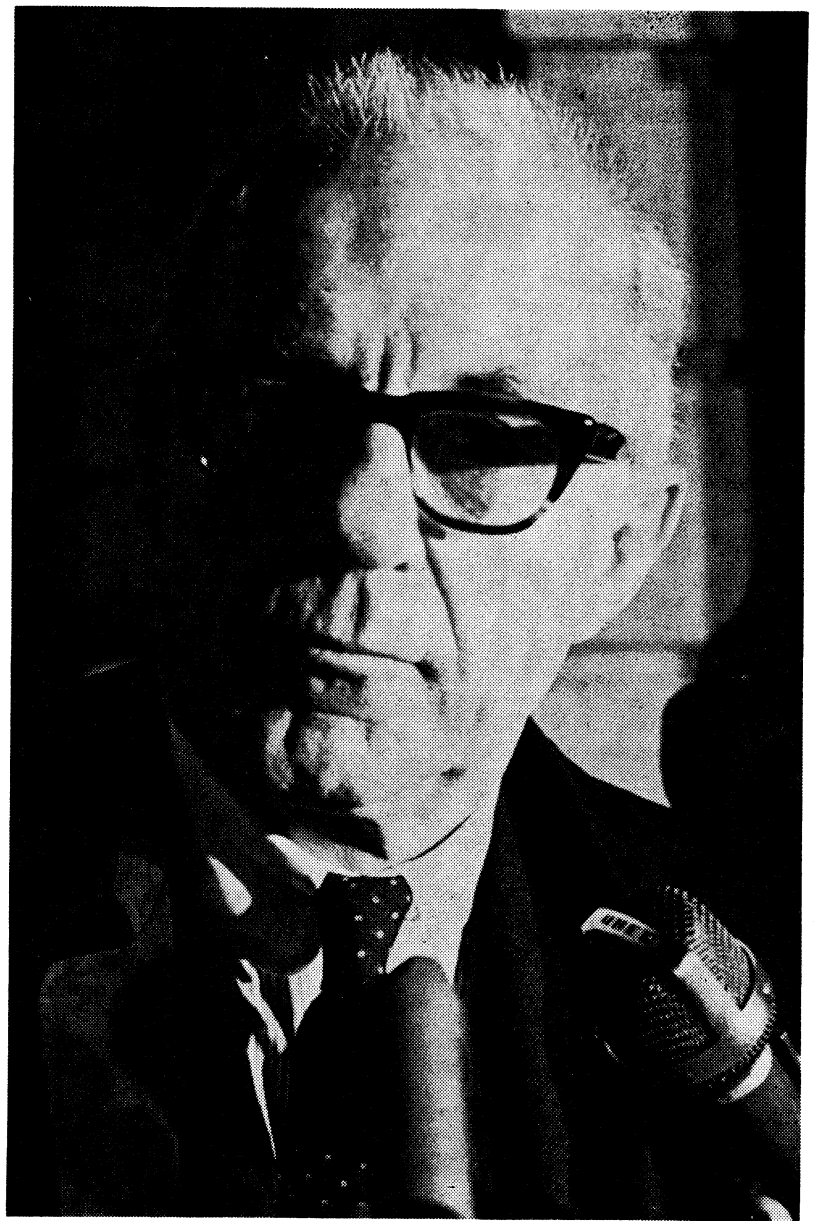
Indicted are Dr. Benjamin Spock, the pediatrician and well-known opponent of the war; the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., chaplain of Yale University; Michael Ferber, a Harvard graduate student; Mitchell Goodman, an author; and Marcus Raskin, co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies. Raskin was a member of the White House staff during the Kennedy administration.

The five are charged under an unconstitutional law which violates the right of dissent, making a "crime" of certain political statements and protest. The indictment accuses the five of conspiring to counsel, aid and abet young men to refuse to serve in the armed forces.

"Justice Department sources," says the Jan. 6 *New York Times*, "said the men had been indicted in Boston apparently because the first overt act of the conspiracy [!] took place there. This was a rally at the Arlington Street Church on Oct. 16, at which a number of draft cards were collected to be turned over to the Justice Department."

Several statements by the defendants were cited in the indictments. Dr. Spock and Rev. Coffin were charged with distributing a statement last August entitled "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority." They, along with Raskin and Goodman, are also charged with making public appeals for young men to resist the draft, and with sponsoring a nationwide draft resistance program that would include disrupting the induction process at induction centers.

Ferber is charged with making a speech at the Oct. 16 rally entitled "A Time to Say No," and with having helped collect draft cards at the rally.



Dr. Benjamin Spock

The indictments themselves are an indication of the administration's growing fear of the antiwar movement. Washington hopes to frighten and crush the antiwar opposition, but indications are that the antiwar movement is determined to intensify its efforts in the face of the government attack.

The New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee said it "condemns the attack of the federal government on five outspoken critics of the war . . .

"An attack on anyone because of his opposition to the United States policies in Vietnam," the

Parade Committee said, "is an attack on the basic democratic right of freedom of dissent. We consider the indictments an attack on the antiwar movement as a whole. We are outraged at this action and will do everything in our power to defend these five."

RESIST, an adult organization that supports draft resisters, is circulating a statement saying, "We stand beside the men who have been indicted for support of draft resistance. If they are sentenced, we, too, must be sentenced. If they are imprisoned, we will take their places and will

(Continued on Page 5)

Why Jones Got 3 Years

By Elizabeth Barnes

LeRoi Jones, black playwright, poet, and essayist, was sentenced to two and a half to three years in jail and a \$1,000 fine on Jan. 4. The term was virtually the maximum possible (it could have been three years) and he was allowed no probation.

At the final court session the judge as much as admitted that the severity of the sentence was based on his dislike for Jones' political viewpoint as expressed in a poem recently published in the *Evergreen Review*. Judge Kapp even went so far as to read the entire poem aloud before the court, characterizing it "a diabolical prescription to commit murder and to steal and to loot."

The poem, which was about the summer rebellions, included lines such as, "You can't steal from the white man / He's already stolen / He owes you anything you want —

even his life."

The charge against LeRoi Jones was for illegal possession of two revolvers during the Newark rebellion. It included nothing about poems. But, the judge took it upon himself to decide that it is intolerable for a black man even to write down in poetry his true feelings and reactions to 400 years of bondage in white America.

When the judge pronounced the official verdict, "You are sentenced on the unlawful possession of two revolvers . . ." Jones added, "And two poems."

LeRoi Jones is an artist who believes that art cannot be separated from the whole life of the community. As he has put it, it should be "as essential as the grocery store." Jones has put these ideas into action by founding "Spirit House," a black community theater in Newark which sponsors plays, meetings, poetry readings,

lectures, parties — whatever is wanted by the community.

Jones and his two co-defendants, Charles McCray and Barry Wynn, were on their way to Spirit House when they were stopped by police and severely beaten. They were arrested and later indicted on trumped-up charges of illegal possession of weapons, charges they all denied. They were convicted on police testimony. Wynn, who is an actor, was sentenced to nine months in jail and a \$250 fine, and McCray, an accountant, was given a year in jail and a fine of \$500.

The Jan. 8 *Militant* carried a detailed statement by Jones on how he and his companions were originally arrested and beaten. Jones required eight or nine stitches and the removal of one of his teeth as a result of the beatings.

In an interview in the Dec. 1967
(Continued on Page 5)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

LOS ANGELES — In a fast-breaking chain of events the month-old strike of the American Newspaper Guild (ANG) and Machinists Union against the Hearst-owned *Herald-Examiner* has escalated into a major struggle. Like the recurrence of a bad dream from the dark ages of labor history, we are witnessing here the spectacle of professional scabs being escorted through the picket lines by uniformed Pinkerton strikebreaking goons armed with guns and billy clubs.

The present showdown began at 11 a.m. Dec. 15, 1967, when some 1,200 members of the ANG and Machinists District 94 lost patience with management's farcical negotiation gestures and struck the paper. Typographical and Mailers Union members who had been working for nine months without a contract refused to handle struck copy trickling down from the editorial office, and were ousted from the building on threat of arrest.

They were joined by stereotypers, electricians, maintenance men, web pressmen, paperhandlers and building service employees in what the L.A. County Federation of Labor called one of the greatest displays of labor unity in Southern California in a generation.

Sanction from the county Federation of Labor resulted in refusal by the 200-member News Vendors Local 75A to handle the scab-produced rag being delivered by nonunion drivers. (The union drivers are covered by the Guild and are walking the picket lines.) Then the Teamsters voted to support the strike and Longshoremen refused to handle Hearst newsprint on the docks. Newsprint continues to come in via railroads and is carted through picket lines by scab drivers with Pinkertons riding shotgun in their cabs.

On Jan. 4 came the news of the sympathy walkout by brother union members at the San Francisco *Examiner* and *Chronicle*, who refused to cross the informational picket line set up by the Guild. This was followed the next night by the strike vote of the Mailers

Union who then set up their own picket line. This resulted in a virtual blackout of news in San Francisco, as the *Oakland Tribune* has refused to send its papers across the Bay into the struck city.

In Los Angeles, the Joint Strike-Lockout Council swung rapidly into high gear, establishing well-run strike-lockout headquarters from which they man the picket lines 24 hours a day. Hearst immediately got an injunction from an obliging judge limiting the picketing to tokenism.

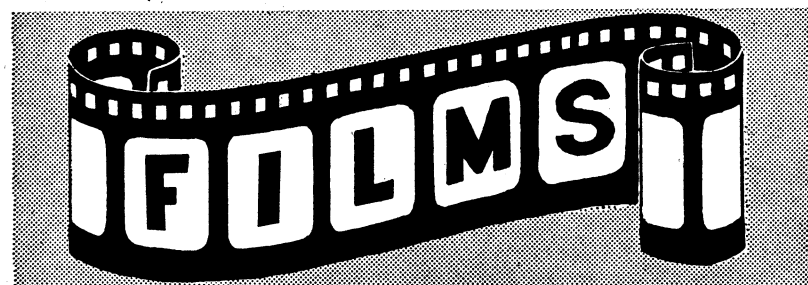
The Strike-Lockout Council initiated plans for a nationwide boycott of Hearst products, a labor boycott of advertisers who patronize the struck newspaper, informational picket lines at all Hearst newspapers across the country, and issuance of strike bulletins, as well as furnishing nourishing food to the pickets.

Support has come in from other unions, among them the United Auto Workers Local 887, Retail Clerks Local 770, and members of the American Federation of TV and Radio Artists who marched with picket crews in a demonstration of unity. The State AFL-CIO termed the *Herald-Examiner's* importing of professional strikebreakers a major threat to the trade union movement of California.

It doesn't look like Hearst means to permit a speedy resolution. Nominally, the central issue in the dispute is wages. The Guild's top scale at the Hearst paper is \$174 a week, compared to the nonunion *Los Angeles Times* scale of \$209. (All union employees at Hearst's Los Angeles newspaper are at the bottom of the totem pole, nationally, when it comes to wages.) Robert Rupert, chief Guild negotiator, charges that the scabs are being paid as much as \$10 an hour. And William H. Williams, ITU representative, says that one of the strikebreakers is receiving \$100 a day plus expenses for a three-day week.

The union members are asking for a lot less than that.

—Lee Stevens



LA GUERRE EST FINIE

Now that "La Guerre Est Finie" got the New York Film Critics Award for best foreign film of the year I decided to go see it again. Unfortunately, it didn't help. I still think "La Guerre" is a somewhat sentimental, often dull, existential vision of revolution that is a few decades out of date with the times.

The plot, you remember, is about a middle-aged Communist who has been working underground in Spain and receiving orders from Paris. Suddenly all of his comrades are being rounded up and he barely escapes back to France.

There, however, he finds that the high command has decided upon a general strike. Our hero knows it won't work and argues against it.

He's been working in Spain for years and these long-time émigrés can't possibly understand the situation. So the Communist command removes him and tells him to "think things over." At the last minute he is reinstated and, as he embarks on a dangerous mission, his girl friend joins him.

What is supposed to make "La Guerre" into a serious movie is

its existential theme. The hero is trapped between reality and an authority that he knows to be wrong, and he can't do anything about it.

Well, it might be true if what you're talking about is Stalinism and if you rule out the possibility of bypassing the Stalinist leaderships. They have sold out over and over again; they did give a lot of orders to thousands of people which did not correspond to reality.

For instance the Communist Party of France disarmed the resistance following the second world war and entered a capitalist government. And, the CPF members in the French government voted war credits to crush the Algerian revolution in the 1950s.

But if that's what "La Guerre" is really about, why doesn't it come right out and say so? There's also the possibility the theme is revolution in general and we're supposed to learn from it you can't really change anything. I venture to say that's why "La Guerre" got film critics' award. And if that's the case, it's the wrong theme in the wrong epoch.

—J.W.

CFT Holds San Francisco Convention

By Tony Camejo

SAN FRANCISCO — The California Federation of Teachers met here in convention Dec. 27-29, showing signs of growing vitality and strength. Marshall Axelrod, outgoing president of the CFT, pointed to the formation of 28 new locals this year, bringing the total number up to 100 throughout the state.

The Los Angeles local, the largest local of the American Federation of Teachers in the state, reported recruiting 400 new members this fall. Dr. John Sperling, president of the State College Council, said they are recruiting about 150 new members a month. Union membership on the various state college campuses is expected to reach 2,000 by June. The CFT has experienced a growth of about 12 percent this year so far, bringing membership over the 10,000 mark.

A highlight of the convention was the declaration, by San Francisco Federation of Teachers President Jim Ballard, that the SFFT will seek a strike vote against the board of education. The 350 delegates and visitors greeted this announcement with sustained applause, an indication of the growing militancy of California teachers.

Ballard indicated that the main demand of the strike would be for an election in which teachers would vote for a formal collective-bargaining representative. The SFFT presently has about 1,400 members out of the 4,000 teachers in the city.

Convention delegates broke up into some 15 committees to discuss resolutions presented by various locals. The most heavily attended committees were Teacher Wages and Working Conditions, Socio-Political, and Educational Policy.

The Socio-Political committee had a lively discussion on such topics as racial discrimination in unions, the war in Vietnam, and the suspension of students at the University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco State College.

A resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam was passed by the committee, and passed overwhelmingly on the convention floor, with not more than 10 to 15 delegates opposed to it. The resolution was presented by Local 1570, teaching assistants at the Berkeley U.C. campus.

A resolution on racism in the unions, originally presented by Local 1688 in Oakland, was passed unanimously. It read in part: "BE IT RESOLVED that the 1967 Convention of the CFT go on record as condemning all union discrimination such as: membership refusal on any basis other than regular qualifications; discriminatory practices in the apprenticeship training program; and lack of minority group protection in dealings with management, especially in areas of hiring, promotion, and working conditions."

A resolution backing the suspended students met with some resistance on the convention floor, but was passed over the protests of a few, including one delegate who made the incredible charge that the resolution would give students the right to beat up professors. This resolution, introduced by Local 1388 of Southern California, read as follows:

"WHEREAS students are subject to the same criminal and civil

Note to Subscribers

Some subscribers to *The Militant* may have missed the Dec. 18 issue, as a number were destroyed in a pre-Christmas fire in a New York post office. A limited quantity is available for subscribers on request — on a first-come first-served basis.

Calif. Teachers' Union Grows

CFT Resolution On Vietnam War

[The following is the resolution on the Vietnam war passed by the recent convention of the California Federation of Teachers, which added to the resolution they passed last year.]

WHEREAS the present course of American foreign policy is contrary to the higher aspirations of emerging nations seeking democratic elections and self-governing institutions, and

WHEREAS the United States has intervened in support of successive dictatorial regimes which deny the right of self-determination to the people of Vietnam, and

WHEREAS the massive military escalation of the war in Vietnam has transformed it from a civil war into a war by the U.S. against the Vietnamese people, resulting in their indiscriminate slaughter as well as a slaughter of American and Vietnamese fighting men, earning for our country the condemnation of world opinion, and

WHEREAS, we, as teachers, are concerned both with the impact of this brutalizing war on the minds of American children and on the atmosphere of free inquiry necessary for the pursuit of knowledge, and

WHEREAS, we, as citizens and teachers, see that the mounting expense of this war results in the abandonment of necessary progressive domestic programs, especially those dealing with the welfare and education of America's poor, we recommend the following statement of policy to be reaffirmed:

BE IT RESOLVED THAT this convention oppose the present Johnson Administration policy in Vietnam; that we seek an immediate United States withdrawal of military forces from Vietnam and an end to all military aid to Vietnam; and furthermore we call for an immediate end to all bombing of North and South Vietnam, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT this convention call upon the National AFL-CIO to disavow its support of the present Johnson Administration policy in Vietnam; to seek an immediate U.S. withdrawal of military forces from Vietnam and an end to all bombing of North and South Vietnam, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT this convention instruct the CFT delegates to the California State AFL-CIO Convention to introduce the CFT position on the Vietnam war and fight for its adoption as State AFL-CIO policy.

sanctions as all other citizens, and

WHEREAS the deprivation of educational opportunity should not be used for punitive purposes,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CFT opposes the suspension or expulsion of any college or university student for any reason other than inadequate grades."

Discussion in the Socio-Political committee on the California Peace and Freedom Party, Senator Eugene McCarthy's campaign, and the formation of a labor party demonstrated the disillusionment of many AFT members with the Democratic Party's performance in regard to labor and its role in the Vietnam war.

A resolution was passed in the committee strongly condemning both the Democratic and Republican parties and calling for the CFT to "cease support" to either party, for "the formation of a political party based on the labor movement, responsible to the labor movement, controlled by the labor movement, which can effectively fight for labor's interests." The committee also endorsed

a resolution calling for support to the registration drive of the Peace and Freedom Party. Neither of these resolutions got to the floor of the convention, as all committees were restricted to presenting three primary resolutions.

The freedom of discussion and complete absence of any red-baiting was in welcome contrast to the meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council in Florida last month, where AFT President Charles Cogen was catcalled and booed by Meany's gang for refusing to endorse LBJ's line on Vietnam.

Draft Boss Celebrates Anniversary

Each year the Selective Service System publishes a most remarkable document. Appearing on the "anniversary of the Director's joining Selective Service," it is nothing less than a blow-by-blow, day-by-day account of General Hershey's life, beginning with his birth in Steuben County, Ind.

It is filled with such fascinating tidbits as the dates on which The Director graduated from public school, became a member of a sandlot baseball team, reached the sublime degree of master Mason of the North Eastern Lodge.

A date that every schoolchild should memorize is March 28, 1957. On that historic occasion The Director was "presented with a handwrought traditional flintlock rifle.... It measures 62-3/4 inches over-all and has a 46-3/4-inch octagonal barrel filled with eight grooves...."

Oops, we almost forgot. This weighty document is published at our expense.

Tribunal Leader Barred from U.S.

Vladimir Dedijer, the distinguished Yugoslav author and president of the International War Crimes Tribunal, has been barred from entering the U.S. by the State Department. He was to have given a series of lectures at a university in Boston. The government invoked the Immigration and Naturalization Act to "legalize" its ban.

The act prohibits anyone from entering the U.S. "to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest or endanger the welfare, safety or security of the United States."

OUR MAN IN HAVANA

Some Cops Are Girls

HAVANA, Cuba (Free Territory of the Americas) — One of the few restrictions on visiting newsmen is the ban on taking pictures of anyone in uniform, which is a shame because it includes the young women who direct traffic in Havana. They are trim and smart in their uniforms, created by the government's Mod-influenced experimental design shop. A traffic cop in Havana is definitely a pleasing contrast to a beefy New York flatfoot.

* * *

My friend Pepe has acquired a new hobby. He has purchased a large hunting gun, and says he goes hunting whenever he has time. Pepe points out that, before the revolution, hunting was strictly for the rich.

* * *

A 1914 Mack truck, right out of the Smithsonian Institution, was wheezing up a hill. On the front of the radiator, some droll compañero has inscribed a current slogan: "You can always do a little more."

* * *

When Fidel declared a while back that culture was for all people and all countries, and Cuba would no longer be hung up by

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

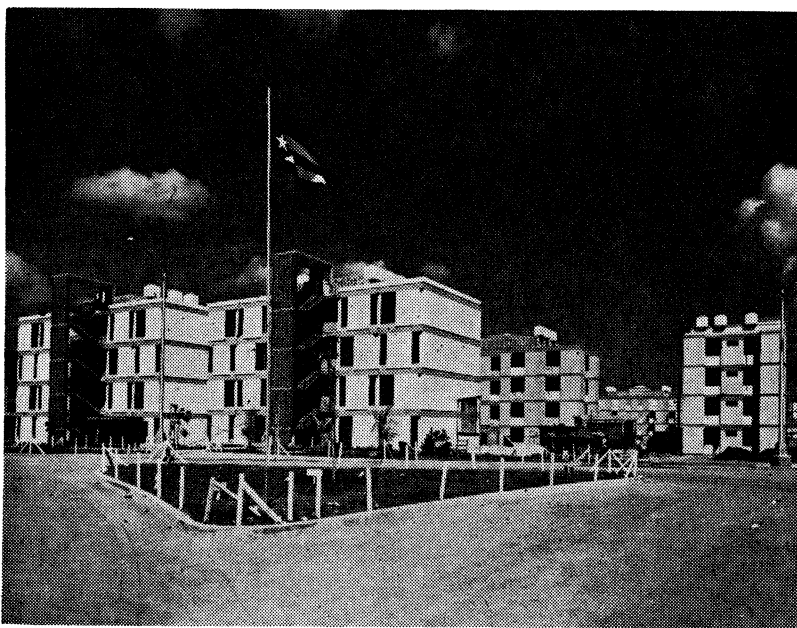
copyright laws, that apparently was the signal for the presses to begin turning out well-made quality paperbacks. When I was at Pepe's house, he had just bought Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, and a mystery by Dashiell Hammett. In a hotel lobby I saw Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, and several of the classical Russian novelists. Paperbacks run from about 80 cents to \$1.20.

* * *

It's an odd feeling to walk into the lobby of the swank Hotel Nacional and see displayed in the lobby's tobacco shop a good selection of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, plus Franz Mehring's biography of Marx. If you forget where you are, it's sort of like finding them in the lobby of the Waldorf Astoria.

* * *

I'll try to obtain more facts on this interesting item. Both marriages and divorces, I'm told, are simply a matter of record. A law-



Housing project in Havana.

yer is not needed to obtain a divorce.

* * *

The new Catholic Bishop of Havana, is, I gather, a real swinger. He put on several masses with modern music and got such good notices that Fidel attended a service.

* * *

When I asked if eggs were plentiful, I was told this joke. A man goes to a restaurant, and in response to his query, is advised by the waiter that what is available is eggs. He orders some, begins to eat them and suddenly begins emitting sounds of whistles and bells, like a sugar mill that has just completed its quota. To astonished fellow patrons he explains, "I just ate my millionth egg."

* * *

Students, particularly the *becados* (scholarship students), are given such care and attention by the government that some people refer to them as the "new class."

One punster adds, "With the number of people going to school, nobody can call this a classless society."

* * *

Pepe's father, a vigorous, alert man of 76, attributes his longevity and good health to wine instead of milk since infancy, and a siesta every afternoon. I told him that when we have socialism in the United States, I would see to it that the siesta is instituted.

"No," he replied, "have your siestas under capitalism. Under socialism there is much work to be done."

* * *

People in the U.S. sometimes assert that partisans of the Cuban revolution avoid reporting serious faults. Be that as it may, I have a fault to report. Cubans seem to have a mania for air conditioning. You walk into an air-conditioned restaurant on a chilly evening and the icy blast almost knocks you over. A Cuban explains: "In the cool weather, the air conditioners work better."

* * *

It may be a bit overgeneralized, but I get the impression that there is a pronounced difference between the attitudes of the older and younger people in the service trades.

For instance at the Hotel Nacional, where I am staying, some of the older members of the staff continue with the air of deference that was expected in the days when the hotel was patronized by wealthy Cubans and North Americans. The younger members of the staff are just as nice to you, but there is not that same feeling.

For example, an older man and a younger woman are the day operators of the elevator I usually take. From the older man I get the feeling that he is trying to

convey that he is glad to see a U.S. tourist again. The young woman is equally friendly and helpful (when I locked myself out of my room she had someone there with a key in 30 seconds flat), but there is not a trace of deference in her attitude. When I mispronounce a word (which is most of the time), she laughs and corrects it as she would for a friend. She conveys the feeling that she is doing a necessary job, and — by simply not trying — makes you feel completely at home.

* * *

When the Coca-Cola plant was taken over in 1960 or '61, the managers headed for the U.S. Cuba developed its own formula for the very popular beverage and began turning it out in brown bottles. People would nod wisely and explain that the brown was to preserve the flavor better. Then Che made a speech in which he commented, with some irritation, that they made brown bottles because they didn't know how to make clear ones. Furthermore, he added, it tasted like medicine.

Today I stopped at a corner stand and had my first bottle of Cuba's version of Coca-Cola. It's about the same size as a bottle of coke in the U.S. and costs a nickel. With a blindfold test, I doubt I would be able to tell which was which. It comes in a nice clear bottle.

* * *

An interesting food discovery is Havana's popular and very beautiful new restaurant, El Conejito. The epicurean menu is based entirely upon rabbit (*conejo*).

A proud headwaiter took us on a tour of the big, modern kitchen. The decor at El Conejito is that of an English pub, but the cuisine is French, featuring wine and cognac sauces. There was a delicious-looking *pâté de foie* — with truffles — made from rabbit liver. We sampled some "ham" made from rabbit meat. It looked and tasted like good quality lean ham from a well-fed porker.

El Conejito represents an experiment in a new addition to the Havana diet which, by the very nature of rabbits, should be of help increasing the meat supply. El Conejito is very popular, using 250 rabbits a day.

* * *

Although frowned upon just six months ago, rock and roll and the beginnings of folk rock are now very big in Cuba. "Radio Nocturno," the young people's favorite nightly program across the island, features the Beatles, the Monkeys and the Mommas and the Poppas.

* * *

Pete Seeger's version of Guantanamera was picked up by Cuban disk jockeys and is now a national hit. People are hoping Pete will come down here to perform.

—Harry Ring

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Monday, January 15, 1968

Defense of Antiwar Figures

The leveling of charges against Dr. Spock and four other antiwar figures is a calculated attack by the federal government on the antiwar movement and the right to dissent. It is based on an unconstitutional law which seeks to deny freedom of speech and dissent.

The response of everyone opposed to the war must be to rally to the defense of the indicted men. We must make clear our opposition to the witch-hunt charges and our support of the right to speak out against the immoral, unjust and illegal war in Vietnam, and against the draft system used to corral young men to fight that dirty war.

The movement must redouble its efforts against the war, and strike a blow against these indictments by mobilizing as many Americans as possible in the international demonstrations being planned for this spring, to show Washington and the world that massive numbers of Americans oppose the war and will not be intimidated by witch-hunt charges or threats of repression.

Workers' Opposition to the War

A Gallup poll released on Jan. 2 showed that the chauvinist, prowar, pro-Johnson stand taken by Meany's gang of bureaucratic misleaders in the AFL-CIO does not reflect the views of rank-and-file union members.

The poll found that unionists are split in about the same proportion as the rest of the population over the war, with the large minority of 43 percent of the opinion that the whole war was a mistake. (Fifty-one percent disagreed and six percent had no opinion.) A similar poll taken among veterans came up with similar results, with 39 percent feeling that sending troops to Vietnam was a mistake and 52 percent holding the opposite opinion. Among the population as a whole, the figures are 45 percent and 46 percent.

Whatever the precise accuracy of the figures, they do demonstrate the widespread opposition to the war among these sectors of the population. The antiwar movement especially should take note of this. Many in the antiwar movement have expressed discouragement with the prospect of winning the mass of workers to active opposition to the war, but it is clear that there is already widespread disaffection with the war within the unions.

And the 50 percent or so who do not yet concede that the war was a mistake, are not necessarily all-out chauvinist supporters of the war. This has been indicated by the willingness of the rank and file of many unions to strike and fight for better wages and conditions in spite of the war and in disregard of any appeals in the name of the war not to. Last year there were more workers on strike and more strikes than in the last 14 years. Just as black people have not given up their struggle in order to get behind the "war effort," neither have the workers in general.

The large antiwar sentiment among veterans is another important barometer of antiwar sentiment in the population.

The job facing those actively opposed to the war is to find ways to reach out to the workers, Afro-Americans, soldiers, veterans, etc., educate them about the war and win them to active opposition to it.

Statement on Cyprus Crisis

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has released a statement on the recent crisis in Cyprus. It is published in full in the Jan. 12 issue of *World Outlook*, an international labor press service.

The crisis "arose from the contradictory needs facing the putschist regime in Athens," according to the United Secretariat statement.

"On the one hand it required credit for 'solving' the Cypriot question; on the other hand, in order to crush the powerful, radical workers' movement in Cyprus, it had been trying to set up a military dictatorship in Nicosia under its representative, Grivas."

But "to simultaneously achieve these mutually exclusive objectives," declares the leading body of the Fourth International, "was impossible without partitioning the island, something which the immense majority of the people of Cyprus cannot and will not ever accept."

The Fourth International statement calls attention to the impor-

tance of Cyprus within the military framework of NATO. It points out that Makarios, the present leader of the state, has promised that in the event of a unification with Greece, Cyprus would maintain the same relationship with NATO as does Greece.

But "to impose a NATO solution on Cyprus," the statement declares, "imperialism will have to confront a growing sector of the population. The only way the Cypriot people can really exercise self-determination is through Cyprus regaining all the bases, including those agreed on through treaties (Greek, British and Turkish bases)."

"It is necessary to put an end to the mandate of the UN and its troops. It is necessary to guarantee self-determination for the Turkish Cypriots in the homogeneous Turkish areas, with equality in language and extraterritorial cultural autonomy guaranteed in the mixed towns and villages."

The Jan. 12 issue of *World Outlook* may be obtained for 50 cents from P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Queens Party Will Be Held For 17 Accused

NEW YORK — There will be soul food, soul music, and soul entertainment at a party in Queens, on Sat. Jan. 13 for the "17 African-Americans Accused." Everyone in the New York area is urged to come and meet the defendants. The time is 9 p.m., the place, 113-30 Francis Lewis Blvd., Queens. The donation is \$1.00.

The 17 African-Americans Accused were framed up last June in connection with an alleged plot to kill Roy Wilkins. Only two of the defendants were charged with conspiracy to commit murder. The others were indicted under the unconstitutional New York criminal anarchy law.

Pretrial hearings for the "Seventeen" will be held Jan. 17 at 9:30 a.m. at the Kew Gardens Court House in Queens.

LBJ Moves to Protect the Dollar

By Dick Roberts

On New Year's Day, President Johnson announced a series of controls limiting American foreign investment and designed to defend the dollar in world trade. The dollar has been under unprecedented attack since the British devaluation of the pound Nov. 18.

In the same week, Johnson made proposals that would put "border taxes" on imports to the United States and give special tax privileges to U.S. exporters.

These measures reflect the erosion of the dollar caused by military spending on the Vietnam war, coupled with a marked slowdown in the growth of world trade. Dollar inflation and the stagnation of international trade combine to bring world capitalism closer to a gold standard than it has been at any time since the 1930s.

Depressing Fact

The influential London *Times* remarked that the day the financial controls were announced may turn out to be as important a date in relations between the U.S. and other countries as the day in 1947 when the Marshall Plan was announced.

"The depressing fact," *The Times* continued, "is that, whereas the Marshall Plan was expansionist, the Johnson proposals are restrictive."

Similar comments were made in the American financial press. *Business Week* stated Jan. 6 that the financial proposals "depart from more than two decades of efforts under the Bretton Woods agreements to free the international financial system from such

barriers to the flow of funds."

Business Week called the border tax proposal "a striking departure in trade policy from the long campaign by the U.S., dating back to the 1930s, to eliminate international trade barriers and subsidies."

There is little exaggeration in these remarks. For the first time in two decades, Washington has been forced to adopt major restrictive policies in international finance and trade. And there is considerable uncertainty that the measures undertaken so far will solve the problem that is really at hand.

Immediate Aim

Johnson's immediate goal is to correct the precipitous U.S. gold outflow caused by the British devaluation. More fundamentally, the problem facing U.S. and world capitalism as a whole is a downturn in world trade caused by the coincidence of economic recessions in most of the big capitalist countries.

Far from bolstering confidence in the dollar, the devaluation of the pound unleashed an attack on it. Instead of believing that pound devaluation would indefinitely postpone dollar devaluation, many investors concluded dollar devaluation was a real possibility and traded their dollars for gold.

In the last quarter of 1967, October through December, the U.S. payments deficit rose to an annual rate of \$8 to \$9 billion. During December alone, the nation's supply of gold dropped by \$925 million. It is below \$12 billion as a whole for the first time since the 1930s.

A continuation of the gold outflow at this rate would eliminate U.S. gold reserves in less than

two years. The measures Johnson enacted are designed to curb the gold drain.

In addition, however, they reinforce U.S. competitiveness in a stagnating world market. Final figures for 1967 are still not available, but there is every indication of a spectacular decline in the growth of world trade.

"In the third quarter, according to the International Monetary Fund," the Dec. 6 *Wall Street Journal* reported, "world exports were at an annual rate of \$178.8 billion, only 1 per cent higher than a year before." (Emphasis added.)

"The rise between the third quarter of 1965 and the third quarter of 1966 was 10 percent," the *Wall Street Journal* continued, "and at no time in the last five years [before 1966] has the annual increase been less than 8 percent."

The United States has been affected by this slowdown in world trade and it is likely to be hit even harder in 1968. Including military shipments, the surplus of U.S. exports over imports in 1967 was about \$4.5 billion compared to about \$4.8 billion in 1966.

Prediction

"A number of economists," states *Business Week*, Jan. 6, "are estimating that imports will rise as much as 10 percent, buoyed by business improvement in the U.S. But rapidly rising prices in the U.S. may hold the export gain to only about 5 percent. If so, the trade surplus will fall by \$1 billion."

But it is precisely the U.S. trade surplus that has allowed this country to sustain the big deficits caused by worldwide investment and military spending over the past two decades.

The slowdown in world trade has been caused by the development of economic slowdowns in the United States and France, and actual recessions in Britain and Germany — four of the five major world capitalist powers. As the economies of these countries incur difficulties, competitive struggles among them for markets are sharply increased.

Each nation attempts to increase its exports and decrease imports. Fiscal and monetary measures are undertaken to increase the competitiveness of products in foreign markets while protecting domestic markets against the invasion of foreign goods.

The devaluation of the British pound was the strongest measure taken so far, and has brought major repercussions throughout the world market. Britain's devaluation reduced the prices of its exports and increased the prices British purchasers would have to pay for foreign goods.

At Expense of Others

Essentially, this was supposed to shift part of Britain's trade problem to other capitalist nations. And the same principle is involved in the measures Johnson enacted New Year's Day and proposes for the future.

They attempt to transfer part of Washington's financial troubles to Europe. And in doing this, they threaten to intensify the recessionary pressures that are already slowing down the European economies.

By cutting down the amount of U.S. investment and tourism in Europe, Johnson hopes to undercut an important source of European dollars. This will deprive Europe's capitalist nations of funds for developing their own economies. It could — Johnson fervently wishes — force Europe to retreat from its assault on the dollar.

The proposed "border taxes" clearly illustrate the increased competition in world trade. Similar measures were enacted in West Germany Jan. 1—the day John-



WOUNDED U.S. SOLDIER. In background is damaged helicopter. Cost of unjust war is important factor behind U.S. monetary troubles.

son announced his financial restraints.

Foreign goods coming into Germany will now be taxed 4 to 5 percent above their U.S. sale value, while German exporters will get certain tax rebates on goods sold abroad.

"It will have the same effect on the German trade balance," *Business Week* economists complained, "as a 2 percent devaluation of the mark."

Same Thing

But exactly the same thing would be true for the dollar, of course, if Johnson's "border tax" proposals go through Congress. A 3 percent tax on imports would "have the same effect" on American imports and exports as a 3 percent devaluation of the dollar. That effect would be to intensify competition in world trade at a time when it is already slowing down.

U.S. imperialism is beginning to pay the price in world trade for the dollar inflation caused by two decades of war spending and the dollar penetration of the entire capitalist world. That inflation has been brought to a critical point by the war in Vietnam.

Washington launched the post-war epoch of "Pax Americana" with the aspiration of replacing gold and all international currencies with the almighty dollar. The elevation of the dollar to the status of a "special" currency significantly paved the way for U.S. foreign investment and its imperialist policies of policing the world.

But the dollar has been considerably weakened precisely by the military costs of imperialist war and the U.S. imperialists' own international economic success.

European imperialism—no longer the lapdog it was in the days of the Marshall Plan—has been taking advantage of the weakened dollar to press its own interests against U.S. capitalism. Now Johnson is attempting to reverse the attack.

Rivalry

"What the U.S. has done," *Business Week* states in an unusually revealing commentary, "is to put the burden right back on the Europeans. In instituting new rules to trim the deficit . . . it has removed some of the sting from the issue of dollar imperialism."

The heating up of interimperialist rivalry in the economic sphere has been inevitably accompanied by a tendency to force international trade back onto the gold standard it tried so long to get away from. No capitalist power is willing to trust forever in the paper currency of its competitor, especially when the long-run result of such trust is always finan-

cial subservience to the "trusted" dollar.

"The current system actually is falling far short of ideal performance," *Wall Street Journal* economist Alfred Malabre Jr. conceded Dec. 6.

"Today's international business scene prompts John Exter, senior vice president of New York's First National City Bank, to remark: 'You might say we're already on a gold standard of sorts.'"

A shift from the dollar standard back toward the gold standard not only raises memories of the "gold standard" depression of the thirties. It destroys the special status the dollar has enjoyed in international finance since World War II, which allowed the world penetration of American capitalism.

Peasant Protest Held in Danang

The U.S. government claims it is fighting for freedom in Vietnam. Yet it does not even permit Vietnamese to criticize the American occupation of their country. The *New York Times* reported Jan. 9:

"South Vietnamese national policemen arrested about 100 peasants in the Danang produce market today for protesting against United States bombing and the American military presence" in Vietnam.

The peasants were all women and children, except for "four old men." Television reports the previous night had described the "criminal" demonstration merely as a "whispering campaign."

The local police chief, it seems, has an American adviser named A. Wilson Edwards, of Louisville, Ky. Mr. Edwards, speaking for South Vietnamese officialdom no doubt, declared, "We're due for a lot more of this in the next few months."

... Castro's Speech

(Continued from Page 1)

Now, Fidel said, it is necessary to establish the most rigid controls on the consumption of gasoline. Gasoline used by private cars will now be rationed. The state will allocate oil on the basis of carefully regulated priorities in agriculture and industry. Some construction projects, he said, will have to be postponed on the basis of these priorities. The gasoline ration for private cars ranges from eight to 25 gallons a month, depending on the size, model, and age of the car.

Despite this and other difficulties, the revolution will continue to advance. Fidel said that it is an example of the dialectical process of history that the more the imperialists sabotage Cuban development, the greater are the efforts of the Cuban people to advance.

In a moving and eloquent way, he asserted Cuba's dedication to an independent and revolutionary course. "Our policy," he declared, "will be that of consistent struggle . . . against imperialism."

The wave of applause, when he cited the inspiring example of the Vietnamese people, expressed the solidarity of the Cuban people with them and with revolutionaries everywhere. Then the Plaza rocked with cheers and deafening applause as Fidel declared that 1968 would be the "Year of the Heroic Guerrilla," a tribute to Che Guevara and those who fell in battle with him.

In summoning the people to even greater efforts, Fidel expressed the need for increased organization and discipline. The progress already made in that regard was manifested in today's celebration.

It had been announced that the event would begin at 10 a.m. Guests were ushered onto the reviewing stand at 9:30. Precisely at 10, Fidel stepped to the rostrum on top of the reviewing stand and declared the opening of the cele-

bration. Then, to the boom of a 21-gun salute, a band played the "July 26 Hymn," and the first contingent stepped forward.

There was no military equipment in the parade. Contingents of the armed forces led the march past the reviewing stand. For exactly one hour separate contingents, totaling 50,000, marched by in well-drilled formations.

Indicative of the role and weight of education in contemporary Cuba, 22,000 of the marchers were students. They ranged from university students to elementary-school children, who passed the reviewing stand holding aloft and waving their weapons — their notebooks.

There were cane-cutters with gleaming machetes, workers and members of various voluntary work brigades, including the celebrated Che Guevara Brigade, which is doing yeoman work in clearing land for cultivation.

One contingent of young women marched by chanting, "Create two, three, many Vietnams," and "We want our children to be like Che." The applause was tremendous.

In his speech, Fidel had evoked an enthusiastic response when he said that military training would now be part of the education of women as well as men, declaring that this was in keeping with the ever increasing role women were playing in building Cuban society.

It is hard to convey the deep emotional impact of the celebration. In every way it stood in such contrast to the terrible lies that are told about Cuba in the United States. I watched half a million people stand with quiet attention in the hot sun as Fidel lectured for a solid half hour on the development of the Cuban economy as it related to the consumption of oil. I thought of the many articles in the U.S. press painting a picture of a ranting demagogue haranguing the mob. The obscenity of the lie was never more apparent.

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Boutelle on National Tour; Speaks at N. Y. Campuses

By Les Evans

NEW YORK, Jan. 9—Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, began a national speaking tour here this week. The tour will last four months and will take him to 18 cities in the U.S. and three in Canada.

On Jan. 7 Boutelle took part in a debate on the war in Vietnam sponsored by the New York High School Student Mobilization Committee at St. Clement's Church in midtown Manhattan.

Three prowar and three antiwar speakers participated in the debate, which drew more than 75 high school students on a bitter cold Sunday afternoon. Favoring the war were Elaine Shepard, war correspondent in Vietnam and author of *The Doom Pussy*; Jeffrey St. John, congressional candidate of the Conservative Party; and a spokesman for the American Legion, who left before the debate began.

In addition to Paul Boutelle, antiwar speakers were Jan Crumb, a veteran of Vietnam, and New York City Councilman Ted Weiss. The debate was moderated by Dr. Erik Holtzman of Columbia University.

Boutelle insisted that the U.S. government should immediately withdraw all of its troops, not only from Vietnam but from American military bases throughout the world. He declared that "150,000 black GIs in Vietnam are fighting for white power, not for themselves; and the 350,000 white GIs there are fighting for white capitalist power which is really their enemy as much as it is the enemy of the Vietnamese."

Jan Crumb described his experiences in the Army in Vietnam. He said the Diem regime was the first real police state he had seen at close range and that GIs could not believe they were fighting for freedom in Vietnam when they saw the tyranny of the Saigon regime.

Elaine Shepard, speaking for the war, charged that Boutelle was



Paul Boutelle

spreading "propaganda" by saying that Washington killed civilians by dropping bombs in North Vietnam. The civilians, she said, "are injured by SAM missiles falling back to earth." She also objected to the charge that children had been napalmed by American forces. She cited a Dr. Rusk who had toured Vietnam recently without finding "a single case of a child burned by napalm." She added that "certain gasoline burns might have been mistaken for napalm because Vietnamese are very simple people and don't know how to cook with gasoline stoves, and these sometimes explode."

Ted Weiss urged that the antiwar movement be taken off the streets and into the Democratic Party to attempt to elect an alternative to Johnson within the two-party system.

St. John claimed that the government was soft on the war and should never have allowed Diem to be overthrown.

The following day Boutelle spoke before the Forum Club at

John Bowne High School in Queens, to an audience of 50.

In the discussion period a Cuban *émigré* attacked Boutelle for his support to the Cuban Revolution. The anti-Castro Cuban charged that the flight of refugees from Cuba was evidence of a dictatorship there.

Boutelle replied, "If they had not left, then I would worry about dictatorship, because that would be evidence that nothing had changed. If the supporters of Batista remained in their old positions, then the Cuban people would have asked what kind of revolution had they made. There are three million whites who rule in South Africa. When the black African majority wins self-determination, it is possible that a majority of those whites will leave Africa. Then you will tell me that is evidence of how bad that change has been."

That night Boutelle spoke at New York University before a smaller but very interested group of students.

...Jones' Prison Sentence

(Continued from Page 1)

Evergreen Review, Jones included some additional information. He said that when he was arrested, "Local police and state police and detectives converged on us and came jumping out of cars . . . We had to drop somebody off and we were trying to get back here (to Spirit House) a half-hour before the curfew. The police had road-

blocks set up all over, and we were trying to get through these various little streets to avoid the roadblocks, but I think they radioed all the cop cars. They spotted us — they knew the car — and they chopped us off at the intersection and jumped on us. They pulled us out of the car."

During the trial, people in the area of the beating testified in de-

fense of Jones. Mrs. Tart, who saw the scene from her porch, testified that she "saw a man with bushy hair and a beard, and he was being put into a police wagon." She said, "There was blood coming down the side of his head. The only sound I could hear was the sound of someone being hit." Police deny the beating.

Another witness, Otis Lewis said, "When I got to South Seventh St., I saw a patrolman beating Mr. Jones. I saw another one stabbing at him with a stick and I heard Mr. Jones say, 'Why don't you stop hitting me.'"

When they took the three victims to jail, Jones, bail was set at \$25,000. (He calls it ransom.) In addition to all the other harassment, the impression is being created that Jones was somehow responsible for the Newark revolt. A giant headline across the front of the Jan. 4 *New York Post* read, "LeRoi Jones: 2-3 Yr. Term for Riot Role." During the final court session, the judge said that one could suspect that Jones was a "participant in formulating a plot" to burn down Newark on the night he was arrested.

During the sentencing Judge Kapp told Jones, "It seems to me you are sick."

"Not so sick as you are," Jones replied. Earlier during the session Jones had told the judge that he represented "a crumbling structure."

U.S. CP 'Rehabilitates' Ernesto Che Guevara

[The following letter appeared in the Jan. 16 *National Guardian*. The author is Jim Kennedy, identified as an organizer for Students for a Democratic Society, who, until last spring, was a youth spokesman for the Communist Party.]

I recently read that the U.S. Communist Party (CP) held a memorial dinner and rally to honor the late Che Guevara in Chicago on Dec. 9. The principal speaker was Illinois CP absentee chairman Claude Lightfoot — the same who was recently quoted in *Look* as denouncing Stokely Carmichael as a "red-baiter, and worse, an anti-Communist" because of Stokely's attacks in Havana on the bourgeois policies of Lightfoot's party. Now the CP has decided to hail Che — dinner, rally and all. At least the CP is not afraid to speak kindly of the dead.

A Mighty Feat

It seems now that Che is gone he can be made safe by those who a few months ago railed against him and his "Message to the peoples of the world." It becomes a new hallmark of revolutionary honesty for some to claim as theirs a man they so recently reviled. Just think how cozy it must be — to embrace the ghost of Che Guevara and the living leadership of the Venezuelan Communist Party at the same time, a mighty feat!

Last spring, May to be exact, the Communist press was strikingly silent about Che's letter to the *Tricontinental*. At the same time the CP press was waxing strong with defense of the Venezuelan Party, under attack from Cuba because it had collaborated with the Leoni dictatorship and had abandoned the guerrillas. But while the "Marxist" press, as they fancy themselves, was silent, CP leaders were not so.

At that time I was managing the CP-controlled bookstore in Chicago. I had obtained from a JOIN organizer a number of posters of Che for sale in the store. I had also purchased reprints of Che's article for sale. A few days after display of the posters, Jack Kling, state secretary of the CP in Illinois — and in Gus Hall's words "the Party's principal political officer" there — came in and demanded their removal.

"Ultra-leftist"

Said Comrade Kling of Che's picture: "Our store has no business displaying or selling that ultra-leftist's picture."

During the same time, at a public discussion held by the Party on Latin America — in which the strategy of armed struggle was attacked — Kling, echoing the views of men like Hall, termed both Che and Fidel "left adventurers and ultra-leftists."

Now that seems all forgotten. With Che's pen stilled, the time is ripe for his "rehabilitation." Those who placed themselves in league with the worst sellouts in Latin

America can now try to make Latin America's first citizen theirs. Those whose studied silence on the conference for the Organization of Latin American Solidarity spoke ideological volumes now feel they can celebrate Che — or at least his removal, his demise.

Well, they are wrong. Che was a communist — he didn't just appropriate to himself that label as some "parties" are wont to. He, the consummate revolutionary, cannot so easily be laid to rest. He is not silent. . . .

He will never be the property of those who play the coalition game with the party of U.S. imperialism. He belongs only to those who will fight for man's liberation. No amount of praise, tongue in cheek, by the reformists can make him safe; no laying claim to his name by those who six months ago burst into anger at the thought of him can castrate his memory, his example, his call to revolutionary struggle.

Black Opponent Of Vietnam War In Seattle Trial

By Tom Leonard

SEATTLE — Earnest Dudley, a black man from Houston, Tex., faces trial here on Jan. 15 for refusing to be inducted into the U.S. armed forces because of his opposition to the Vietnam war. Dudley condemns the war as "racist, immoral and illegal" and believes the U.S. government is using the draft as an instrument for beheading the freedom struggle of black people in this country by drafting disproportionately large numbers of black men and giving them the dirtiest and most dangerous assignments.

Handcuffed 30 Hours

On April 4, while living in Seattle, Dudley was ordered to report for induction. On April 14 he refused to take the "step forward." In July he moved to Los Angeles and notified the Seattle board of his change of address. He was indicted for violation of the Selective Service Act in September, and in early October was arrested by the FBI in Los Angeles. Bail was set at an exorbitant \$2,500. After holding him for about three weeks in Los Angeles, the federal government transferred Dudley, who was chained and handcuffed for 30 hours in a car, to the county jail in Seattle. A motion to reduce bail was denied and he remained in jail three more weeks while bail was being raised.

The case will be fought on the grounds of the general unconstitutionality of both the war and the draft. The constitutionality of Dudley's Houston draft board will be challenged on the grounds that there is not a single black man on any draft board in the state of Texas.

Contributions for the defense should be sent to: Earnest Dudley Defense Fund, c/o Draft Resistance Seattle, P.O. Box 713, Seattle, Washington 98111.

Anti-Humphrey Action Planned for Minnesota

The Minnesota Mobilization Committee is planning to hold a demonstration against Vice President Hubert Humphrey when he speaks to an AFL-CIO-sponsored rally in St. Paul on Jan. 19, 1968. The demonstration will be at 8 p.m. at the Lowry Hotel, 4th & Wabasha, in downtown St. Paul.



SENTENCED. LeRoi Jones and his wife Sylvia at courthouse.

...Dr. Spock

(Continued from Page 1)

continue to use what means we can to bring the war to an end."

This statement has been initially signed by Martin Luther King, Dwight Macdonald and Linus Pauling, among others.

The American Civil Liberties Union has offered to defend the five. Melvin Wulf, legal head of ACLU, said the indictments were unconstitutional and marked a "major escalation in the administration's war against dissent."

In New York, a meeting is being held at Town Hall, 113 West 43rd St., on Sunday, Jan. 14, 8:30 p.m., to support the defendants.



REVIEWS

THE PRISONERS OF QUAI DONG by Victor Kolpacoff. New American Library, 1967, 214 pp. \$4.95.

This is a somewhat gruesome little novel about torturing a Vietnamese youngster in an American army prison camp. The "prisoners" of the title are court-martialed American soldiers forced to sit through the torturing for various reasons.

It might have started out to be an anti-Vietnam-war book in the author's mind.

The narrator is a former lieutenant who refused to give his men orders which would have led to the massacre of a "Viet Cong outfit." The torture victim is a Vietnamese "about 18," who might know where a local guerrilla unit is stationed.

But the villain is a sadistic officer who is carrying out the torture in order to gain a promotion. And the whole thing turns into a psychodrama of ambition, with the war almost falling out of the picture.

According to the flyleaf, Victor Kolpacoff wrote this while he was a graduate student in 1966 at San Francisco State. It is his first novel.

—D.R.

A REPLY TO ISAAC DEUTSCHER by William Mandell. December 1967 Political Affairs.

In September 1966, Isaac Deutscher delivered an address to the Socialist Scholars Conference on "Socialist Man." It has since been reprinted as a pamphlet by Merit Publishers (873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, 35¢). Deutscher's address contains a sharp refutation of official Soviet views of the subject. William Mandell's essay is printed in the theoretical organ of the Communist Party USA as an answer to Deutscher's pamphlet.

Mandell complains in his preface that *Political Affairs* was the only publication on the left that would touch his piece, and after reading it, one can see why. It is a sterile repetition of the old Stalinist dogma that the Soviet Union

has achieved "socialism," complete with denials that there is any significant economic or social inequality in the USSR, and praise of "democracy" as presently practiced there.

"Revival and terrifying growth of the oppressive functions of the state?" Mandell scoffs — why "I spent three hours one day last year arguing the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, freedom of dissent, and everything else — in Russian — with a street crowd" in Kiev. And Mandell wasn't even arrested! "Try that in front of New York's Waldorf-Astoria some day," he adds, crushingly.

Mandell finds Deutscher's essay especially irritating because Deutscher disputes and refutes the idea that socialism, and socialist man, have been achieved in the USSR or China, in spite of the remarkable achievements of the revolution in those countries. Both Russia and China were too backward to yet achieve the stage of socialism, Deutscher explains, and remain transitional societies between capitalism and socialism, afflicted, in addition, with the distortions and crimes of Stalinism. Socialist man cannot be produced under such conditions.

One of Deutscher's main points was to rescue the idea of socialist man and socialism from their Stalinist distortions. For to hold up present Soviet society as "socialism" drags the concept of socialism down to the level of present Soviet reality. It would take a Mandell to deny the mountains of evidence of the crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy in Stalin's time down to today — the purges, the lack of free inquiry, the privileges of the bureaucrats — all the things Sinyavsky and Daniel and the many other young rebels in the Soviet Union are fighting against.

As Deutscher pointed out, "The Socialist Man Stalin presented to the world was the hungry, ill-clad, ill-shod or even barefoot, worker or peasant, selling or buying a shirt, a piece of furniture, a few ounces of meat or even a piece of bread on black or grey markets, working 10 or 12 hours a day under a barrack-like factory discipline and, sometimes, paying for any real or alleged offense with years of forced labor in a concentration camp. He did not dare to criticize a factory manager, let alone a party boss. He had no right to express any opinion on any major issue affecting his and the nation's destiny. He had to vote as he was ordered; to applaud the Leader with frantic enthusiasm, as he was ordered; and to let his dignity and personality be mocked by the so-called personality cult."

"These are the facts, now officially so described by the Soviet leaders and reflected in a vast Soviet literature with all the emphasis of authenticity. Although in recent years the conditions have been greatly mitigated, the poverty, the inequality, the lack of political and intellectual freedom, and the bureaucratic terror are still there."

Deutscher's essay itself is the best refutation of Mandell's "answer," and remains a fine statement on the real potential of socialism to raise mankind both collectively and as individuals to new heights.

—B. S.

Black Liberation Notes

In a recent *Jet* magazine survey on how black people would like to be identified, the largest percentage voted for the term "Afro-American"; the second largest, for "black." The following table indicates the results of the survey, which was based on the written responses of *Jet* readers:

Afro-American	37%
Black	22%
Negro	18%
African-American	8%
Colored	5%
American	4%
Other	6%

Jet reports that the most "vocal" of the replies came from those preferring "Afro-American." A 29-year-old musician from Highland Park, Mich., wrote, "To me there are only two cultures in this country — Euro-American and Afro-American. Color is too superficial. Afro-American has more substance, qualities and roots and a truth."

A 21-year-old secretary from Chicago wrote, "I have chosen Black because Black man means not to accept the system as Negroes do, but fight hell out of it."

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is circulating a petition asking the Supreme Court to take action against a court ruling that bars SNCC national chairman H. Rap Brown from traveling to any part of the U.S. outside of 11 counties in New York. The travel restriction was imposed upon Brown as a condition of bail after his arrest last summer for "inciting to riot" in Cambridge, Md.

The travel restriction is an obvious attempt to keep Brown from fulfilling his speaking engagements

around the country. It represents a threat to the basic right to free speech.

All persons are urged to support the petition campaign, regardless of whether they agree with the ideas of H. Rap Brown or not. Petitions are available from SNCC, 100 Fifth Ave., Room 803, New York, N.Y. 1001.

The Navy has told sailors participating in the New Orleans Mardi Gras festival to go along with the policy of discrimination against black people, Jews and Italians adhered to by many of the carnival functions. An official Navy memorandum explained, "Whether or not this meets with your personal or official approval, it is the way things are, and we have to go along with it."

A few weeks ago the *New York Times* carried an article on what is described as a shift in white liberal opinion toward greater acceptance of "the black power philosophy of racial separation." But it becomes clear as you read the article that many of those so-called pro-separatist liberals do not really accept the ideas of black nationalism as it is conceived by black people. In fact, they use their talk of "separatism" to hide an acceptance of segregation and gradualism.

One sociologist at Columbia University is quoted as saying, "For God's sake, let's face facts. The demography of cities is such that it's going to take a long time to get decent housing, much less integrated housing."

The contents of the article so angered one black reader that she sent a letter of reply to the *New York Times*, which is well worth quoting:

San Francisco Meeting Supports Huey Newton

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO — Over 100 people packed the hall at a meeting here Jan. 5 sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in support of the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund.

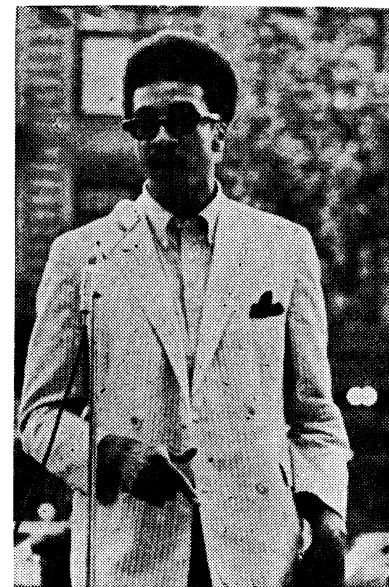
Newton is the Black Panther Party for Self Defense leader who is being framed up in Oakland on a charge of murdering a policeman.

The main speakers were Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, and Eldridge Cleaver, militant black writer whose book *Soul on Ice* will be released by McGraw-Hill in February. Each spoke of the history of ghetto resistance and the need to organize both to defend the victims of racist persecution and to win black power — black control of the black community. Cleaver warned against the illusion that the courts are any better equipped to dispense justice than the racist police. "The court," he said, "has no authority to try Huey Newton. What the court has is power — that's all it has."

A plea for support to the defense of Huey Newton was made by Nat Weinstein, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. "Huey P. Newton must not be allowed to become a martyr, a victim, a symbol of the successful use of the power of the state to trample on the rights of the people," Weinstein said. "Those who believe, as I do, in the right of oppressed people to use whatever means they think is

necessary to lift the oppressor off their backs, must defend him. Those who would oppose the new attack on the right of the people to bear arms must defend him. By showing our support and solidarity, by defending Huey P. Newton, we can advance the struggle for these rights."

A collection was taken, and \$222.08 was raised to defend Huey P. Newton, including a donation from the door proceeds of the Militant Labor Forum.



H. Rap Brown

"White people in this country are so committed to white supremacy that half the time they don't even realize they're letting it show. It showed in your Dec. 17 news article about white liberal attitudes toward separatism."

"To white liberals integration meant black people winning an 'equal' place in your society by dint of superhuman effort to merit that great honor. By separatism, they mean black people accepting their downward revisions of the goals they set for us in the integration period. Massa is still massa even when he's wearing a different style with his title."

"It's for sure you people don't understand what black nationalism means to black people. To us it means, among other things an end to white folks probing our family structure, exchanging grants to study our communities, and dictating the terms of our accommodation to the status quo. We don't like your status quo and we don't want to be integrated into it."

"We think there's something dirty and vicious about your society. And we know good and well the source of the problem is not black people; we're just hangers-on here, we're not making the decisions."

"The problem is with white American society and the economic and social forces which keep it going."

"If white liberals sincerely sympathized with black nationalism (and the article claims a growing number do) then they would see their duty as attacking the evils of American society at their source, instead of creating a whole class of professional meddlers in black communities."

—Elizabeth Barnes

Saigon Bishops Criticize Thieu

South Vietnam's Roman Catholic bishops, who have long been one of the most reactionary elements supporting the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, issued a call Jan. 7 for a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. They were also critical of the Thieu-Ky regime, although the Saigon government is largely Catholic in the predominantly Buddhist country.

Commenting on South Vietnamese officials, the bishops declared, "How can there be peace when those in responsible places mask their false promises behind rhetoric? How can there be peace if laziness, hypocrisy and corruption prevail everywhere in society?"

The *New York Times* commented Jan. 9 that "the once-close relationship between the Catholic hierarchy and the Government was undergoing a period of strain over the war issue."

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
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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 Manners

Berkeley, Calif.

I too am from Berkeley, and I should like to answer "B.C." of Berkeley. B.C.'s letter [Dec. 25 *Militant*] ridiculed "liberals" who suppose the Vietnamese intervention could be stopped if only demonstrators used better manners.

Good manners are nothing to ridicule. They are a sign of good leadership at all times. Lenin had them; Stalin didn't. Crude violence can antagonize sections of the middle class that are needed in any forward movement. This is especially so at a time of high employment and general prosperity, when the middle class will not support any change at all if its feelings are hurt.

It is indeed naive to think the U.S. government can easily be convinced to withdraw from Vietnam. But if the job is to be done, it can be done best by a steady, forceful, but always justified pres-

sure, exerted in such a way as to show respect for the human dignities, not scorn for them.

T.C.

Interesting Parallel

New York, N.Y.

There is an interesting similarity between a point made by James Forman in his Nov. 23, 1967, speech at the Western Region Black Youth Conference [*Militant*, Jan. 1] and a point developed by Fidel Castro in his speech at the University of Havana, March 13, 1962.

Forman discusses the fact that a brother, attending a conference in Prague at which there were many representatives of the National Liberation Front and the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, responded to the request of the Vietnamese that "We Shall Overcome" be sung with, "No. We don't sing that song. The people who sang that song were crazy. . . ."

And Forman analyzes this reaction as a "faulty interpretation of our history." He goes on to point out, ". . . I do not think all of us who sang it were crazy. People do not sing it today for many reasons. But the brother . . . was only in Prague because there was a historical relationship between his presence there and the manner in which he got there. I am well aware that my presence here is due to many factors, but if it had not been for the people who sang 'We Shall Overcome,' there is no question in my mind that I would not be here today."

A good part of Castro's address, on the occasion of the commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the 1957 student attack on Batista's palace, in which student leader José Antonio Echevarría and others were killed, was devoted to this very same denial of history, a denial which, as Forman makes clear, leads to "a faulty interpretation."

At the commemoration ceremony, the *compañero* who read the fallen fighter's political testament to the people of Cuba omitted three lines: "We believe that the time has come for us to fulfill our pledge. We are confident that the purity of our intentions will bring us God's blessing so that we

may bring the rule of justice to our nation."

After demanding, "Are we going to mutilate what he wrote? . . . What concept is that of history? And how can history be conceived in such a wretched manner? How can history be conceived as something dead? As something putrid? As an immovable stone?" — Castro says, "Whoever conceives of history as he should . . . will not commit such an act of stupidity. For with that criterion we would have to start suppressing all the writings of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, who expressed the thinking of his day . . ."

Castro goes on to say that ideas of all previous heroes would have to be suppressed — Martí, Maceo, Máximo Gómez "and the other men of that glorious breed."

And, "We would be forced to deny our very roots. . . . If we pursued to its end that line of thought, we should come to believe that we . . . had made all of the nation's history, forgetting the tens of thousands of *mambises* [19th century fighters for Cuban freedom] who fell; forgetting the tens of thousands of heroes who died along the way . . ."

Ruth Schein

Faithful Lackey

Macedonia, Ohio

It's true that George Meany's policy of backing Johnson's criminal war in Vietnam and accusing opponents of the war of being directed "from Hanoi" is "libelous, slanderous and false charges" as said Emil Mazey, United Auto Workers secretary-treasurer (*The Militant*, Dec. 25).

But it should be added that this pseudodefender of the working class, Meany, whose annual "salary" is \$75,000 (if not more) always has been a faithful lackey of American imperialism and capitalism, so there is nothing unusual in his present attitude in regard to the policy of the upper-bourgeois, dictatorial regime of Johnson.

It's a shame that such a type of reactionist still is standing at the

Thought for the Week

"This language, suggesting that Negroes should have a chance to become delegates without requiring that any actually will, was unobjectionable to Southern committee members." — Warren Weaver, Jr., in an article in the Jan. 9 *New York Times* on the Democratic National Committee stand on discrimination in Southern delegations to party's national convention.

head of the great American labor organization and talking "in the name" of that organization.

J.M.

Not a Zionist . . .

Austin, Tex.

I would like to make a few comments, having just read your inspired little tract *Zionism and the Arab Revolution*, on your incredible ideas concerning the not-too-distant happenings in the Middle East.

It says that Israel is not really a socialist country, that it has an abominable foreign policy, that it is beset by racism and exploitation.

Hardly surprising. I never knew anyone who called himself a revolutionary socialist who thought anything else. It ends up by saying that Israel should be de-Zionized and included in a Unified Socialist Republic from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf.

Now I'm no Zionist — I'm not even a Jew. I think Israel should abandon Zionism. What I would like to ask is, just what the hell do you think goes on in the Arab countries?

Now I know about several palace coups that have replaced some kings with military dictators and some military dictators with other military dictators, but an Arab Revolution? I admit that some brave revolutionaries no doubt died to bring about the palace coup in Algeria.

Maybe, though, you mean Nasser, the ex-admirer of Hitler who staffs his government with army generals and escaped Nazis; who jails all opposition and starves his people in order to buy military equipment and gigantic pictures of himself. Surely you don't mean

King Faisal. These people are progressive forces?

Most of what you say about Israel is true, but it is at least a liberal capitalist nation. The Arab countries are quite a bit more oppressive.

The Arabs bear at least as much guilt for deliberately maintaining the suffering of the refugees as the Israelis do for creating them. And why do you think there is racism in Israel, why are a majority of its Jews Asians? Because their Arab homelands made life there unbearable for them. The property these Arab Jews left behind at least equals that taken from the Palestinian refugees.

But the most serious charge against Israel is its foreign policy. It could indeed hardly be worse. But who was it to turn to — Russia? Ha! The Arabs? Double Ha! Israel was created in the face of imperialism's violent opposition, not its collusion. The U.S. couldn't care less about Israel, its real goal is Arab oil. The U.S. commitment was popular, not governmental. Most capitalists backed Israel because they had no direct personal interests involved.

None of this, however, is sufficient cause for a revolutionary party to give political support to either side in a war between rival capitalist and oppressive states, which had nothing to do with national liberation.

Zionism placed in Palestine not only the political state of Israel, but also 2,500,000 Jewish people. The only possible outcome of an Arab victory would have been a vast slaughter. Because it was the only way to avert this, I was highly pleased by the outcome of this war.

M.C.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Hear FRED HALSTEAD, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. President, speak on *The War in Vietnam and the '68 Elections*. Friday, Jan. 19, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal. Contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE ANTIWAR TREND IN THE UNIONS. Speaker: Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party. Friday, Jan. 19, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

TURMOIL IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM. A panel discussion. Saturday, Jan. 20, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Rm. 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

In the January-February issue of

Radical America

a journal of U. S. radicalism

The Hazard, Ky., project and the evolution of the New Left • A strategy for radical rent-strike organizing • The nature of Debsian Socialism: James Weinstein & Paul Buhle on THE DECLINE OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA, 1912-1925 • Intellectuals in the 1930's: reviews of Josephson's INFIDEL IN THE TEMPLE and Cowley's THINK BACK ON US.

50¢ or \$3/yr to Buhle, 1237 Spaight, Madison, Wis. 53703.

They Took Him at His Word — Fifty Catholic youths were arrested in St. Peter's Square in Rome when they heeded Pope Paul's call for peace prayers on New Year's Day. The youths said the cops told them that the orders to remove them came from the Vatican Secretariat of State.

Deathless Prose — If you weren't one of the lucky ones to receive, as a personal Christmas gift from LBJ, a colorful and lavishly illustrated book of His words, don't fret. Twenty-five thousand copies of the 9-by-11-inch, 243-page, hardcover *No Retreat from Tomorrow*, a collection of 23 messages the President sent to Congress in 1967, will soon be made available to bookstores for purchase by the public.

"Here Comes the Bird" — What sounds to us like a better buy is the new comedy album which, although a take-off on the recent Lynda Bird-Capt. Robb nuptials, spoofs all the Birds, Mac included. Sample: Capt. Robb to actor George Hamilton: "I'm in the Marines." Hamilton: "When's it being released?"

Romney in Vietnam, I — If we were Romney's campaign adviser, we would keep him out of Vietnam — that seems to be where he either gets his brain washed or puts his foot in his mouth. This trip his opening gambit in approaching GIs was a stock, "Where you from, soldier?" — even if the "soldier" was a marine. If the GI

wasn't from Michigan, Romney lost interest. If the young man was fortunate enough to come from Michigan, he received a medallion with the state seal on one side and Romney's signature on the other.

Romney in Vietnam, II — In a hospital his opening remark to a GI who had had a leg amputated was, "Have you got a girl back home?" Approaching another critically wounded man, Romney was warned by the doctor that the patient had difficulty speaking because of a tracheotomy. The wounded man was a mass of tubes, bottles, and bandages. Romney asked, "Where you from, soldier?" (the man was a marine). The patient could not reply because of the incision in his throat. "Get this man's name and address," Romney ordered an aide. And to the wounded man, "I'll tell your family you're all right."

Romney in Vietnam, III — On Christmas day he decided to give little talks to the troops assembled along his route. At one point, to a handful of GIs — including several Jews — he launched into a sermon on the virtues of Christianity. At another stop, after another instant sermon, a black Marine approached a reporter in the press group and murmured: "Is the Governor letting Negroes into his church yet?"

Big Brother's Big Brother — Now there's a computer that checks on other computers. A San Francisco wit has dubbed it the "Unifink."

White Lie — "I've never made a statement in my life that reflected on anyone because of race or color or national origin," said George C. Wallace recently in California. Just about two weeks earlier, he was quoted in a *Bellflower*, Calif., speech as talking about the criminal "who didn't get any watermelon to eat when he was 10 years old."

Off With His Head — U.S. Ambassador to Italy Frederick Reinhardt, a career diplomat who has held that post since 1961, has been fired. It seems that LBJ was piqued during his recent visit to Rome because he had to take four helicopter flights over the city by night to throw anti-Vietnam-war protesters off their timetable of demonstrations. Maybe Reinhardt should have insisted that the demonstrators apply to the American Embassy for parade permits.

Those Spoilsports Again — One sequence was canceled from Brigitte Bardot's French TV debut — a revealing view of the shapely star draped in the French flag, strategically ruffled by a studio wind machine. *Aux armes, citoyens!*

Afraid of Brainwashing? — On his way into Moscow's House of Friendship, Governor Romney passed a row of huge posters attacking American action in Vietnam. According to a UPI dispatch of Dec. 18, "he appeared not to notice them."

—Ruth Porter

National Trailblazers In SWP Election Drive

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket, have been carrying the campaign onto campuses around the country, "trailblazing" new areas to give their socialist ideas the widest possible hearing.

Some of these Young Socialists have written to *The Militant*, letting us know where they have been and what kind of response they have received for the socialist candidates.

One team of Berkeley trailblazers writes from Hayward, Calif., Jan. 3:

"We had a very good reception at Chabot College. We set up a literature table and every kid who was the least bit radical came to talk to us and read our campaign brochures. We obtained 13 names for the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle mailing list and left 100 of our campaign brochures, several posters, and lots of stickers and leaflets, which will be displayed daily on an SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] table.

"We made arrangements to return next Thursday with a speaker at a regular open-mike rally, and students here are more than willing to set up meetings and have speakers on the campaign."

Four teams of trailblazers have written in from Indiana and Illinois. Working mainly out of Chicago, they have been to campuses in Indianapolis, South Bend, DeKalb and Champaign.

In Indianapolis the Young Socialists met with local campaign supporters and decided to organize a public meeting at the end of January, at which a representative of the Chicago campaign committee will speak on the Halstead-Boutelle ticket.

Two campaigners in South Bend, Ind., met with students at the Indiana University extension, a number of whom signed up as endorsers of the campaign.

Another pair of trailblazers write about two days spent at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb in mid-December:

"There are probably close to two dozen people on or around the campus who already support the

campaign. At the Saturday night meeting, it became evident that we were not needed to convince them to support the campaign — they had already come to the conclusion to do that quite of their own accord — and our main work was in discussing the types of things they will be doing, such as organizing debates with Young Democrats, leafleting and distributing campaign literature, organizing interventions into the appearances of candidates and hacks of the two capitalist parties, and building an impressive turnout for Fred Halstead's appearance here. . . .

"In addition to the group of active campaign supporters, there is also a group called the Afro-American Cultural Organization (AACO) which heard about Paul Boutelle independently. One of its members came to see us while we were here, reiterated his interest in having Boutelle speak, and endorsed the campaign. . . .

"Students here are prepared to make our candidates' appearances the focus of a free-speech fight if necessary, since the university has regulations saying that no speakers from political parties not 'recognized' in Illinois are permitted on campus."

Young Socialists from Boston write about two trailblazing trips, one to several Maine campuses and one to the University of New Hampshire:

"A very good reception everywhere. SDS has been extremely cooperative on campuses where they have chapters, have helped us set up tables, and have invited us back.

"Senator McCarthy was speaking at the U. of New Hampshire the morning we arrived, so we thought we would try to take advantage of any political activity that had been created by this. It worked out very well. There was a lot of interest generated by his presence plus the fact that he apparently turned off not only the radicals but most of the liberals as well.

"So when we showed up we obviously represented just what we said, 'A real alternative.'"

had sharpened the differences within the leadership. On Oct. 31 more than 1,000 students from the Strahov campus of the Technical College of Charles University marched with burning candles toward the government's Hradcany Castle to protest the lack of light and heat in their dormitories. The demonstration was spontaneous and nonpolitical.

The students were blocked from the government buildings, shoved, cursed and beaten. The official count says 12 students and three policemen were hospitalized, but students estimate the injured as close to 50.

Repercussions

Although the grievances were promptly attended to, the political repercussions of the fracas continue. One student leader reportedly remarked that some of the most convinced Communists in the university have begun to question the regime's action.

Students at Charles University believe that the police crackdown was ordered because the government fears that the disaffection of the Czechoslovak writers is spreading to the campuses.

The speeches of the dissident writers at the congress of the Writers' Union in June have since been the prime topic of private

SDS Nat'l Council Advocates Turn to Antiwar Movement

By Carol Lipman

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — The Indiana University campus here was the setting for the winter national council meeting and educational conference of the Students for a Democratic Society, Dec. 27-31. Over 400 students from across the country attended the SDS gathering.

During the final sessions of the council meeting, resolutions were passed calling for national antiwar actions April 20-30, supporting SDS's participation in the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and calling for a national antiwar action aimed against the Democratic Party convention in Chicago next August.

For weeks prior to the national council meeting, *New Left Notes*, SDS's newspaper, provided a forum for discussion of important issues confronting the conference. The discussion tended to center on the antiwar movement.

Educational Conference

The three-day educational conference was a further forum for the discussion and debate that was to take place later in the week at the national council meeting.

Arthur Kinoy, nationally known civil liberties lawyer, addressed the educational conference on the topic of "Repression and Defense." He accurately predicted that the government would soon attack sections of the movement that they felt they could victimize, and appealed to the whole movement to unite around the defense of the victims of this impending assault. The way to win in the courts is not only through the legal battle in the courtroom, he said, but in the political struggle to expose the government's attack and to win support from the American people.

The national council meeting marked an advance over the recent SDS position on the antiwar movement. Ever since the April 1965 march on Washington against the war, which was called by SDS, the organization has had a difficult time in assimilating the importance



APRIL 1965. SDS march on Washington against war initiated antiwar movement.

of mass antiwar actions. Rather than learning from experience the positive aspects of their own 1965 march, SDS tended to abstain from the antiwar movement, trying to find programs outside of the movement to build a national organization.

Rather than remaining in the forefront of the developing movement — participating in, organizing and leading mass actions against the war — SDS tended to view such actions with a jaundiced eye. The two largest political demonstrations in recent American political history — April 15 and October 21 — were supported by national SDS only at the very last minute. While local chapters of SDS were among the best builders of these actions, the national organization abstained from the National Mobilization Committee and the antiwar coalition which organized them.

This national council meeting, however, reflected the beginning of a reversal of these abstentionist policies. The call for antiwar actions in April allows SDS support of a national student action in the same time period which is on the agenda of the Student Mobilization Committee conference to be held late in January.

The sharpest division took place in a debate over whether SDS should send a representative or an observer to the National Mobilization Committee meetings. The council finally voted 36-30 to send a representative.

SDS, along with other organizations, has learned through concrete experiences in the last few months that tactics of "disruption" can prove a hindrance in building the antiwar movement and in reaching the vast numbers of Americans, especially the working class, who are opposed to the war. For example, the council voted down proposals to call the April action "Ten Days that Shook the Empire."

Program

There were other developments during the weekend. The conference included a caucus of Southern students who presented a resolution which said, "Capitalism everywhere oppresses the majority, but this is doubly true in the South, which has been and is a colony of Yankee imperialism." Although this resolution passed almost unanimously, it raised serious questions among many members. SDS leader Greg Calvert saw the need for SDS to "develop a class analysis of a class society" rather than backing into a program by discussing Southern regionalism.

Probably one of the more interesting aspects of the conference was a paper submitted by Greg Calvert on "participatory democracy." Although it was not discussed formally at the council meeting and only informally at the educational conference, it is important to note.

Calvert's paper sharply criticized "participatory democracy," a sacred cow of SDS for the past few years, as an organizational norm. "The primary contradiction in SDS," he said, "involves the conflict between the notion of participatory democracy as a vision of the good society and its effectiveness as a style and structure for serious radical work."

All in all, this was a serious and important meeting for SDS.

Mounting Unrest in Czechoslovakia

(World Outlook) — The Czechoslovak press disclosed Jan. 5 that Antonin Novotny had been deposed as the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. He is to be allowed, however, to remain as president of the country. The new first secretary is Alexander Dubcek, a member of the Presidential Council and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party.

The regime thus appears to have reached at least a temporary resolution of the deepest crisis it has suffered up to now.

Novotny had run the Communist Party since 1953 and was head of the country since 1957. He utilized his double posts to impede the spread of liberalization in the country.

The current struggle began two months ago when all three Slovak members of the Presidium — Premier Joseph Lenart, Alexander Dubcek and Michal Chudik — demanded that the president quit both jobs. They blamed Novotny for blocking the three-year-old plans for economic reform. They accused him of discriminating against Slovakia, the underdeveloped eastern region of the country. Dubcek's accession to Novotny's post is intended as a dramatic concession to this sentiment.

Novotny's head-on collisions with the intellectuals and students

discussions among the students. "The writers said Novotny must finally come to terms with the mistakes, the excesses, and the crimes of Stalin," one language student observed.

The criticisms of the Old Guard Czech boss coming from the Slovak representatives, dissenting students, rebellious intellectuals, proponents of economic reform and other elements in the population yearning for improvements, raised hopes that the meeting of the CP Central Committee beginning Dec. 20 would see Novotny removed from office.

However, Novotny managed to hang on temporarily to both positions through the intervention of Soviet CP Secretary Brezhnev, who flew to Prague Dec. 8 without advance notice to argue against the ouster of his friend.

According to *New York Times* correspondent David Binder, before Brezhnev arrived in Prague, the anti-Novotny group had grown to include eight of the 10 full members of the Presidium. But Brezhnev succeeded in obtaining concessions from the president that induced two of the Slovaks, Premier Lenart and Michal Chudik, to switch sides.

It was reported that Novotny might have been ousted in December had his opponents been able to agree at that time on a

successor. Perhaps the rising pressure from below led then to rally around Dubcek, despite Brezhnev's intercession.

The Communist rulers of Czechoslovakia face this dilemma. The pressures for social, economic, cultural and even political change are so strong that they must be heeded without much delay. But they fear to open the floodgates of reform too wide lest the surge toward liberalization become unmanageable.

The spectacle of Brezhnev's intervention on Novotny's behalf, with its reminder of the regime's humiliating dependence upon Moscow, should further lower the fast-fading prestige of the leadership among the party ranks. The difficulties stemming from the economic reforms have provoked considerable dissatisfaction.

The Central Committee itself acknowledged at the end of its May 3-4 plenum that there is an undesirable growth of inventories, a large volume of unfinished capital construction, and a growing gap between production and foreign trade.

The masses want rising living standards, more freedom, less regimentation. Will Dubcek prove capable of satisfying these demands? Or will his accession prove to be but the prelude to events that will pass over his head?