

# A New Stage Opens in Vietnam Revolution

## THE MILITANT

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## Halstead Demand: Bring GIs Home

FEB. 7 — Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, said today, "The offensive of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam demonstrates clearly that the American people have been fed a pack of lies about the war all along.

"The NLF is obviously gaining strength and support in its fight for freedom and social justice while the forces of the Saigon dictatorship and the U.S. are becoming more and more isolated and hated by the Vietnamese. Washington's course of continuing the war can only result in untold additional suffering for the Vietnamese and thousands and thousands more American men being killed and maimed.

"This war must be stopped, and our men must be brought home from Vietnam right away!"

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers candidate for President, wound up a week of campaigning in Northern Illinois on Jan. 29 by speaking to a crowd of over 300 students at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb. The meeting, sponsored by the student government, was packed. There was standing room only, and many students had to be turned away for lack of space.

Ed Heisler, Illinois Socialist Workers campaign director, reported that 25 students, includ-

ing the campus antiwar and black power leaders, endorsed the Halstead-Boutelle ticket as a result of this meeting.

There is an active group of Halstead-Boutelle supporters on campus at NIU, and many students can be seen around campus with "Vote SWP" buttons on their coats.

While he was at NIU, Halstead had a meeting with three leaders of the Afro-American Cultural Organization in the campus cafeteria.

The NIU meeting was publicized by the local chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. In the SDS newsletter, the *Kishwaukee Surfer*, the Socialist Workers candidates are described as follows: "Halstead and Boutelle are not the favorites of the Administration, and the newspapers do not support them with banner headlines and victory cartoons. And like other anti-Establishment candidates we have seen lately, Big Fred speaks the open truth and does not hesitate to put the blame where it belongs."

### Democrats and Republicans

The article points out that neither the Democratic nor the Republican parties "have really taken any direct action to solve the problems of America. How do the SWP candidates differ?"

"First, they, like our own Student Power candidates, are not afraid to appear as leaders of mass demonstrations. . . . Halstead has continued organizing . . . political demonstrations, rent strikes and peace marches . . . Paul Boutelle is also experienced in leading mass demonstrations and political movements." The article ends: "The platform of the Socialist Workers Party is as honest and forward-looking as its candidates."

Ed Heisler reports on other successful meetings for Halstead in the Chicago area: "On Monday, Jan. 22, the Civic Activities Board at Lake Forest College sponsored a meeting attended by about 50 students. The meeting was organized and chaired by a member of the college Young Republicans.

"On Jan. 24 Halstead debated Professor Daniel Reiber on the Vietnam war before 200 students at the University of Illinois in Chicago under the auspices of the Student Senate. A Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle group is being organized on campus to plan campaign literature tables, parties and other activities."

While in Chicago, Halstead also spoke at the University of Chicago, (Continued on Page 5)

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 6 — The massive National Liberation Front offensive against most of the occupied cities of South Vietnam opens a new stage of the Vietnamese revolution. The revolutionary forces demonstrated that they can challenge U.S. and Saigon armies for control of practically every square inch of the land.

The world's mightiest imperialist power has been dealt a stunning blow. The blow is primarily political, although its immediate military impact is considerable. What has occurred is a sudden upsurge of the Vietnamese revolution; and those who are carrying it forward have written one of the most extraordinary and heroic pages in history.

The extent of the total attack is still not known, but it has already included "no less than 30 of South Vietnam's 44 provincial capitals, as well as larger cities such as Saigon and Danang, American installations and uncounted towns," according to the Feb. 6 *New York Times*.

Vietnamese patriots struck the "most secure" U.S. military strongholds — from the new U.S. Embassy in Saigon to the big base near Camranh Bay, once considered safe enough for visits from Lyndon Johnson himself.

### Saigon and Hué

An AP dispatch this morning reports that fighting is continuing in Saigon and Hué where the rebels are "defying superior Allied firepower to slug it out in the devastated streets. At some points, the enemy appeared to be outmaneuvering government troops.

"Large sections of Saigon and Hué lay in smoldering ruins. Towering columns of smoke rose into sunny skies as South Vietnamese divebombers, U.S. helicopter gunships, artillery and tanks blasted away at Communist troop pockets in scattered sections."

The fact of massive U.S. and Saigon aircraft bombing of these cities dramatizes the turn that has taken place. Jan. 31, President Thieu appealed to civilians to evacuate their homes so that the homes could be bombed and he called on citizens "to refuse to allow Viet Cong sanctuary in their homes."

It would be a parody of the Saigon regime — if only it didn't



VICTIM OF WASHINGTON'S WAR. Democratic and Republican politicians are guilty of sending GIs to be wounded and killed in unjust, immoral war Washington is waging against Vietnamese.

really happen. At the time of the broadcast, Thieu himself had fled the city. Clearly the guerrilla fighters had been welcomed into city homes. And the city dwellings were bombed indiscriminately.

AP reported from Cantho Feb. 5 that civilian casualties in Cantho and 10 other Mekong Delta towns were 1,250 killed, more than 3,000 wounded, and 80,000 to 120,000 left homeless. The dutiful pro-war agency stated "the official estimated that 10 to 20 per cent of the wounded civilians had been injured by U.S. military action."

But the truth is that tens of thousands of civilians are being driven from their homes by U.S. bombing — if they are lucky enough to escape — and that this must be taking a terrible toll on civilian lives. *New York Times* reporter Charles Mohr wrote from Saigon Feb. 6 that in another Delta town, Mytho, "about 25 per cent of the town area, housing perhaps half of the people, was in ruins."

The Pentagon policy of supporting field "search and destroy" operations with saturation bombing was taken directly into population centers. In Hué, Feb. 4, an officer told *New York Times* reporter Gene Roberts, "What we need is sunny weather and air strikes and more air strikes."

An AP radiophoto, carried on the front page of the *New York Post* Feb. 6, shows a young woman begging and sobbing. The caption reads, "A Saigon mother pleads with South Vietnamese rangers not to fire into house where children are. The rangers said there were Viet Cong inside and kept firing. The children escaped injury."

A likely story. The only way U.S. and Saigon troops can hope to recapture the cities is to bomb and shell the areas of resistance to the ground, as the Nazi forces did when they crushed the Polish resistance armies in the Warsaw massacre. And those are the orders

(Continued on Page 3)

## Black GIs Against War

By Susan Harris

NEW YORK, Feb. 6 — A group of 13 black GIs at Ft. Sam Houston in Texas have been attempting to educate other GIs at the base about black power and the true nature of the Vietnam war. At a press conference called at SNCC headquarters here today, one of the GIs, Pvt. Alton Jones, described how it all happened.

He said that he and the other 12 first got together when they found out through informal discussions at the base that they were in agreement on the fact that the real fight for black people is not in Vietnam, but here in the U.S. He said they then started to hold meetings on black power in the servicemen's club. They also published a mimeographed newsletter which they distributed to other GIs, mainly those in the medical corps where Alton is a trainee with conscientious objector status.

SNCC has also distributed the newsletter at other bases around the country. The response among

black GIs has been enthusiastic, and some white GIs have responded well, too.

One of the articles in the newsletter states that "black GIs are fighting and dying for the so-called freedom of the South Vietnamese when black people in this country are not yet free. The government has never attempted to spend even a fraction of the money spent in Vietnam to help the black masses in this country.

### "Black Section"

"What happens when, or rather if, a brother comes back from Vietnam? On Christmas leave a train of GIs stopped in Texas. Some black troops went into a restaurant to eat but were made to sit in the 'Black Section' or to take the food outside and eat. One brother sat at the 'white' counter for forty-five minutes to an hour and wasn't served. He was wearing the uniform of the U.S. Army, but he was still black."

Another one of the newsletter's contributors writes, "As a black man in the white army, I cannot

help but feel like a black mercenary fighting to maintain a white privileged class rather than for the political freedom of black people. All across the land, black men in and out of the white military complex are calling for new action in the promotion of black freedom. Honkey had better get right or suffer the consequences."

Immediately after the 13 GIs had passed out all their copies of the newsletter, they were ordered to stop the distributions. They were also told that they could not continue their meetings at the servicemen's club.

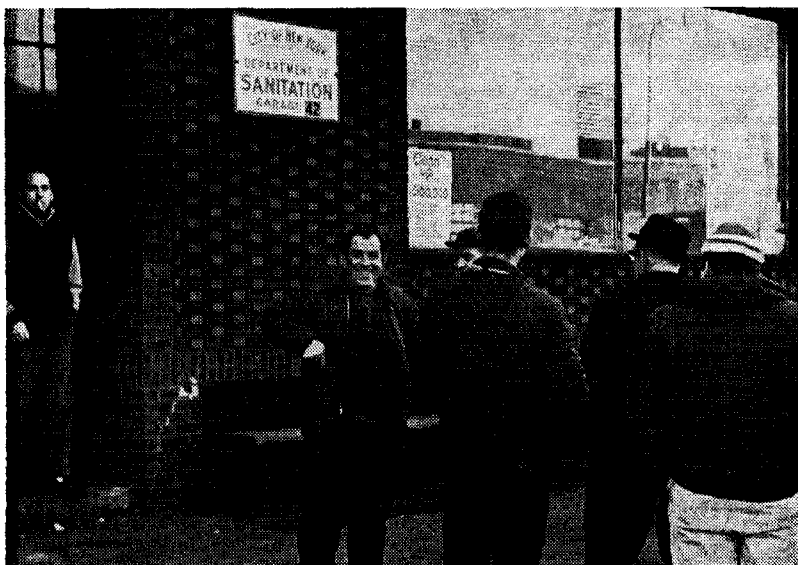
Alton said that several of the 13 have suffered harassment, ostensibly for reasons having nothing to do with their political ideas. Two of them are presently in the stockade. Another was confined to his quarters and not allowed to be visited by others.

Alton says that he has been ordered to go to Germany and plans to continue to state his views to other members of the armed forces there.



Paul Boutelle  
Socialist Workers Party  
Candidate for Vice President

## THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE



**SANITATION MEN.** New York sanitation workers outside Department of Sanitation building during work stoppage.

FEB. 5 — When John J. DeLury, president of the New York City Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, came out of City Hall last Friday with an unacceptable offer of wage increases from Fun City's mayor, he met a barrage of opposition from 10,000 sanitation men demonstrating outside City Hall. It was comparable to the reception the New York garage workers gave their leaders just a week before. But DeLury also got something else — an egg which did not hit him. He got the pitch without too much difficulty, and from the top of a truck shouted, "I accept the motion for go-go-go."

The strike at this writing is in its fourth day. City officials, in court today seeking an injunction against the union under the infamous Taylor (RAT) law, claim it has caused a health and fire hazard, blaming everything on the strikers.

The sanitation men are asking for a one-year contract, a \$600 annual raise, a 40-hour week with time and a half for Saturday, double time for Sunday work, differentials for night workers, and a higher city contribution to their health and welfare plans.

You cannot exactly call these workers impatient. Their previous contract expired last July 1. Mayor Lindsay says the city will not be "blackmailed" into a wage agreement that he terms "unreasonable."

On Jan. 15 workers who have been on strike at two construction companies building Disney World in Orlando, Fla., had the active support of 2,000 workers from Cape Kennedy and Orlando. The Disney World workers are members of the International Union of Operating Engineers. They are demanding an increase in wages from \$2 to \$4.25 per hour.

The sympathy strikers were met by a "hastily assembled force of 200 law enforcement officers who rushed to the scene with shotguns and tear gas."

National Aeronautics and Space Administration Information Officer Gordon Harris from Cape Kennedy reported, "about 94 members of the Ironworkers Local 808 of Orlando did not show up for work at Cape Kennedy this morning. . . work on Apollo-Saturn launching project was affected by the absence of workers." A spokesman for the U.S. Army Engineers said 35 ironworkers were missing at two projects. Construction at the Orlando Navy Base was disrupted when 450 out of 500 workers failed to show up, mostly because of "reported illness."

Within 48 hours after a strike began against 14 plants of the Harvester Company, a new contract was ready for presentation to the affected United Auto Workers members. The agreement pro-

vides for an increase of 28 cents per hour, raising the present straight-time figure from \$3.52 to \$3.80.

The typographical unions now on strike in San Francisco are asking federal action on possible antitrust aspects of the merger of the San Francisco *Chronical* and *Examiner* into a joint printing and sales company. The merger was accomplished in September 1965 to create the San Francisco Printing Co.

On Jan. 5 the Mailers Union, part of the ITU, struck the printing company — after fruitless negotiations that lasted over 10 months. Management claims the talks broke off over the issue of automation. Union spokesmen said they had stopped talking when the company tried to insert language into the contract that would have destroyed the union's jurisdiction — the company wanted to farm out mailing to other plants.

As previously reported in *The Militant*, newspaper strikes are now going on in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Detroit.

On Jan. 24 the Copper Range Co. of White Pines, Mich., broke employer ranks and signed a contract covering its 1,850 workers with the United Steelworkers Union. Terms of the contract have not yet been publicized, pending ratification of the contract by the workers involved, 80 percent of whom are members of the USWU.

Informed sources, however, claim the new 42-month contract increases wages by about 96 cents per hour over the life of the contract.

Copper Range Co. is a one-mine, one-refinery operation, so other corporation officials discount the possibility that the settlement reached there can set a pattern for the whole industry.

Meanwhile the president's "fact-finding" board is now hearing representatives of the Big Four copper corporations and the unions involved in the seven-month strike. Rumors are afloat that face-to-face negotiations with Phelps-Dodge are going on.

An indication that the Steelworkers Union, which is leading the 26-union fight in the copper strike, is buckling on the demand for company-wide contract terms covering all workers, is a statement by Joseph Molony, vice president of the USW, who said, . . . the two key issues are common contract termination dates for all properties of a company and extension of the eventual economic settlement to all properties of each company . . . But . . . there could be variations in the economic package from unit to unit . . . We aren't inflexible," he said, noting that the union is no longer seeking company-wide contracts.

—Marvel Scholl

### PAUL BOUTELLE REPORTS

## Arkansas Chamber of Horrors

The Jan. 28 *New York Times* carried an article titled, "Arkansas Prison; Chamber of Horror." It was the first of a series of articles exposing atrocities which have been committed against prisoners over the years at the State Penitentiary in Arkansas.

The majority of the inmates at that prison are black, and it can be taken for granted that the worst treatment in that and all other prisons around the country is meted out to black inmates.

Thomas Murton, a criminology professor who was recently appointed prison superintendent, has discovered that prisoners have been tortured and murdered. He says, "Anything that man has done to man down through the centuries has been done officially here."

The *Times* reports that officials, guards, and trustees tortured and flogged scores of prisoners with heavy leather straps, rubber hoses, chains, knotted ropes, shovels, baseball bats, hoe handles, needles, pliers, and the fan belt from a farm tractor.

Recently I saw Thomas Murton on television and he said that he was considering quitting because he is finding so little support in correcting the horrible conditions at the prison. He said it was "affecting him psychologically." So far as I know, this was not reported in the newspapers.

When you read the details of what has been exposed about the prison thus far, it is easy to see why Murton would be unable to cope with what he found. Inmates are charging that many prisoners have been beaten and murdered, and one prisoner has led authori-

ties to a graveyard where three bodies were found.

The *Times* reports that Murton "implicated guards and other prison authorities and charged they had sought to cover up by writing off the slain inmates as 'escapees' . . . He was unable to estimate the number of deaths. He noted, however, that 213 inmates were officially listed as escaped and added that many had left no discernible trace even after long absences."

John H. Haley, a Little Rock lawyer who is chairman of the State Penitentiary Board, said prison records show a few one-week periods in which eight to 10 inmates, some of them in their 20's and 30's, had died of "congestive heart failure."

The prisoner who led officials to the grave sites identified one of the graves as belonging to Jack Jackson. He says Jackson and other inmates had been beaten and shot by prison authorities. Prison records show Jackson as an "escapee."

Investigations of the prison have revealed the conditions in which the prisoners were forced to live. The kitchens are filthy and swarming with flies. Kitchen workers say that meat is served only once a month. Other meals consist of "a very thin, watered-down serving of rice" and "tasteless corn bread."

In the women's section of the prison, inmates were once forced to endure an enforced silence for eight months. They were not permitted to speak except to ask one of the matrons a question. Some of the women served as maids in the former superintendent's house

nearby. Murton said that a button near the official's bed could sound a buzzer in the reformatory to order service from an inmate.

Black women were provided with a galvanized tub and scrub board to wash clothing sent in by matrons and their families. Their food was generally "limited to leftovers from the table where white prisoners ate."

Politicians in Arkansas seem more upset about the coverage the prison is getting in the papers than about the fact that such a "Chamber of Horror" exists. The Arkansas state legislature has actually passed a resolution deploring the worldwide publicity the prison farm has received. Arkansas Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller has said, "I'd rather Arkansas made the front page of the *New York Times* two days running about something other than bodies."

Action has been taken to cut down on the publicity. According to the Feb. 6 *New York Post*, the state police have taken over the investigation and have shut off the press from newsworthy information. They reportedly have not even told Murton himself about the progress of the investigation.

—Paul Boutelle

## Vice President Hit by Protest In Chicago

By Ed Burress

CHICAGO, Feb. 1 — Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey was picketed by some 500 antiwar demonstrators at the University of Chicago tonight when he snuck into town to speak at a testimonial dinner in honor of William Benton, a local Democratic Party hack.

Humphrey's arrival was kept secret, but several members of Students for a Democratic Society at the U of C learned of his presence at Mandel Hall and quickly spread the word around the campus. The Chicago Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was meeting at the U of C at the time and mobilized to join the rapidly growing picket line. Because the demonstration was called on the spur of the moment, there were very few signs, but this was made up for by almost constant chanting of the slogan "End the War in Vietnam — Bring the Troops Home."

As more people joined the demonstration, the picket line at the main door sent groups to cover other entrances to the building. A group of about 75 students in the quadrangle could see the dinner going on inside the building, and they made sure the diners could hear the slogan.

The demonstration started at 8:30 p.m. with about 50 students in the line. By 9:45 p.m. the crowd had grown to about 400 in front of the main door, with about 100 at other doors.

Though the weather was very cold and there was steady rain, the demonstration continued until 11:25, when Humphrey left the building by the main door. The waiting limousine that whisked him away was pursued by shouting students.

During the demonstration, about 15 young Afro-Americans started a chant of "Free Rap — Jail Humphrey."

On the picket line members of the Student Mobilization Committee passed out leaflets for a demonstration to take place Sunday, Feb. 4, at Northwestern University where Dean Rusk is expected to speak at the graduation ceremony of Loyola University. University of Chicago students are planning to send a busload to greet Rusk at Northwestern.

## Brooklyn Parents Ask Control of Junior High

By Martha Harrison

NEW YORK—"Community control of our schools" was the subject of a speak-out held in District 13 (Bedford-Stuyvesant) in Brooklyn on Jan. 25. Community control was defined as control over the hiring and firing, the curriculum, books, and construction and repair of the schools.

Over 100 people were present at the meeting which grew out of an incident involving the refusal of Junior High School principal John O'Connor to allow the children to enter the school building earlier during the recent spell of freezing weather. Members of the black community who had heard of the decision were infuriated and went to JHS 117 to remind the principal of some of the basic principles of humanity. What began as a verbal exchange deteriorated into a mutual physical exchange.

As a result of the incident there has been an outcry from school administrators demanding more "protection" in the schools. School superintendent Donovan immediately responded to this by asking the Board of Education for an emergency allocation of \$1,125,000 to hire "school security aides" (cops) for each of the city's 906 schools.

The meeting on Jan. 25 reflected the anger felt here because of the readiness of the authorities to spend money on cops while turning a deaf ear to the demands and needs of the community.

A CORE representative read aloud a statement in support of Allie Lamont, who has been accused of assaulting the principal. He asked for contributions toward the legal expenses facing Lamont, and people were urged to attend the trial on March 1.

The main speaker was Ralph Poynter, chairman of the Teachers' Freedom Party, who said when the "black man speaks of

freedom he's called a racist, provocateur, and bad man," but "there can be no education without freedom."

Among the groups represented at the meeting were: Brooklyn CORE, African-American Teachers, Youth In Action, Central Brooklyn Coordinating Council, Young African-American Brothers of the Lower East Side, and the Teachers' Freedom Party. The Parents Organizations of District 13 sponsored the meeting.

A leaflet passed out advertising the meeting stated, "If the community controlled its schools: 1) Our children would not be locked out in cold weather. 2) Our children would not be two and three years behind in reading and math. 3) There would be no fighting in the schools if the schools served the community. 4) There would be no need for \$1½ million for guards, since if the schools were part of the community, the community would protect its schools. 5) If our children were being educated, parents would not be as angry as they are today."

African-American Teachers Association President Albert Vann charged earlier that "The greatly publicized incident at JHS 117 in which a principal and two teachers were reported beaten by four community people should not be looked upon in isolation. . . .

"At best, the 117 incident is but an inkling of the increasing hostility felt by the black community as they begin to realize that they have no control over forces that directly and adversely effect their lives, and the lives of their children . . .

"Daily, hundreds of children are physically abused; daily, thousands of our children are psychologically and academically whipped; daily our community dies a little too, because our young is our most precious resources."



# ...New Stage of Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

Johnson gave his generals. But these attacks will only increase the determination of the Vietnamese people to fight against the U.S. and Saigon forces.

The utter contempt for, and fear of, civilians—less than 10 days ago alleged to be supporters of Washington's invasion—is paralleled only by the frantic savagery meted out to captured rebels themselves.

An AP radiophoto of South Vietnamese national police chief Brig. Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan shooting a captured rebel officer in the head, point blank, sent a chill of horror around the world. The execution of prisoners of war has precedents too, and these led to the trials at Nuremberg.

Lyndon Johnson's only answer to the disastrous political setback of Democratic administration policies has been a volley of threats, lies and homespun Texas arrogance. Most fantastic are the casualty figures for the attacking guerrillas.

Now up to 21,300 dead, the figures are supposed to prove that the offensive is a "last ditch" attempt by "suicide squads." A few days ago, when the figure was smaller, *New York Times* correspondent Tom Buckley wryly commented:

## Fantastic Claims

"The tally as of this morning was 12,074 enemy soldiers killed, or about a third of the enemy attacking force. On the basis of two men wounded for each man killed the casualty report would indicate that the entire Viet Cong force has been put out of action."

The dead-to-wounded ratio for American soldiers has been somewhat higher than two to one. As of Feb. 6, the U.S. Command admitted that 546 GIs have been killed in the attacks and 3,084 wounded.

Johnson's second line of defense is the assertion that the NLF offensive has failed "militarily." "That is not to say that they have not disrupted services," Johnson explained in a White House press conference Feb. 3.

"It is just like when we have a riot in a town or when we have a very serious strike, or bridges go out, or lights—power failures and things. They have disrupted services. A few bandits can do that in any city in the land."

The evidence? Blocks and blocks of bombed out rubble in city after



"EVERYTHING'S OKAY—THEY NEVER REACHED THE MIMOGRAPH MACHINE"

city and tens of thousands of refugees fleeing from the U.S. reaction.

Thirdly, argues Johnson, the National Liberation Front has failed to rally the city populations to its side. But even on this point—and this is the crucial political point—Johnson has been unable to carry with him a significant sector of the American capitalist press.

The once strongly prowar *Wall Street Journal*, for example, took a decidedly pessimistic stand on this question: "The fact that the Communists were able to infiltrate on such a scale and do so much damage," it commented editorially Feb. 6, "is strong ground for suspecting that they had the covert support of some nominally anti-Communist South Vietnamese, perhaps even within the government."

"No one knows that the Vietcong-North Vietnamese objective actually was to capture cities or overthrow the government; the aim may have been that which has been accomplished—a terrible demoralization, showing up, for all the South Vietnamese (and the U.S.) to see, the frailty of the government and its military forces..."

"It raises in the starkest form not only the question of the weakness in Saigon but of whether the U.S. effort is reaching a point of diminishing return."

## Editorial

And on its editorial page the same day, the *Wall Street Journal* carried an article by Robert Keatley, who argued: "Those who stress that the Vietnamese people didn't rise up in support of the Vietcong seldom add that neither did they supply information that would have tipped off the allied side."

The National Liberation Front attack destroyed a fundamental contention of the Johnson administration. The administration has maintained that, whatever control the NLF might exercise in the

countryside, the cities and surrounding areas are strongly in Saigon's hands and impenetrable to guerrilla forces.

For purposes of close approximation, the area now "pacified" has been reduced to that number of square inches of ground actually occupied by U.S. and loyal Saigon soldiers and their tanks and artillery.

What really frightens the American ruling class about this attack, however, is precisely that it throws into question the safety of one-half the occupied land, namely, the land occupied by the Saigon troops.

The brunt of the NLF offensive, in fact, was launched against centers mainly held by South Vietnamese troops. Reverses only began to take place when U.S. troops and bombers were brought to the rescue. For the first time in the war, the guerrillas had appealed directly to the soldiers of the Saigon armies occupying the cities to come over to the side of revolution. What happened?

The only report we have seen so far was in the Feb. 7 *New York Post*. The *Post* reports that a Hanoi Radio broadcast made by the National Liberation Front command says that Saigon troops in 169 posts defected to the NLF.

The *Wall Street Journal*, in the editorial already cited, expressed the fear (in the language of indirection) that the Saigon army and government would disintegrate:

## "How Good Is It?"

"Now we suppose the Saigon government will manage to stay in power, or if it goes there will be another, as there have been so many. But if it doesn't really have the support of most of the people or the ability to save them from nationwide terror and murder, how good is it? What, indeed, is the U.S. trying to save?"

What the *Wall Street Journal* reads in the cards is a new stage of the Vietnam revolution in which masses of Saigon soldiers go over to the rebels. It would militarily destroy Washington's position in South Vietnam, not to mention its political impact both in Vietnam and the United States.

In his White House press conference, Johnson attacked his critics on the war for playing "Monday morning quarterback" in second-guessing the American position. He and General Westmoreland, Johnson contended, have been "looking at the other fellow's hole card."

A bit of advice from another poker player. There comes a time in some games when it doesn't make any difference at all what "the other fellow" has in the hole. The cards showing are enough to tell you who is winning.

## Clergymen Denounce U.S. Crimes in War

Twenty-nine prominent Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish clergymen have released a statement charging that the U.S. government's conduct in Vietnam has demonstrated "consistent violation of almost every international agreement relating to the rules of warfare."

The document is part of a new book, *In the Name of America*, published by the 16,000-member Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. Signers include the Rev. John C. Bennett, president of the Union Theological Seminary, and Rev. Martin Luther King. The book documents U.S. war crimes under the Geneva Conventions on the rules of modern warfare.

## A CORRECTION

Last week we ran an article with the headline, "Nashville reports over 700 arrests." As the body of the article explained, there were actually 70 arrests.

# THE MILITANT

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345

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## Meaning for Antiwar Movement

The dramatic new stage in the Vietnamese revolution signaled by the spectacular National Liberation Front offensive in the cities of South Vietnam has important implications for the antiwar movement here in the United States. The NLF offensive has dealt Washington's whole line a severe blow, exposing the truth about the war more clearly than ever before.

The Westmoreland contention that the U.S. and its Saigon puppets were slowly winning the war has been blasted to shreds. The Saigon dictatorship obviously has no "secure" areas under its control, nor does it have the support of the masses of Vietnamese in either the city or the countryside. The National Liberation Front is growing stronger, with deep roots in the population. The bombings and shellings of urban civilian centers by U.S. and Saigon government troops, in frantic reaction to the NLF attacks, will only succeed in increasing the hatred of the Vietnamese for the U.S. occupying force and its Thieu-Ky puppets. The terrific power of the blow dealt by the NLF can only increase the will and determination of the masses of Vietnam to fight.

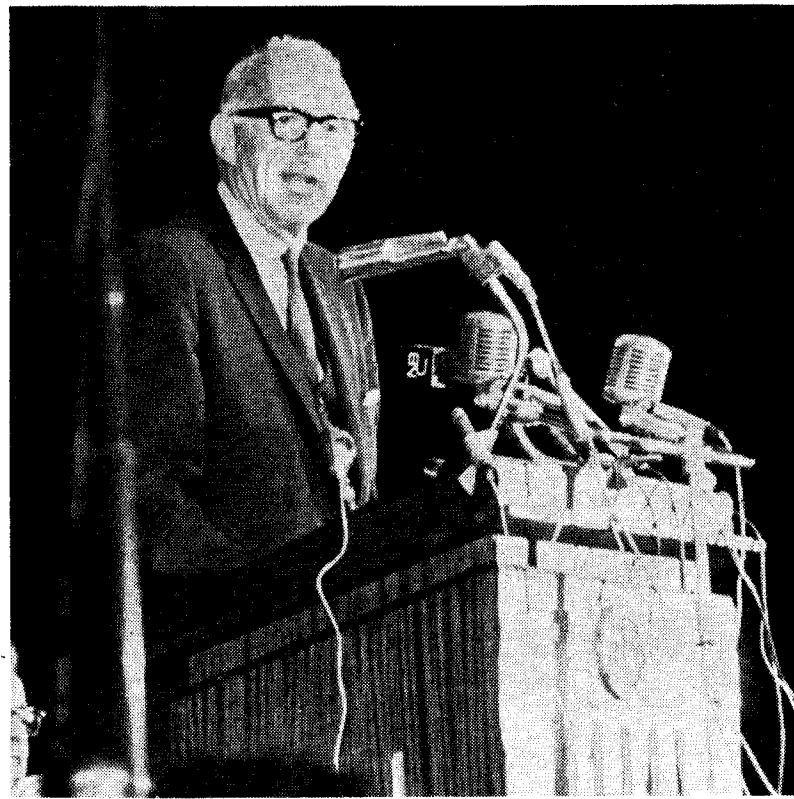
Washington's perspective of continuing its unjust war against the Vietnamese will mean more terrible suffering for the Vietnamese and more and more dead and mutilated American men. The price ordinary Americans are paying and will pay for Washington's war is going up.

These events are intensifying antiwar sentiments where they existed already, and are awakening new layers of the population to opposition to the war. The job before the antiwar movement now is to reach out to as many people as possible and build the next major mass action against the war into the greatest political demonstrations this country has ever seen. April 27 has been projected as a target date for demonstrations in every city in the U.S. and the world. The movement must begin to work on these demonstrations without delay, and organize hundreds of thousands to demand that the senseless, unjust war be ended, and the American troops be brought home now!

## War Crime in Saigon

Millions of Americans and people throughout the world saw on television or in newspaper photographs the vile spectacle of the chief of the Saigon dictatorship's police force murdering a young man described as a "captured Vietcong officer" during the fighting in Saigon.

To shoot down captured prisoners is a war crime. The news photograph showing Brig. Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan carefully aiming his pistol at the head of the young revolutionary and squeezing the trigger captures the barbarous essence of the war being waged by Washington and its Saigon puppets, and is a reflection of their frantic response to the stunning offensive of the National Liberation Front.



DR. SPOCK. At Boston rally Jan. 28 for noted pediatrician and four others charged with advocating draft resistance, Dr. Spock read telegrams and messages of support. One of those he read was from Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, who sent the following: "Attacks on you and your co-defendants are attacks on the entire antiwar movement. I support you in the old and good spirit, which you have exhibited yourself on more than one occasion, that an injury to one is an injury to all."

## Generals Show Concern About U.S. Casualties

*New York Times* reporters in Vietnam find out more than is printed in its pages. Some of the news the *Times* does not deem fit to print does show up, however, in *Times Talk*, an internal news-sheet published for *Time's* workers.

In the January issue of *Times Talk*, reporter Bernie Weinraub described a news-briefing given reporters in Saigon:

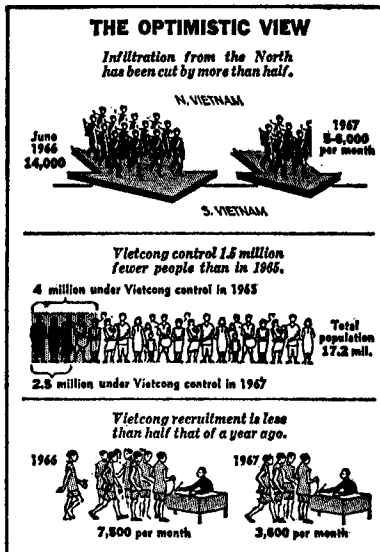
"At a Wednesday briefing a few months ago—one of the those 'deep background' sessions—a brigadier general said with a smile:

"Well I'm happy to say that the Army's casualties finally caught up with the Marines' last week."

"There was a gasp. A civilian U.S. mission officer, sitting next to the general, turned and said incredulously: 'You don't mean you're happy.'"

"The general was adamant. 'Well the Army should be doing their job too,' he said."

"Jim Pringle, the bureau chief of Reuters, turned to me and whispered: 'My God, this is straight out of *Catch-22*.'"



BULL. New York Times illustration of Westmoreland's report to President in November.

## OUR MAN IN HAVANA

## The Cultural Congress

By Harry Ring

HAVANA, Cuba — I think the prime significance of the Cultural Congress of Havana held here Jan. 4-11 is the very fact that it was held and that, despite its heterogeneous composition, it was nearly unanimous in its declarations of revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism.

It was a very clear and important manifestation of the process of radicalization that is now taking place among intellectuals in virtually every part of the world. It confirmed that the increasingly evident global counterrevolutionary role of U.S. imperialism is having a profound impact on the thinking of intellectuals, outside as well as inside the U.S. It has been said that Lyndon Johnson — and all he personifies — is creating a new generation of radicals in the United States. It can be reported that he is doing the same thing on a world scale.

The Congress was also one more testimony to the remarkable role that this tiny island plays in world politics. Moscow and Peking may be the two power centers of the anticapitalist world, but more and more Havana is becoming the international center for those who seek a genuinely revolutionary course.

I was particularly struck by this fact as I sat in the Chaplin Theater while Fidel Castro made the closing address of the Congress. The hall was packed with people from around the globe, and there were a good number of prestigious figures among them. They listened to what Fidel had to say with the most intense interest. They applauded with vigor as he lashed



AT CULTURAL CONGRESS. Representative of South Vietnam National Liberation Front (center).

and closing day of plenary sessions, with daily workshop commissions in between. There were five commissions: Culture and National Independence; The Integral Formation of Man; The Responsibility of Intellectuals With Respect to the Problems of the Underdeveloped World; Culture and Mass Media; Problems of Artistic Creation; and Scientific and Technical Work.

More than 50 position papers were submitted to the various commissions and a consensus resolution was adopted by each. In addition, the Congress adopted a general resolution largely embodying the key points of the commission resolutions, a resolution in support of the Vietnamese liberation struggle and an "Appeal of Havana," which is a call for revolutionary opposition to imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular.

The greatest interest at the Congress centered around Commission III on the responsibility of the intellectual. If I understood correctly, a controversial issue was whether the responsibility of the intellectual is to his work or to joining the guerrillas, arms in hand. (After listening to some of the discussion, one delegate said he hoped that for the sake of the guerrillas the intellectuals would decide to stick to their work.)

## General Resolution

The general resolution of the Congress presents the issue in a balanced way:

"... the intellectual who desires to be really worthy of the name has no alternative but to join the struggle against imperialism ... There are many ways to participate in that struggle, but the only truly revolutionary intellectual is he who ... is willing to face all risks, and who is not deterred from the supreme opportunity to serve his country and his people by the risk of dying while fulfilling his duty.

"The honorable exercise of literature, art and science constitutes in itself a weapon, and the intellectual who resists the flattery and threats of the neocolonialists and the national oligarchies can feel satisfied that he is carrying out his intellectual task with dignity. But the truly revolutionary criterion for the intellectual ... is his readiness to share in the combat duties of the students, the workers and peasants when circumstances so demand.

"The permanent bond between the intellectuals and other popular forces, the process of learning from each other, is a basis for cultural progress."

The Congress also took a bal-

anced view on the nature and worth of culture in the imperialist centers and in the victim countries.

"In the struggle for liberation and development of that struggle," the resolution states, "elements of an authentic national culture grow and are strengthened. Tradition plays a double role. In defending national values against the invasion of the ideology and artistic forms of the dominating country ... what may be taken as valid elements of the cultural tradition are often only manifestations of folklore, valuable as historic evidence of the cultural process but serving as stumbling blocks to true progress.

## Tradition

"On the other hand, an alleged 'universalist' point of view may lead us to overlooking features and valid contributions of the cultural tradition that can serve as a driving force and may be integrated into new universal currents ...

"Those who are making an effort to contribute to the flowering of nationally rooted cultures ... have the task of avoiding narrow nationalism and imitative universalism."

Declaring that so-called underdevelopment is not the product of some mysterious process of slower growth but the result of imperialist oppression and that "U.S. imperialism is today the brutal agent of that oppression," the resolution states:

"The Congress has stressed that in the present historic conditions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, dependency of a colonial or neocolonial nature must be eliminated. And this revolutionary change ... can only be attained through armed struggle. This makes revolutionary violence, and in particular armed struggle, a necessity wherever this situation exists."

## Acclamation

The resolution was adopted by acclamation with three abstentions.

The Congress declared its solidarity with those in the U.S., black and white, who fight against Washington's reactionary course.

The resolution further declared: "All honest intellectuals of the world should refuse to cooperate with, or accept invitations or financial assistance from, the government of the United States of America and its official agencies, or from any organization or foundation whose activity leads one to believe that intellectuals who participate in them serve the imperialist policy of the United States."

## "Peace Party" Groups Split on Third Ticket

By Les Evans

NEW YORK — Two separate organizations, both claiming to represent a "peace and freedom" alternative to Johnson in the November elections, have announced they will seek a place on the New York state ballot. The two groups describe themselves as the "New York Peace and Freedom Party Organizing Committee," and the "Preparatory Conference for a New York State Independent Convention."

The Organizing Committee held a press conference Feb. 1 at which it was announced that local "Peace and Freedom Party" clubs would be formed and a statewide convention would be called within a few months to adopt a program, choose candidates and take steps, to get on the ballot.

A report was made at the press conference by Dr. Francis Halpern, chairman of the San Diego, Calif., PFP. Halpern said his organization stood for "immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam" and for "black power." He said that he was personally opposed to supporting candidates of the Democratic Party, but this was disputed by another participant in the press conference, author Paul Goodman, who said he strongly favored campaigning for liberal Democrats.

## Not Socialist

A majority of the participants denied that the organization was socialist or favored the creation of a socialist society.

The following night this same Organizing Committee held a public meeting in downtown Manhattan to launch local "Peace and Freedom Party" clubs. About 100 people took part in a heated debate on perspectives for the group.

The sharpest discussion took place over relations with the National Conference for New Politics. The NCNP played a major role in calling the "Preparatory Conference for a New York State Independent Convention," which was to meet the next day. Members of the PFP Organizing Com-

mittee charged that the NCNP was not interested in a permanent third party, but was only going to mount a "one shot" third ticket.

The Feb. 3 meeting of the "Preparatory Conference for a New York State Independent Convention" also drew about 100 people. It was announced that 43 organizations had registered for the conference. These included the Lower Eastside Mobilization for Peace Action, United for Peace of Long Island, New York Medical Committee Against the War in Vietnam, the Communist Party, and a number of local New Politics committees.

## Third Tickets

The meeting heard reports on third ticket and third party efforts in California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New Jersey. The California report was given by Francis Halpern. He announced that the California PFP would hold a state convention late in March to discuss questions of program and candidates.

A group in Pennsylvania was reported to be petitioning through existing organizations to put a Dick Gregory-Dr. Spock ticket on the ballot. In Michigan a group has been formed calling itself the "New Politics Party"; it has not chosen any candidates but has begun petitioning. In New Jersey, on the other hand, most "New Politics people" were reportedly working for McCarthy.

During the meeting observers from the "New York Peace and Freedom Party Organizing Committee" criticized the gathering for not favoring the formation of a third party. Participants in the meeting replied that they saw no real difference in perspective. Political issues such as Vietnam, black power, and the nature of the American system were not discussed by representatives of either group.

The "Independent Convention" was called for "no later than May 1" and it was mandated to nominate a third ticket including candidates for President, Vice President, and Senator.

## West German Stalinists Slander Che Guevara

Echoing Moscow's opposition to the revolutionary line of the Cuban leadership, West German Stalinist circles are advancing "ideological" refutations of the Cuban position — Che Guevara's in particular.

The Hamburg weekly *Blinkfeuer* [Spark], which faithfully reflects the viewpoint of the illegal West German Communist Party and which has published major Moscow-line documents in the past, offers a scholastic contribution to the current polemics in its Dec. 21, 1967, issue.

The *Blinkfeuer* article is an interview with Professor Joseph Schleifstein, one of the coeditors of the East German de luxe edition of the collected works of Franz Mehring; he is described by *Blinkfeuer* as having "become well known as one of the most prolific Marxist scholars."

The section quoted below is the professor's answer to a question on the strategy of "many Vietnams."

"That is an appeal to the unknown. It sounds very revolutionary but it basically amounts to wanting to prescribe forms and methods of struggle for revolutionaries and socialists in other countries. But no one has that right. That is the affair of the revolutionaries and socialists in each country, who must be considered the best judge of the conditions of their struggle.

"It is equally unjustifiable for

someone who does not share in the least way the Soviet government's responsibility for world peace and the fate of the Socialist countries, to ask the Soviet Union to be readier to assume risks."

## Files Stolen From Cleveland Antiwar Office

CLEVELAND — Correspondence and mailing lists were taken from the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council office here in an unsolved burglary during the weekend of Jan. 20-21, Dr. Sidney Peck, coordinator of the Peace Action Council, announced.

When staff volunteers arrived at 10 a.m. Monday, they found file cabinets empty. A typewriter, the petty cash fund, and the legal file of the Cleveland Draft Resistance Union, which maintains an office there, were also missing.

The Peace Action Council expressed deep concern over the meaning of a robbery of lists of names. Dr. Peck pointed out that while no locks were forced and there were no signs of vandalism, he was concerned that "Police refused to take fingerprints."

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# An Interview with Castro

An extensive interview with Fidel Castro, granted to the internationally known journalist and political analyst K. S. Karol, appeared in the February issue of *Evergreen*, the literary review published in New York.

This is the interview Karol obtained at the time of the conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity held in Havana last July and August. It is published under the title, "Four Days With Fidel."

The two met at two o'clock in the morning in the newly built village of Los Arados at the extreme southern tip of Cuba. Together with a group of Cuban army officers, Castro and Karol spent two days on a tour by jeep through the Sierra Cristal, arriving at last at an experimental agricultural project at Pinares de Mayari.

Castro talked about Cuba's economy, stressing projects to increase the volume of free goods and services in order to eliminate money as a regulator of social relations.

"This isn't a poor country," Castro said. "It has a number of natural resources (precious metals and iron in particular) and is an extremely fertile land for a country with a relatively small population. What made Cuba an underdeveloped country was imperialist exploitation. More than half of our land was not cultivated, and we had no clear idea of its resources."

## Milk Production

As one example, Castro pointed to the increases in milk production:

"We have always had plenty of cattle in Cuba, but our herds were never good dairy cattle and we used to import milk. Even now it remains rationed. Then, two years ago, we bought some bulls reputed for their dairy qualities; we've studied various methods for improving our pastures, we've created almost 2,000 insemination centers . . . By 1970 we'll be producing 20 million liters of milk per month, and our maximum domestic needs will be only two million liters. Free milk is not a pipe dream."

At Pinares de Mayari, Karol was shown a vast agricultural project: 25,000 hectares [61,000 acres] of citrus fruits, truck gardens, and precious wood on land which had lain fallow before the Revolution. It is worked by 7,000 young people, all volunteers.

Karol questioned Castro about the still significant number of small private farms.

## Small Landowners

"You asked me why we helped the small landowners," Castro replied, "giving them credit and furnishing them with fertilizer and free installations: they represent the private sector resisting control, whose existence is, to all intents and purposes, diametrically opposed to our socialist plans. My answer is: private property will disappear in Cuba the day when the socialist sector will have a productive capacity sufficient to make family businesses obsolete."

"Why haven't you tried to group these peasants into cooperatives?" Karol asked.

Fidel answered, "What, after all, is a cooperative? It is a certain number of individual farms brought together, and if one or two families are hostile to us, that's enough to influence the entire group. The cooperative does not represent a socialist form of property; it even threatens to create another form of private property on the land and consequently impede real socialism later on. It is not my impression that this problem has been solved in the other socialist countries."

Castro said that there are still 250,000 peasants who own their own land in Cuba.

Karol asked Castro to comment on the charge that Cuba's econo-

my is "subsidized" by the Soviet Union, citing estimates of \$600 million per year that the Soviet Union spends on Cuba.

"Our economic relations with the socialist countries are quite clear," Castro said. "The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made a political choice by establishing economic relations with us at a time when the United States was trying to eliminate us. This decision enabled us to reorient our foreign trade and



Fidel Castro

Photo by Harry Ring

thwart our enemies' economic maneuvers. Russia also supplies us with arms, because not only must we cope with an economic war but also with sabotage and the constant threat of invasion by the United States . . .

"But, aside from the arms we receive free of charge, we pay for all the merchandise we import from socialist countries. No one gives us any gifts or 'subsidizes' us . . . When we owe money to France or England, no one thinks that they are 'subsidizing' our socialism. They profit by their trade with us, as does the socialist bloc."

During the last lap of the trip through the Sierra Cristal, the revolutionary leader and the reporter discussed Cuba's position in the world revolutionary struggle:

While very concerned with the development of Cuba's socialist economy, Castro declared, "We're not crazy enough to want to try and build here at home a 'national communism' which would work out a *modus vivendi* with the United States and, little by little, become reintegrated into the American economy. Such an attitude would be both immoral and unrealistic. . . .

"The American leaders . . . will agree to coexist with us if we will issue an invitation to the rest of Latin American to accept the *status quo*."

"This kind of 'peaceful coexistence' is of no interest whatever to us."

The last meeting between Karol and Castro took place just after the end of the OLAS conference, Aug. 10.

Karol concludes on the basis of this discussion that Castro does not view the OLAS as a new international. This flows, he says, from Castro's statement to him that "The Communist parties have their place in this movement . . ." and Fidel's insistence that guer-

rillas cannot be led from outside their country. "It is the adherence of each [member organization of OLAS] to internationalist principles," Karol says, "which will guarantee the cohesion of this new organization, with the task of the permanent committee being simply to coordinate mutual aid among them."

He quotes Castro as saying of the dispute with the Kremlin-oriented Communist parties, "No one has a monopoly on revolution

or revolutionary theory. We make no claims to playing the role of guide, nor do we think that our party should serve as a model. We believe in the virtues of discussion and constant reexamination of certain truths which for 35 years have been considered as self-evident and which, in fact, are not at all."

Later the discussion shifted to the war in the Mideast. Castro attributed Egypt's defeat to its army's "lack of revolutionary spirit."

"A truly revolutionary force," he said, "can sometimes retreat in the face of an enemy who is better equipped, but it is always capable of continuing the fight under another form and of wresting final victory."

He said that even if Egypt had been entirely overrun, if it had the necessary cohesion and revolutionary determination it could have carried on guerrilla warfare and eventually beaten the Israeli forces.

Karol said that Castro was "profoundly shocked by certain Arab propaganda" on the eve of the war: "True revolutionaries," Castro declared, "never threaten an entire country with extermination. This propaganda unwittingly helped the Israeli leaders mobilize their people's patriotism which they then used in a war of conquest, carried out under the protection of Yankee imperialism. Our condemnation of Israel is unequivocal, but we do not dispute its right to exist."

Karol says that he was able to verify that Cuba is a country of armed people, ready to defend themselves if the United States should attempt to invade.

Castro told him that "Our only guarantee in the face of aggression is our capacity to defend ourselves and our determination to fight to the last man."

# ... Socialist Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)  
sponsored by SDS. A number of leading SDS members endorsed the campaign, and a Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle group is being organized there.

An interview with Halstead on radio station WNUS was broadcast 10 times during the day, and another interview with WCFL, the major Chicago rock and roll station, was broadcast every half hour one evening.

\* \* \*

Halstead-Boutelle supporters are finding that by confronting local supporters of Senator Eugene McCarthy's Democratic primary campaign, antiwar activists can be won over to supporting the SWP ticket.

A campaign supporter from Atlanta, Ga., reports: "Last night we went up to Athens (Georgia) for McCarthy's speech at the University of Georgia. This turned out to be our most successful campaign activity to date."

"We set up a literature table outside the hall where McCarthy was speaking. After the meeting, the table was almost mobbed. Nearly all the literature and posters were sold in a matter of minutes. There were more people wanting to engage us in conversations than we were able to speak to. The reporter from the local paper was very interested and intends to write something about us. He was impressed by the literature sales and commented that this was an indication of the campaign's popularity."

"A person from the Young Americans for Freedom wanted to know if we had somebody who would debate either one of their people or the head of the Young Republicans."

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle at Roosevelt University in Chicago had a similar experience when Fred Halstead spoke there Jan. 19. A campaign supporter wrote in: "Although the meeting was small (25 students), it was larger than the McCarthy for President group meeting held previously. Ten students attended that meeting, and five of those left after being informed by Halstead-Boutelle supporters that McCarthy is opposed to antiwar demonstrations and the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam."

\* \* \*

Vigorous campaign activity is going on for Halstead and Boutelle right in LBJ's home state. The first issue of *The Campaigner*, newsletter of the Texas Committee for Halstead and Boutelle, came out recently. The six-page bulletin gives information on the candidates and a schedule of Fred Halstead's tour of Texas in March. To subscribe or to contribute to this voice of the Texas Halstead-Boutelle campaign, write to: Texas Committee for Halstead-Boutelle, P.O. Box 39006, Houston, Texas 77039.

In addition to Halstead-Boutelle campaign committees already established in Houston and Austin, there is growing interest in the campaign in Dallas.

\* \* \*

In California the Bay Area Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle have tried a new way of finding speaking engagements for Paul Boutelle on as many campuses as possible when he comes through on tour. First they sent out a mailing to student body presidents, introducing them to the Halstead-Boutelle campaign and asking them to finance and sponsor speaking engagements for the candidates at their school.

Then a mailing was sent out to student supporters of the SWP ticket all over the state urging them to put some pressure on their student governments to invite the SWP candidates to speak.

\* \* \*

Bay Area Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle have been involved in some campus free-speech fights as a result of their

trailblazing to build support for the SWP ticket.

A Halstead-Boutelle supporter from Sonoma State College in Rohnert Park, Calif., called the Bay Area Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and asked them to bring as many activists as possible to Sonoma to participate in a picket line in front of a meeting of the Board of Trustees, protesting a resolution passed by the Board prohibiting demonstrations against campus complicity with the war.

The report from the Bay Area reads: "There were about 100 people at the rally, most of them professors from the northern California state colleges. Students from Humboldt State College, whom we met on the trailblaze the week before, were also present. They seemed surprised and impressed to see us at the picket line. . . . Several of the professors came up and asked us about Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle. Many of the younger professors were involved in the Peace and Freedom Party, but were very interested in what we had to say about it."

On Jan. 28 Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle came to Shasta Junior College in Redding, Calif., in the midst of a campus free-speech dispute. They reported: "The Student Senate has passed a free speech bill which the school administration will not recognize . . ."

"The Student Senate approved us and our socialist literature table. The administration had to inspect it first in consultation with county officials and later denied permission to display or sell our books. However, we were permitted, by other college authorities, to set up the campaign table, but without the knowledge and sanction of the dean of students."

"The YSHB made an impression on Shasta College. A few students expressed gratitude for our appearance. It has become a concrete issue for the free-speech fight going on at this campus, and we have been invited by the students to come back to speak and/or debate."

"The day we left town, the dean of students suspended Rick Perlman, the person who had helped us set up our table, evidently for by-passing the dean's approval for our appearance. The Student Senate voted for Rick's reinstatement, but the board of trustees upheld the dean's action . . ."

\* \* \*

At the Student Mobilization Committee conference held in Chicago on the Jan. 28 weekend, over 50 students signed up as endorsers of the Halstead-Boutelle ticket. Many participants had already become endorsers before the conference. Fred Halstead attended the conference as an observer, and was asked by several students if he would speak at their campuses.

\* \* \*

When Paul Boutelle was speaking in Boston, campaign supporters were able to raise \$135 for the campaign fund with almost no effort. A campaign supporter volunteered the use of her home for a reception for Boutelle, and attractive invitations were mailed. Around 30 people came, almost all of them new supporters of the campaign, and they donated very generously.

—Caroline Lund

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**"It's the Flu"****Critical U.S. Medical Situation**

By Marvel Scholl

The drastic medical crisis facing this country goes far deeper than even the frightening fact that there are more than 50,000 too few doctors to take care of a population now over 200,000,000 people. Basically the reason for the crisis is capitalism itself, with health care doled out for profit, not for human welfare. In most industrially advanced countries, the health of a nation is counted as one of the important natural resources.

But that is not the case in the United States, the richest country in the world. As a result, health standards are dropping. Infant mortality is still staggering—24.9 per 1,000 live births nationally, and 44 babies, out of every 1,000 born alive, die in Harlem, New York. The life span has remained stagnant for several years. Contagious diseases, particularly tuberculosis and syphilis, are increasing. Nutritional deficiency diseases have not yet been conquered.

Several years ago the authorities began sounding the tocsin, warning that by 1970 there would be a shortage of 50,000 doctors. That figure has already been exceeded. According to the American Medical Association, there are 275,000 licensed doctors (not all practicing) in the country. Using this figure, the AMA comes up with the ratio of one doctor for every 750 people. Actually the figure of 275,000 includes all the specialists; researchers for the government, universities, and the pharmaceutical industry; as well as all medical school faculties. The

more realistic ratio is one doctor for every 2,000 people.

At the beginning of the century, the ratio of general practitioners to specialists was 8 to 1. Today that ratio has been reversed. In the 1966 graduating classes of 7,000, about 5,000 student went on to study for some specialty, went into research, or left the profession entirely to work for the drug industry advertising agencies.

Thus only 2,000 doctors — general practitioners, obstetricians, pediatricians and ophthalmologists — actually went into practice. And it is estimated (by the AMA) that about 2,000 doctors leave medicine through retirement or death every year!

In addition to the numerical shortage, there is an alarming geographical maldistribution. Great stretches in the country are either entirely or almost entirely doctorless — the mountain and plain states, Appalachia, Florida's pine-barren center spine where the rich tourists don't go, and even some middle-sized and small cities in the Midwest.

For instance, Florida has almost a plethora of physicians on both its tourist coastlines. Yet in the inland counties there are almost no doctors. A few years back the Florida Department of Health made the following offer: It would grant loans large enough to see a medical student all the way through school and his internship and if the graduate came back to practice for two years in a doctorless inland county, the loan would be forgiven. Many students took the loans but not one chose

to repay it by serving the sick people in an inland county.

Even in large cities the distribution is lopsided. Recently St. Luke's Hospital, on the edge of Harlem, made a survey of that ghetto. They found that there was not one single doctor under 35 in the whole area. Most of the physicians still practicing there are from 60 to 70 years old.

How did this mess come about? It's a long story, but, as briefly as possible, here it is:

Back in 1848 a group of European-educated doctors organized the American Medical Association. The AMA began life as a progressive, scientific organization whose main aim was to improve medical care for American people by educating doctors. There were just four colleges that offered courses in medicine — all theory. They were Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Kings College (now Columbia).

In addition to these creditable but inadequate schools, there were hundreds of diploma mills, correspondence schools from which anybody with the money could purchase his sheepskin, his title "doctor," and the right to kill patients legally. There was also an apprenticeship system whereby young men exchanged their services as house and stable boys for the right to follow a general practitioner around and learn by doing.

It took the AMA almost 60 years to win its fight for the establishment of a medical postgraduate system wherein clinical (bedside) medicine could be taught through the use of affiliated teaching hos-



**APPALACHIA.** Poor and rural areas have the worst medical facilities.

pitals. By 1906 many states had begun to build such schools, aided financially by the federal government. Licensing laws and stiff state tests were also instituted.

The government asked the American Medical Association for its assistance in establishing these new schools — gave it carte blanche in deciding upon class size, curriculum, tuition and other fees, and faculty.

Since that long-ago day, many things have happened to the character of the AMA. It has degenerated into a reactionary obstacle to medical progress, putting private profit ahead of human welfare. Yet the government still allows the AMA to control medical education.

That is why in the depression years, when the AMA found most doctors' offices empty of paying patients, it came to the conclusion that there were just too many doctors — 25,000 too many. So it decided upon professional birth control and it had the power to put its new restrictions into effect without any trouble.

Class sizes were cut to 120; scholastic requirements were raised to include only the top 10 percent of all college graduates; tuition, laboratory and library fees, as well as the cost of textbooks, were increased greatly. The curriculum was stiffened to make it impossible for any student to study and earn a living on the side, thus eliminating most working-class scholarship students.

About five years ago the AMA lost its bitter battle to stop the building of more medical colleges and the granting of long-term government loans to students. But most of the proposed new schools are still on the drawing board. The class from which the student body comes remains what it was. Young men and women entering medicine today, for the most part, do so to make money, not inspired by a genuine desire to serve humanity.

The education these students get today has degenerated as the lure of research grants draws more and more professors out of the classrooms — because, as Dr. John Knowles of the Massachusetts General Hospital (Harvard's major teaching affiliate) says, "...that is where the rewards presently are." Dr. Knowles also charges (*The Doctors*, Martin L. Gross pp. 369-70) that students are not being

taught clinical medicine because their teachers are not clinical doctors. This same outspoken man reports that students complain "their professors are not professing." Many classes are taught by tape recordings or closed circuit prerecorded TV lectures. One result, among many, is that there is an average of 2,000 medical school drop-outs every year.

During the second two years the student is assigned as a "medical clerk" on a hospital ward. He is supposed to learn how to take medical histories, observe patients (not treat), make his own diagnoses which he has to defend in lectures and seminars. His preceptor, a practicing and teaching doctor, is supposed to guide his course. Here students complain that "their preceptors are not precepting." Lectures and seminars, when held, are given by residents and interns. One student said he learned his medicine from nurses, nurses' aides, and even patients. They are used for the most part as unpaid messengers, lab assistants, or for transferring patients to the operating room or other wards.

It is not strange then that so many of the young doctors practicing today are half-trained, hardened, anxious to get into a specialty where high fees will bring in a quick annual income of \$25,000.

Recently Yale University, rated as one of the best medical colleges in the country, announced that it was revamping its whole program in order to "produce doctors that are more humane and sensitive." Students will be put at the bedside of patients earlier in their careers. Dr. Frederick C. Redlich, the dean, said, "If the student spends his first two years studying cells and molecules as is now the case, he sometimes loses the wonderful idealism that made him want to be a doctor in the first place."

Isn't that an irony? That a great university like Yale has to search its soul and come to the conclusion that today's doctors are not sensitive and humane?

I don't think the ordinary patient has had to do any soul-searching to decide the same thing. He has only to remember the last time he had to go to a doctor — the overcrowded waiting room, the scant five or ten minutes he got with the great man, the size of his bill and the universal diagnosis — it's a virus!

**Black Liberation Notes**

In front of 750 people at a church meeting in Philadelphia, one of the city's prominent black ministers launched an all-out attack on the U.S. government. What Rev. Paul Washington had to say was probably typical of the angry reactions of many black people, including even more conservative-thinking people, to the events of the last week in Vietnam:

Comparing the black struggle to the struggle of the Vietnamese, he said, "The U.S. government uses the same military approach in each case. Instead of eliminating the cause of these revolts, the U.S. government simply sends more and more soldiers, just as they beef up police forces and maintain men like Rizzo [Philadelphia's police chief] here at home."

"Black people are not standing for this master-slave relationship in the U.S., and other colored peoples are not standing for it abroad," he said. "If we are so concerned about freedom, why don't we go into South Africa to liberate the millions of black slaves there?"

The Black Student Union at San Francisco City college has begun publication of an impressive looking newspaper called *Black Guard*. According to the January issue of the paper, one of the main objectives of the student union will be to institute "a black curriculum" at the city college where 1,300 of the students are black.

In its blind pursuit of "riot control" weapons, one police department has gone so far as to order an armed helicopter like the ones the army uses in Vietnam. The helicopter manufacturers have turned down the request.

On Jan. 24 Rep. Fulton of Tennessee gave a speech that is a



perfect example of the racist thinking behind the so-called fight against "crime in the streets." Describing the mass arrests of black militants in Nashville, which followed the shooting of two cops on Jan. 17, Fulton said:

"Mr. Speaker, a war casualty was reported in my congressional district of Nashville-Davidson County last week.

"The casualty occurred in what has been and continues to be the deadliest and longest war in our Nation's history. It is a war we are not winning. It is the war against crime . . .

"We are all familiar with the Cosa Nostra, the Mafia, the so-called black hand of the underworld which is said to be the power behind organized crime in the United States.

"But the death of Officer Johnson is believed to be the work of a new type of organization made up of those who advocate black power through violent revolution."

Fulton quotes even the conservative *Nashville Banner* as admitting that although a roundup of "Black Power followers" is under way, "this is not to say that the gun wielders were SNCC officials or members from here or elsewhere. Minor charges have been filed against several but the killers, if they are known, have not been identified." (Emphasis added.)

According to the *Banner* the "evidence" that "black power advocates" may have been involved is the police's word that when they opened the trunk of a car supposedly abandoned by those who ran from the scene of the killing, "the drawing of the big black cat of the Black Power movement [the black panther] stared up at them."

Fulton admits that "Injustices have been committed on minorities." But, he says, "there is no injustice that can justify burning, looting and killing. The sooner the advocates of violence can realize this — even if the full force of our Nation must be used to impress it upon them — the sooner responsible leadership will be able to end the injustice that does exist."

Another "Liberation Fund-Raising Party" is scheduled for the "17 Afro-Americans Accused." It will be held at the Brooklyn CORE headquarters, 429 Clinton Ave., on Feb. 17th at 9:00 p.m.

Twenty-nine students who were expelled from Grambling College in Louisiana because of their role in a campus protest movement have been refused readmission by the State Board of Education. In addition, 26 of the 29 expelled students have been reclassified 1-A.

—Elizabeth Barnes

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.

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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.]

## British Reader

Nottingham, England  
Feel I must send a word or two about *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*. I have taken both now for about six years, first in Canada and now here. I rely on them to give me the lowdown on what the significant developments are in the American left.

Six or seven years ago, the paper was very informative on the developments in the Cuban Revolution and was one of the factors in persuading me to become a socialist — that and a visit to Cuba. The development of black nationalism and the speeches and subsequent development of Malcolm X, extensively covered by *The Militant*, I found tremendously absorbing and exciting.

And for the last few years the heightened activity of the antiwar movement — with its debates which have justified our position on the vital questions of the tactical and political methods of best opposing the Vietnam war. As you know, the "solidarity" position has now hegemony among the antiwar groups in Britain.

The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign was tremendously successful with the response that was given to the October 22 demonstration, which was held due to its initiative.

Best wishes for your continued success. We had hoped to take our subscription airmail, but my husband was declared redundant on Friday and arrested in the eve-

ning during a demonstration in Sheffield against Prime Minister Wilson (fined £2), and with prices going up and up we have to count our pennies.

T.G.

## Hypocritical Government

New York, N.Y.

I enjoy your paper. It is one of the few opportunities one gets to read the truth about what is going on behind this hypocritical government.

R.F.

## McCarthy Campaign

Canyon, Calif.

As I pored through the Dec. 18 copy of *The Militant*, I ran across the "McCarthy Campaign" article and read it. I came across three points I consider to be erroneous:

1. McCarthy does not represent a genuine peace force in the Democratic Party.

2. The McCarthy campaign has only the purpose of drawing dissident elements back into the bourgeois political arena, and

3. The Communist Party favors stopping dissent by channeling it back into the bourgeois democratic process.

On the first point, let us look into the factors surrounding McCarthy's bid for the presidential nomination. Anti-Vietnam-war sentiment among Democrats has taken a quantitative and a qualitative leap in recent times, yet without a viable (in their view) alternative nationally, as to what form their opposition to the war should take. Contrary to your view, McCarthy does offer these antiwar Democrats a choice, and as far as bourgeois democratic politics go, a very good choice.

On the second point, what antiwar forces are going to be sucked back into Democratic Party politics that are now outside the Demo-

cratic Party? In California, the Peace and Freedom Party exists. Not only is it an alternative to the present administration, but it represents an alternative to the corrupt and bourgeois two-party system in this country. But, where else in this country is there such an alternative? The Socialist Workers Party?

You also offer an alternative, but not of the nature that non-socialists are going to adopt. The Democratic Party exists and there are quite a few people, workers and other class strata alike, who are going to vote Democrat in the elections. If the choice of a McCarthy over a Johnson is not there, then where is the choice for them?

On the question of the Communist Party seeking to end dissent outside of the democratic process, here is really an unfounded and essentially untrue allegation. The Communist Party, while not being the most advanced ideologically at this time, has taken an essentially correct position regarding the McCarthy campaign in that they too see the need for an alternative in the Democratic Party to the rabid war policies of Johnson and his crew.

As Marxists, the Communist Party is against the war and willing to move along whatever lines are necessary to help this question, whether in or out of the Democratic Party. For this purpose they lend support to the McCarthy campaign and any peace move within the Democratic Party.

Ed Stover

## Article XIII

Union City, N.J.

Thank you for your excellent issue in which there is an article about Dr. Spock's indictment.

## Thought for the Week

"But the destruction goes on. We are the flies that captured the flypaper. We are stuck with our concept of a military victory, and the main question goes unanswered: What is the end that justifies this slaughter?" — James Reston in the Feb. 7 *New York Times*.

When I got *The Militant* on a newsstand, I picked up all the other socialist newspapers near it, and in one of them, the *Weekly People*, I read an excellent editorial mentioning Article XIII of the Constitution, which, the editorial says, "in effect legalizes revolution."

Article XIII refers to "slavery" and "involuntary servitude." These words cover a lot of ground! We should hear more about Article XIII.

G.P.W.

## What a Way to Go

Decatur, Ga.

Why don't you have a five- or 10-year renewal? Do you think the revolution will come and put you out of business?

S.W.

[As a matter of fact, we think the revolution would give our business a salutary shot in the arm.—EDITOR.]

## A Correction

San Francisco

I am indebted to a number of striking newspaper workers here for pointing out to me a grievous error I made in my story on the San Francisco newspaper strike in the Jan. 29 *Militant*. I would like to apologize for my unfortunate terminology in referring to the *Ramparts* interim newspaper as the "Daily Scab."

"Scab" is a word with a very

precise meaning in the labor movement, and the *Ramparts* interim paper is in no sense of the word a scab operation. It is set up and printed in ITU shops. The editorial side has not been organized by the Newspaper Guild; Guildsmen now writing for the paper are doing so with the permission of the Guild.

Disagreement with the opinions of the various correspondents commenting on the strike is certainly no justification for applying this appellation to either the correspondents or the paper itself.

I must therefore apologize most sincerely for my mistake and ask that you print this correction.

Mary Kraft

## Wants Amalgam

Santa Barbara, Calif.

I am not a letter writer. I am a fuzzy and unpoliticalized class-conscious "worker" (barbershop owner).

I read your paper three months, as I have read *The Worker*, *People's World*, etc. But I find the only paper that "reaches" me is the *National Guardian*.

I realize you have financial limitations, etc. It would be great if all groups of the left could form an amalgam and forget doctrines, the bane of all left-progressives.

R.L.

# The Great Society

**Private Enterprise, I** — A "magical capsule," supposed to "arouse sleeping sexual desires and ability within a few days," cost the distributor about 40 cents per bottle and was resold to the public at \$5.98. Analysis showed that the "aphrodisiac" was simply a vitamin supplement with 100 units of Vitamin E added to each capsule.

**Private Enterprise, II** — Another enterprising crook, this one with good government contacts, sold the Agency for International Development \$24,000 worth of "physiological sodium chloride solution 10 per cent" for shipment to Vietnam. Supposed to cure nausea, skin eruptions and morning sickness, the "medicine" was actually ocean water.

**Private Enterprise, III** — Some drug purchasers lose only their money — others lose their lives. Weight reduction pills have been linked to 14 deaths in Illinois. And the chief medical investigator for the Oregon Board of Health told a Senate subcommittee investigating misuse of drugs in weight-reducing that, during a period of less than four years, he was able to identify at least six deaths he felt were due to "rainbow" pills. These are combinations of thyroid hormone, digitalis, amphetamines, and barbiturates.

**Now We Know** — No less an expert than "barber of the year" Murphy Arseneaux, who received his title at a recent hair stylists' convention in New Orleans, revealed the reason for the new hairdo LBJ sported for his televised State of the Union message. "It covers up the imperfections of the skull," Arseneaux explained.

**Tactical Error** — Not all was smiles and cheers when LBJ dedicated Central Texas College this past December. Included in the audience was a "sea of uniformed soldiers." Looking down on them, LBJ departed from his prepared text and, according to the Killeen,

Tex., *Daily Herald*, "told them how they are willing to die for their country." It was a mistake. A murmur of dissent swelled up from the ranks of soldiers.

**Don't Panic** — Columnist Art Buchwald swears that he didn't make up these Treasury Department instructions to employees: "If you are prevented from going to your regular place of work because of an enemy attack . . . go to the nearest post office, ask the postmaster for a federal employee registration card, fill it out and return it to him." Provided, of course, that there is a nearest post office, or any post office, or a you, for that matter.

**Perfectly Logical** — A New Jersey lawyer is suing the photographer who took his wedding pictures. The pictures of his bride

were "so grotesque and repulsive," he said, that he couldn't send them to his in-laws in the Netherlands — as he had promised. So, he had to pay to take the entire wedding party — best man, matron of honor, singer — on a \$2,000 trip to the Netherlands "for the purpose of assuaging the bride's family."

**Gets It in Writing** — According to *Time* magazine, LBJ asked each member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to sign a statement that he believes Khesanh, the U.S. stronghold near the demilitarized zone, can be successfully defended. Now if Khesanh turns out to be another Dienbienphu, LBJ can always sue them.

—Ruth Porter

## Weekly Calendar of Events

**BOSTON**  
**THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE.** Speaker: Derrick Morrison, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Friday, Feb. 16, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**CLEVELAND**  
**MEMORIAL MEETING FOR MALCOLM X.** Speakers: Franklin Anderson, chairman, Cleveland CORE; Bonnie Holt, Socialist Workers Party; A representative from Central State University SNCC. Friday, Feb. 16, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid. Ausp. Militant Forum.

**LOS ANGELES**  
**ELECTION RALLY: The Socialist Alternative in the California Elections.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and John Gray, SWP candidate for Congress. Friday, Feb. 16, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. Donation.

**BOOK BAZAAR.** Books, pamphlets, paperbacks, magazines on all subjects. Rare and out of print political and other. Paintings prints. Stock your library for pennies! Saturday, Feb. 17, noon

to 7 p.m. 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

**NEW YORK**  
**CUBA'S CULTURAL CONGRESS.** A first hand report by: BARBARA DANE, folk singer; HELEN YGLESIAS, literary editor, *The Nation*; JAMES HIGGINS, Ass't. editor, *York Gazette & Daily*; IRWIN SILBER, editorial board, *Sing Out*. Friday, Feb. 16, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
**ARE THE CRACKDOWNS COMING?** Speakers: Jerry Densch, staff worker, Movement Press; Derrel Myers, Young Socialist Alliance; Bob Broadhead, S.F. State College antiwar activist. Friday, Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 2338 Market. Contrib. \$1 (students 50 cents). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**TWIN CITIES**  
**PRESIDENTS, POLITICS, AND UNIONS** — New developments and trends in the U.S. union movement. Speaker: Paul Chelstrom, militant unionist and socialist. Saturday, Feb. 17, 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

## New Readers

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

## THE MILITANT

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## S.F. Labor Movement Backs News Strikers

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO — The newspaper strike here is a month old, and veterans are already comparing the labor solidarity created by the strike to that of past great strikes in the city's history.

The struck papers are the independent *Chronicle*, published by Charles de Young Theriot, and the *Hearst Examiner*, published by Charles Gould. The two papers, which merged their printing operation in 1965, were shut down Jan. 5 of this year when Mailers Union Local 18 struck the San Francisco Newspaper Printing Company (the dummy corporation that prints the two papers) after nearly a year of fruitless contract negotiations. All 11 other unions working for the two dailies refused to cross the Mailers' picket lines, and the shutdown is 100 percent effective.

### Showdown

The latest developments indicate that the showdown in the Hearst empire's nationwide war against the newspaper unions may come right here.

Organized labor in San Francisco came to the aid of the newspaper strikers at a meeting called by the San Francisco Labor Council Feb. 1. More than 600 leaders from all local unions represented on the council (including the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Teamsters) heard reports on the situation of the newspaper unions in Los Angeles

and San Francisco, and resolved to fight Hearst and his professional strikebreakers to the end.

The resolution presented by the Labor Council was passed unanimously at the meeting. It condemns San Francisco's newspaper monopoly, and views Hearst's use of imported professional strikebreakers in Los Angeles as a threat to all unions in San Francisco as well. The resolution calls for:

### Demands

"1. All-out opposition to professional strikebreakers. 2. Demand that the California State Legislature promptly enact legislation to remove this evil from the face of California. 3. Activation in the public interest of the most effective boycott legally possible against the Hearst Empire. 4. Involvement of all labor organizations in such a boycott. 5. Call upon the government, including the President and Department of Justice, to survey, review and activate antitrust and antimonopoly actions against the Hearst Corporation and the San Francisco Newspaper Printing Company."

The strikers are holding tough, with morale high. They are operating their own commissary and publishing a daily paper of their own, the *Newspaper Strike Bulletin*.

Strike benefits for some unions are low. Readers are urged to send contributions to the strike fund, 433 Natoma Street, San Francisco. Make checks payable to Joint Strike Committee. Readers in the Bay Area can donate food for the strike commissary.

## N.Y. Socialist Workers Party Names Congressional Slate

NEW YORK, Feb. 7—The New York Socialist Workers Party announced a slate of four candidates for U.S. Congress at a press conference here today. The congressional candidates are an addition to the party's national ticket of Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President, and the New York senatorial candidate, Mrs. Hedda Garza, announced two weeks ago. All five of the state candidates took part in the press conference.

The SWP congressional candi-

dates will run in the 17th, 19th, and 20th congressional districts in Manhattan, and in the 22nd Congressional District in the Bronx.

Miss Judy White, SWP candidate for Governor in 1966 and a former project director for the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, will run in the 17th Congressional District.

In the 19th Congressional District the Socialist Workers' candidate will be Peter Buch, a former staff member of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Derrick Morrison, a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, will run against Democrat William Ryan in Manhattan's 20th Congressional District. Morrison is a founding member of the newly formed National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union.

In the Bronx, Richard Garza will be the SWP candidate in the 22nd Congressional District. Garza grew up in New York's Puerto Rican neighborhoods, and participated as a rank-and-file seaman in the post-World War II strike wave. He has been active in the community struggles of the Latin American community in New York.

Hedda Garza said at the press conference that the demand for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam would be a central part of the campaign for all the SWP candidates, state and national.

She said that "The tremendous

political and military setback the U.S. has suffered in Vietnam in the last week shows how we have been lied to by Washington about how the war is going. The new offensive by the National Liberation Front shows what deep roots it has among the Vietnamese people. Thousands and thousands of American GIs will die defending the corrupt military dictatorship in Saigon unless we get out now. We should support our GIs by bringing them home alive, and fast."

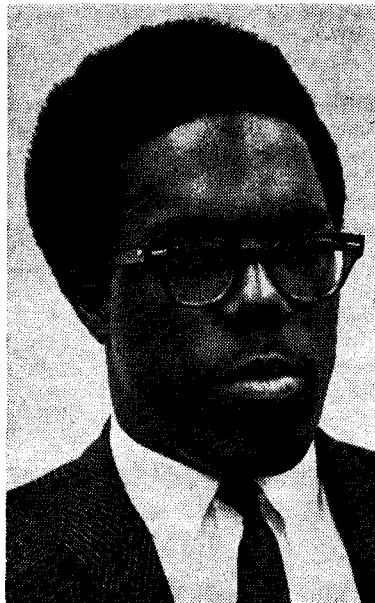


Photo by Shannon  
Derrick Morrison



Photo by Shannon  
Peter Buch

## Black Militants Quit Detroit Committee

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT—Speaking at the Feb. 2 Friday Night Socialist Forum here, 19-year-old Norvell Harrington, organizer for the Student Revolutionary Organizing Committee, explained why he resigned from the New Detroit Committee (NDC) set up by Gov. Romney and Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh after the July uprising last summer.

The announced purpose of the NDC was to develop, coordinate and refer proposals to rebuild the city to appropriate governmental and private agencies. But, as Harrington explained, "They were playing a giant con game on the black community."

Harrington reviewed the history and accomplishments of the NDC. The 37-member committee included leading businessmen and civil leaders ("fat cats," as Harrington put it) such as: Henry Ford

II, General Motors President Roach, Chrysler Board Chairman Townsend, Detroit Edison Board Chairman Cislser, Michigan Bell Telephone President Day and Detroit City Council President Carey.

The eight Afro-Americans in the NDC included five representatives of the traditional Negro leadership ("U.T.'s" is the way Harrington referred to them) and three militants: Harrington, Lorenzo Freeman of the West Central Organization, and Alvin Harrison who had led a long campaign against police brutality when he was head of the Afro-American Unity Movement.

Education, police brutality and open housing were the main areas of concern and activity for the NDC. Harrington explained that the Committee asked Gov. Romney for \$5.3 million in state funds for more schools in Detroit. Romney told the Committee that it could bid for monies set aside in a special state fund. "That went down the drain!" was Harrington's summation of the NDC accomplishments in the area of better education for inner-city children.

The NDC asked for a thorough investigation of the police department. Instead of such an investigation, Harrington related, the police department received "Stoner rifles, nerve gas . . . two armored vehicles . . . machines guns, mortars . . . You hit a cat with a Stoner rifle and you send his guts 12 feet back."

What next on the NDC agenda? "Open occupancy — I really thought this was a good one myself," Harrington commented, "because statistics tell me that 87 percent of the black community is damn near too poor to eat — that means they're indigent. Now, if they are indigent they neither have the means and, from what I can evaluate, the desire to be

surrounded by white folks on all four sides."

However, he participated with the rest of the Committee in lobbying for an open-occupancy bill in the state capital. "They went down and lobbied in Lansing; they threw a big party. The whole New Detroit Committee flew there . . . got down there and had cocktails all over the joint, and ham was all spread out and everybody was sipping and nibbling and talking about open occupancy. We flew back and then next week we flew down there again . . . This is what the New Detroit Committee was doing. They had one big party for open occupancy . . . I woke up one morning, turned on the radio: 'Open occupancy was defeated!'"

The final test of the sincerity and workability of the NDC was its reaction to the Afro-American groups that sprang up after the July uprising to demand black control over the rebuilding of the city. The City-Wide Citizens Action Committee (CCAC), headed by the Reverend Albert Cleage, Jr., was formed by people from a wide cross-section of the black community on Aug. 9, 1967, the night before the first official meeting of the New Detroit Committee.

NDC Chairman Joseph L. Hudson, Jr., owner of one of the world's largest department stores, immediately announced, "We want to work with them as quickly as possible. We're not playing games. We're deadly serious about working with this group." He had a two-hour private meeting with Cleage and other officers of the CCAC and stated, "We have worked out a very fine relationship," and explained that Cleage's group would submit proposals to the New Detroit Committee.

Within a week the unity of the CCAC was disrupted by the with-

drawal of the more conservative traditional leadership elements and another new group was formed called the Detroit Council of Organizations (DCO). The DCO, representing 15 civic and religious and business groups, claimed to speak for over half of the black community. It denied that it was formed to compete with the CCAC and stated its purpose was to speak on behalf of the "law-abiding citizens in Detroit." The leaders of the DCO also had a long private meeting with J. L. Hudson, Jr., and afterwards the NDC chairman announced that the DCO had pledged to work with his committee.

In December 1967, the militants organized the Federation for Self-Determination to serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas and information and to serve as a means of working out cooperation between its member groups. Cleage was named chairman and he announced that the New Detroit Committee had given "favorable consideration" to proposals submitted by the Federation.

Harrington, in his Forum talk, described what happened to the Federation's request for \$137,000 to carry out its program. At NDC meetings, committee members vigorously supported the Federation request and it seemed as if the funds would be easily and quickly gotten from the Ford Foundation. However, the rival DCO complained publicly that the NDC was "buying off" the militants and the DCO threatened to carry out economic boycotts of white-owned firms connected with the NDC if that were necessary to win equal recognition for moderates.

The decision on the Federation request was postponed four times and delayed eight weeks. Harrington, Freeman and Harrison fought

for the Federation proposal and refused to accept any curtailment of the Federation's right to determine for itself what it would do and how it would do it.

Within the committee a favorable decision was finally reached and Harrington felt the fight had been won to secure the Federation funds "with no strings attached." He was shocked 20 minutes later when NDC Chairman Hudson announced to the press that the Federation was to receive \$137,000 on the condition that it would work with the DCO, that a mediator between the rival groups would oversee the Federation activities, and that the Federation would be accountable to the New Detroit Committee in its use of the funds.

Harrington and Freeman resigned from the NDC and demanded that Hudson publish a statement retracting his statements about the Federation's willingness to accept the onerous conditions.

On Jan. 5, Cleage announced that the Federation was severing all ties with the NDC and withdrawing its request for funds. "The New Detroit Committee can't tell us how to work or who to work with," Cleage stated. "We'll accept white money but not white leadership and dictation."

In his speech before the Friday Night Socialist Forum, Harrington listed the methods used by the NDC to woo him and the black militants back into the NDC. After his resignation he received three telegrams a day, innumerable phone calls, and an offer of a \$12,500 a year job on the permanent New Detroit Committee as "Community Consultant." Harrington and the other black militants have continued to refuse handouts with strings attached.



Rev. Albert B. Cleage