



A View of Dec. 8 SANE Madison Square Garden Rally to End the War Now.

THE MILITANT

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World Efforts to Save Hugo Blanco Continue; Protests Held in Lima

A brief respite was won in the appeal of Hugo Blanco before the Peruvian Supreme Council of Military Justice when an additional two weeks was granted the defense to argue legal points in the case.

Meanwhile, a report from Peru stated that the growing international campaign for Blanco appears to be having an effect on the authorities.

Imprisoned for three years, the heroic young peasant leader was sentenced by a military court to 25 years imprisonment for the death of two policemen. When this sentence was appealed, the prosecution asked the court hearing the appeal to impose the death penalty.

Rally Slated

In Lima itself a number of actions have been taken on behalf of Blanco and his fellow prisoners despite the repressive atmosphere in that country. A rally was slated Dec. 2 under the auspices of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, which embraces wide sectors of the liberal and radical movement. Prominent speakers were scheduled.

On Nov. 24, the militant *Federacion de Construcción Civil* sponsored a street rally with a list of speakers headed by Rolando Riega, leader of the present strike in the fish industry.

In France, the movement to save Blanco was given an important boost when the influential Paris daily, *Le Monde*, published a lengthy, sympathetic article on the case by Marcel Niedergang, *Le Monde's* highly respected Latin-American specialist.

Also in France, the Catholic group of the School of Higher

Education and the Standing Board of the Student Mission wired Peruvian President Belaúnde Terry in behalf of Blanco urging amnesty for the revolutionary leader. The cable declared Blanco's death "would shock the Christian students of France, particularly the many who, responding to the appeal of the Church to build a more just society, sympathize with the present efforts to develop Latin America."

Peruvian supporters of Blanco have sent word of their gratitude at what is being done internationally to save his life, and they urge these efforts be continued and extended. They ask that telegrams and letters demanding amnesty for Blanco and the other political prisoners be sent the Consejo Supremo de Justicia, Lima, Peru, and to President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, Lima, Peru. Copies should be airmailed to Blanco's attorney, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, Av. Nicola de Pierola, 966, Oficina 215, Lima, Peru.

The Bombing of Hanoi

DEC. 14 — As we prepare to go to press, the Soviet press has reported the bombing of residential districts of Hanoi. In New York, the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee has responded to this monstrous new escalation by announcing two protest actions. On Thursday night, Dec. 15, a Community Church meeting slated to hear Dave Dellinger will conclude with a mass march to Times Square. A second demonstration at Times Square has been called for Saturday, Dec. 17, at 1 p.m.

Rally Against Vietnam War Jams Madison Sq. Garden

By Barry Sheppard

NEW YORK — The growing opposition to the Vietnam war was reflected when 20,000 people jammed Madison Square Garden to capacity for a Rally to End the War Now on Dec. 8. Hundreds stood outside the Garden listening over loudspeakers. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Many of the people present were older members of SANE. But there was also a sizeable contingent of young antiwar fighters, who gave a spirited militant tone to the rally.

Also present, sitting in a large block, were rank-and-file unionists organized by SANE's Trade Union Division. Joel R. Jacobson, speaking for the Trade Union Division, received a big applause when he announced that there were 5,000 unionists present from such unions as District 65 Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union and Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers. Jacobson is president of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council of the AFL-CIO.

Johnson Blasted

One feature of the rally which was in most of the speeches, and certainly reflected the mood of all sections of the audience, was deep distrust and dislike for President Johnson. Every blast at Johnson was greeted with great approval. Journalist I.F. Stone reflected the feeling of many liberals present with the statement that Barry Goldwater was right in the 1964 campaign when he said "John-

son is the biggest faker in the U.S."

Jules Feiffer, the cartoonist, did a hilarious imitation of Johnson. It was in the form of statements by LBJ explaining each new escalation of the war, and went into future escalations up to the point where Johnson orders an atomic attack on Moscow in order to "bring Hanoi to the conference table" and protect the Ky regime, by now stationed on Formosa.

Feiffer's devastating imitation, with its drawl and choice of vocabulary, could only be described as a slashing personal and political attack on the President. The audience loved it. Even reporters from the capital press, who were sitting near me, joined in laughing.

While SANE represents the conservative wing of the coalition which makes up the antiwar movement at the present time,

the rally indicated that in the past year, SANE has been influenced by the more militant sections of the movement and by the growing antiwar sentiment in the country. While most of the speakers pressed SANE's official, "moderate" line of favoring negotiations, the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops was also presented from the platform.

Banners around the rally called for negotiations with the National Liberation Front and for a ceasefire. Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party and member of the national board of directors of SANE, was the most conservative of the speakers. He went so far as to praise Johnson's domestic program on civil rights and the war on poverty. His most militant statement was a rhetorical question implying Johnson was not sincere about wanting negotiations.

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CORE Leader and Kennedy Clash on Black Power Issue

By Dick Roberts

The congressional subcommittee hearings on "problems of the nation's cities" is running into possibly unexpected testimony. Up until Dec. 8, the committee, headed by Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff, (D-Conn.), had heard such spokesmen for the problems of black ghettos as A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Roy Wilkins. The sum of these gentlemen's testimony boiled down to Rustin's request that more money should be spent in the "War on Poverty."

But when Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, took the stand Dec. 8, the tone of the discussion changed character. Ribicoff and Senator Robert F. Kennedy chose the occasion to condemn black power. "You make our job very hard when you put us up against such a slogan," Ribicoff stated, and Kennedy added, "It is the slogan and what is associated with it that has set back the civil rights movement."

McKissick replied, according to the Dec. 9 *New York Times*, that he saw nothing wrong with the

slogan and doubted it would be changed.

The CORE director defined black power as the struggle for Negro political and economic power, creation of a black consumer bloc, enforcement of Federal laws and an end to police brutality. The Negro, he said, "is no longer ashamed of his color, that his roots are in Africa. He doesn't cut off all his hair because it is kinky."

Referring to previous testimony in the hearings, McKissick stated, "There is no better argument for black power, for the mobilization of the black community as a political, social and economic bloc, than the words you have heard in this room."

"This is what we have always meant by black power. It is a rational militant call from a whole segment of this nation's population to do what you have not been able to do — destroy racism in this country, create full employment in the American ghetto, revise the educational system to cope with the 20th century and

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THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Union members have ratified a new three-year contract with General Electric at its jet engine plant in Evendale, Ohio. The settlement was reached not long before expiration of a Taft-Hartley injunction obtained by Johnson in a strikebreaking attack last October.

Its terms provide a cost-of-living clause and total increases in wages and fringe benefits of about 56 cents an hour. The first wage hike of four percent is retroactive to Oct. 17. A second of three percent will be effective Oct. 2, 1967; and a third, also three percent, will be due on Sept. 30, 1968. The new contract provides some improvement in grievance procedures and two extra holidays starting in 1968.

Workers involved include about 4,600 members of the United Auto Workers and some 1,700 members of the International Association of Machinists, both AFL-CIO affiliates.

UAW bureaucrats ganged up with General Motors to break a three-day "wildcat" strike at the company's diesel plant in Detroit. The strikers were protesting dismissal of a union committeeman for arguing with a foreman. Other things arousing the workers' anger include speedups and inadequate health and safety standards.

The capitalist press reports that a Reutherite "statesman" told the rebellious workers: "You must settle your grievances through the established grievance procedure and not in this manner. Don't let the young rebels get us into trouble."

What the "young rebels" had to say was not reported.

A federal district court has ordered the Western Iowa Pork Co. at Harlan, Iowa, to negotiate with the United Packinghouse Workers. The union struck the plant last August when the company refused to meet its negotiating committee to discuss terms for a contract. Early in October, the company tried to operate with imported scabs. Enraged strikers stormed the plant and drove the scabs away.

The subsequent court order does nothing more than tell the company that it ought to at least talk with the union; it isn't directed to make any concessions. While the order has propaganda value for the strikers, only continued use of the union power can bring a labor victory.

On Jan. 23, 1963, several railroad unions struck the Florida East Coast Railway. The strike, which is becoming the longest labor dispute in railroad history, started over demands for a wage increase of 10 cents an hour.

In one of many attempts to break the strike, a federal court enjoined the workers from picketing the Jacksonville, Fla., rail terminal. Later a federal Circuit

Court of Appeals held the injunction invalid under the Norris-La Guardia Act of 1932. By a 4-to-4 vote, the U.S. Supreme Court has now affirmed the Court of Appeals decision. Since there was no majority, the affirmation is not binding as a precedent in future cases.

The strikers still face a state court order barring the picketing, which has been upheld by the Florida Supreme Court. A union appeal of that decision is now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court.

AFL-CIO unions are shaping plans for a new council to spur unionization among white collar workers. A steering committee has been set up to prepare a conference early next year from which to launch the project. The committee is made up of representatives from unions of actors, teachers, musicians, technicians, engineers, airline pilots and government employees.

The National Right to Work Committee has stepped up its campaign for state anti-labor laws. Spokesmen for the outfit say they will concentrate on Oklahoma, California, New Mexico, Montana, Idaho, Missouri, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts and Delaware. They see "unprecedented opportunities" in Congressional refusal to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, which authorizes anti-union "Right to Work" laws in the states.

Such laws are now on the books in Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia and Wyoming.

Those who remember David J. McDonald may be interested to know that he manages to get by on his \$25,000-a-year pension from the United Steelworkers, with the help of a few peanuts picked up from investments made over the years. His residence, at Palm Springs, Calif., fronts on the eighth fairway of a country club. His next-door neighbor is Admiral William F. Raborn, a former CIA chief. McDonald is a board member of a local bank and, reportedly "well-dressed in the casually elegant manner of the place," he hobnobs with Hollywood celebrities and retired millionaires.

Newspaper accounts say he "has found a contentment he never knew when he commanded the destinies of a million members and dealt familiarly with the nation's steel tycoons. . . . He belongs here as he never did in the union hall."

McDonald is reported to be writing a book about his labor career, perhaps a whodunit about his fall from the cushy top spot in the steel union bureaucracy.

...Garden Antiwar Rally

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and didn't Johnson understand this would conflict with plans for the "Great Society."

On the other hand, Floyd McKissick, black power advocate and national director of CORE, called for immediate withdrawal and so did Mrs. Grace Mora Newman. Mrs. Newman, sister of one of the Fort Hood Three, spoke on the case of the three antiwar GIs serving prison terms for their opposition to the Vietnam war.

Peter Seeger had the vast crowd shouting "Bring them home! Bring them home!" and joining him in a song with that refrain.

Once, during a lull as the collection was being taken, someone shouted to Ossie Davis, co-chairman of the rally standing at the microphone: "When is SANE going to come out for immediate withdrawal?" Davis said, "I think the answer is SANE demands withdrawal of American troops now."

Both the withdrawal and negotiate demands received applause — withdrawal getting a more enthusiastic response — perhaps from somewhat different sections of the audience.

The mixture of radical antiwar demands and liberal demands, and the heterogeneity of audience response was indicated in other ways. There was general support indicated for capitalist critics of the war like Senator Fulbright. This was also true of an announcement that a delegation from the rally would see U Thant to commend him on his Vietnam position. There was a big applause for Congressman William F. Ryan, who was on the platform with SANE sponsors, and Theodore Weiss, a mild "peace" candidate who lost



Jules Feiffer

in a New York Democratic primary.

On the other hand, the biggest applause of the evening was reserved for Mrs. Newman and the Fort Hood Three.

It was also clear that while SANE is in the conservative wing of the antiwar coalition, it wants to maintain its connection with the more militant sections, especially the youth. This was made explicit by Rev. William S. Coffin, Jr., the other co-chairman of the rally. He opened his remarks with a vigorous defense of the student antiwar movement. Coffin praised the students and urged them to continue to demonstrate and fight against the war, despite the attacks on them by Johnson and others.

One group deeply disturbed by the fact that SANE has remained

in the antiwar coalition is the incredibly conservative Socialist Party. SPers were distributing their paper, *New America*, at the rally, with an article deploring SANE's "co-existence with the New Left."

New America is frantic at the thought that SANE is willing to work with those in the antiwar movement who support a victory for the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. It even blasts the Dec. 8 rally for calling on the U.S. to negotiate — without calling on Hanoi to do the same!

The fact is, up to now at least, SANE has generally accepted the principle of non-exclusion which has characterized the antiwar movement. It is interesting to note that SANE recently liberalized its membership restrictions by striking out specific prohibition of Communist Party members. It's this sort of thing that disturbs the red-baiting "Socialists" of *New America*.

At the other extreme, another sad thing occurred outside the rally. The Spartacist League, a sectarian, ultra-left group, staged a picketline of 15 people on the other side of the street, denouncing the rally as a "left cover for imperialism."

Puzzling Stand

As the crowds were streaming into the Garden, I saw a group of teenage girls squinting at the Spartacist picketline. "Whose side are they on?" asked one bewildered girl.

Besides the speakers, and the singing led by Pete Seeger, there was a theatrical production, with readings by Tony Randall, Diana Sands, Shirley Blanck and others, and scenes by the Bread and Puppet Theater.

Other speakers were: Peter Weiss (not the playwright); Paul Booth of Students for a Democratic Society, who discussed SDS's anti-draft program; Professor Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social economist who discussed the moral and political isolation of the U.S. in the world as a result of the Vietnam war; and Donald Keys, executive director of SANE. A tape-recorded message from Erich Fromm, who was ill, was played, and his speech was read by Rev. Coffin.

SCEF Hits Jailing Of Rights Worker

SOMERVILLE, Tenn. — Local Negro residents have protested to county officials about the jailing of a white woman, Mrs. Virgie Hortenstine, who has been working for civil rights in Fayette County for many years.

They were joined in the protest by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) through its president, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth. Mr. Shuttlesworth also asked concerned people throughout the state and nation to write Judge Paul Summers at the courthouse here.

The SCEF leader said that officers stopped Mrs. Hortenstine on the street in Somerville and told her she did not have a wheel-tax sticker on her auto, as required by law.

She told the officers that she was not a resident of the county nor of the state of Tennessee and her car had not been in the county 45 days. Nevertheless, she was arrested and fined \$25 plus \$14.75 court costs.

She refused to pay the fine on the ground that it was assessed because she is a civil-rights worker. Therefore she went to jail for 20 days.

SOCIALIST FUND

6 Cities Go Over Top

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

As we near the end of the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund Campaign, it is heartening indeed to see that six branches have already fulfilled their quotas, with the Minneapolis-St. Paul group already 11% over, and promising at least \$90 more before New Years Eve. This is the first time in a long time that this many branches have completed their fund quotas so early. All six are to be congratulated.

Those other branches which are lagging behind are urged to step up their collections. There are just two weeks left. We know, of course, that this is a difficult time of the year for people with children — children who have every right to expect old St. Nick to visit them. But everyone should remember the party on his Xmas list too. One day your children will thank you for making a better world for them to live in.

Two old friends, both old-timers in the movement, both plagued by ill-health so they cannot be active, have come through as usual to swell The General's column to \$145. We thank them for the money and for the continued loyal support. Ruth Q. of Pittsburgh and J. B. of Plentywood, Montana, represent much more than just themselves. They epitomize the very many older people who can no longer be physically active but who continue to support the SWP to the best of their limited ability. And as a matter of fact, there are few antiwar demonstrations in the Pittsburgh area you won't find Ruth on, arthritis and bursitis notwithstanding.

We urge all other friends of the SWP and readers of *The Militant* who are just beginning to realize the importance of building a socialist party, to send in their contributions. Use the coupon at the bottom of the page. Thank you.

Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Minneapolis-St. Paul	\$ 1,000	\$ 1,110	111
Allentown	135	135	100
Boston	1,000	1,000	100
Chicago	1,500	1,500	100
Oakland-Berkeley	1,000	1,000	100
St. Louis	150	150	100
Detroit	1,200	986	83
New York	4,800	3,762	78
San Diego	125	87	70
San Francisco	1,000	564	56
Denver	100	53	53
Newark	100	50	50
Philadelphia	450	210	47
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THE WEEKLY CALENDAR, previously found on this page, will now appear on page 7.

Price of Misleadership

Unions Lose Ground

By Farrell Dobbs



"NEVER WALKED A PICKET-LINE." George Meany made this boast shortly after merger of AFL-CIO.

AFL-CIO officials are trying to make much of a recent modest gain in membership. Their aim is to create an impression of vitality at the top of the unions, but that's pure hokum. Actually, the merged labor federation has not even managed to stand still under the present leadership; it has lost ground.

When the merger took place in 1955, the AFL had around 10 million members. The CIO — which had expelled several unions with thousands of members in an earlier internal witchhunt — came in about five million strong. Optimists forecasted that the merger alone would bring swift union growth, and in 1956 AFL-CIO membership did rise to 17.5 million. That proved to be the high-water mark.

A precipitate decline followed, and by 1963, the federation had no more than 12.5 million in its ranks. One reason for the decline was the expulsion of several unions, including the Teamsters, which had come under smear attack from the McClellan Committee of the U.S. Senate. Another cause was a general slump in recruitment, along with failure to carry through a projected organizing drive in the South.

New Membership

During the last three years, AFL-CIO unions have made a slight comeback by recruiting about one million new members. A large part of the recruitment can be attributed to the increase in employment since 1963, especially in basic manufacturing. Another part has resulted from some unionization of government workers and increased organization of teachers. This recruitment has brought current AFL-CIO

membership to some 13.5 million, still below the figure at the time of the 1955 merger.

Meanwhile, the total labor force has steadily grown. Since 1955, it has risen over eight million to a present record high of 78 million. That means there has been both a relative AFL-CIO decline, measured in proportion to the growing labor force, and a direct slump in absolute terms of federation membership. It is a sorry picture that can't be glossed over by boasting about low-scale union recruitment.

Unionization within the total labor force has traditionally centered among "blue collar" workers. In this category today, automation and general intensification of labor steadily chews up jobs, especially in mining, manufacture and transportation. Within the fast-growing "white collar" sector of the labor force, on the other hand, the

unions are notoriously weak. As of 1964, less than three million of 31 million workers in this category were organized, and the relative situation has improved little since then. Thus it is small wonder that the unions have become subject to atrophy.

Where the workers are organized, they remain gravely hampered by misleaders in the unions. The problem is graphically illustrated by the present fight to keep purchasing power abreast of soaring prices. In this struggle two basic facts, of opposite quality, have already emerged: there has been a steady rise of militancy in the union ranks; and leadership policy has been generally characterized by incompetence and timidity.

In battling the giant corporations, the workers find their ranks split by divisions into separate unions within a single industry. It is a needless problem artificially created by narrow-minded union bureaucrats. To patch over the difficulty temporarily, the labor officials have undertaken to set up bargaining coalitions among unions involved in contract negotiations with a given corporation. The situation being what it is, the action is useful — provided they are ready to make a fight. Instead, the bureaucrats have tended to fold quickly under strikebreaking pressure from Johnson, grab any face-saving concessions they can get and make a capitulatory settlement on corporation terms.

Using Computers

The AFL-CIO has also begun to use computers for analysis of labor contracts, company profits and other items related to collective bargaining. This, too, can be a helpful device, again provided that the purpose is to reinforce a correct union policy. Otherwise it is an exercise in futility, as was demonstrated in the November elections. Computers were used to help promote votes for capitalist "friends of labor." However, the union hacks were pushing a false political line and the computers proved worthless.

Although no capitalist politician can be said to represent labor's interests, it is worth noting that the union bureaucrats proved unusually ineffective in securing the election of candidates they backed. More important is the price paid by the union for the false bureaucratic policy. The workers' needs continue to be brushed aside in government, where stiffer anti-labor laws are being cooked up. Politically, organized labor remains what it has long been, a sterile appendage of the Democratic Party.

One section of the working class — the majority of Negroes, who are also workers — are doubly injured by bureaucratic misleadership in the unions. They are not getting the union support to which they are richly entitled in their general fight for economic, political and social equality. On top of that, they are discriminated against inside organized labor, especially within the craft unions.

Support War

Another criminal policy of the union bureaucrats is their slavish support of the imperialist attack on the Vietnamese people. Acting counter to the interests of the union ranks, they have tarred organized labor with the image of a rubber stamp for Johnson's whole brutal line of imperialist aggression.

Looking at the union situation in its entirety, some analysts — who tend to dabble in supraclass "theory" — conclude that the working class has exhausted its role as a vital social force. Those who would so lightly dismiss the working class from political consideration are today getting a partial answer from the workers themselves. The upsurge



NEW YORK TRANSIT STRIKE. Shutdown of New York city transit early this year in defiance of courts, and similar action later by airlines mechanics, were symbolic of new expressions of rank-and-file labor militancy.

of militancy during 1966 has given a dim preview of the latent social power of the working class. Current trends promise a further demonstration during 1967, and far more compelling evidence of labor's inherent power is bound to come thereafter. The union problem is not one of working-class weakness; it stems from a crisis of leadership.

Consider the last convention of the AFL-CIO, held about a year ago. It was an insipid affair, ruled over by the top bureaucrats and preoccupied in large part with listening to various capitalist politicians. The delegates, ranging in age from middle to old, came from the secondary echelons of the general union bureaucracy. If a member of the rank and file was present, he was indeed an oddity. The existence of young workers in the union movement was only an unconfirmed rumor at the convention. This august assemblage dutifully returned to office the ruling Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, making only such minor changes in its composition as were decreed from on high.

In the stately environs of the Executive Council itself sits a self-perpetuating clique of aging bureaucrats, wedged fatly into their easy chairs and their faces turned firmly to the past. They show native cunning in dealing with the politics of internal union power, managing to move quickly enough when it comes to putting down rank-and-file "upstarts." They

have a fairly clear idea what is being said at the White House and in Congress, even the state capitals and some city halls. When it comes to the thinking of the union ranks, however, they have no clear lines of communication; nor do they have much interest, unless somebody is stirring up "trouble."

If the unions are to fulfill the purpose for which they were created in the first place the whole gang of corrupt bureaucrats must be cleaned out of office. Full internal democracy must be established in the unions, with all officials made firmly subject to continuous rank-and-file control. Union leaders must be found who have the ability to project a fighting program and the guts to carry it out. That can't be accomplished simply by changing the faces in union office. The new leadership must be forged around a program shaped along the following conceptual lines:

Put an end to labor "statesmanship" and advance demands that reflect the actual needs of the workers.

End all reliance on the capitalist government and use the full union power to defend the workers' rights and interests.

Abolish internal witchhunting in the unions and maintain a solid united front of the working class against the capitalist class.

Break entirely with capitalist politics and form an independent labor party based on the unions.

... McKissick, Kennedy Clash

(Continued from Page 1)

make the American ghetto a place in which it is possible to live with hope."

McKissick then introduced a subject that was not supposed to be on the agenda: "For God's sake, end this terrible war in Vietnam," he urged. "Bring black men home to rebuild their own lives, their own communities, and take the incredible costs of killing and use them to save the lives of the poor."

The following day, the attack on the white power structure was resumed by Johnnie Scott, a young Negro from Watts who had spent one academic year in the pinnacle of white education, Harvard College. "The portrait of life that Mr. Scott drew," according to the Dec. 10 *New York Times*, "was one of constant and bitter struggle against poverty and despair, a struggle relieved only by momentary triumphs over the 'authorities' — policemen, school principals and the white community."

Scott attacked the educational system from bottom to top. He

said that of 550 students who graduated from the junior high school he attended in Watts, only 250 showed up as freshmen in the high school and only 97 of these graduated from high school. "Harvard," he stated, "had become a ghost yard, empty" for him.

Scott returned to Watts in June, 1965, three months before the ghetto revolt. When he learned that an old friend in Watts had been "shot-gunned to death," Scott testified, the Harvard experience assumed less and less relevance. Scott stated that he was one of nine in the freshman class of 1,200 who failed.

The Black Ghetto

By Robert Vernon

35 cents

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Anti-Union Vendetta

Labor-baiters will no doubt derive satisfaction from the Supreme Court decision upholding the jury-tampering conviction of Teamster Union President James Hoffa. The high court ruling climaxes nearly a decade of efforts to get Hoffa, Kennedy and Johnson administrations to get Hoffa and the Teamsters. It will be particularly relished by that sterling liberal, Robert Kennedy, who initiated the government persecution of Hoffa while counsel for the anti-labor Senate McClellan committee.

The Supreme Court affirmed the jury-tampering charge despite a plea by the American Civil Liberties Union to set it aside. The conviction had been obtained on the basis of testimony by a government informer. The informer, Edward Partin, is a former Teamster official who accepted the stool-pigeon assignment while charges of embezzlement, kidnapping and manslaughter were pending against him.

The government has used an assortment of dirty tricks to "get" Hoffa, both in the jury-tampering trial and in a Chicago trial where he was convicted of conspiring to defraud a union pension fund, a conviction now slated for high-court review. In addition to the use of a planted, tainted stool pigeon, the government has used wire-tapping and electronic bugs in its anti-Hoffa drive. Indeed, its practices have been so raw that the ACLU was joined by the Association of Criminal Trial Lawyers in protesting.

Washington's claim that it is merely trying to protect the union ranks from "crooks" is just bull. More than one crooked union bureaucrat hustles votes for the Democrats and dines at the White House. The government's target is the Teamsters union itself, an initial target in a drive it intends to widen.

Samuel Younge and Black Power

Demonstrating students at Tuskegee Institute made an important point when they painted a confederate statue black and added the words: "Black Power!" The enraged students were protesting the Dec. 9 acquittal of Marvin Segrest, a white man who had gunned down one of their fellow students.

The student was Samuel Younge, Jr., a 21-year-old rights activist who had been involved in a local voter-registration drive when he died last Jan. 3.

During the day, he had been pushed by one of the registrars who threatened him with a knife, and said, "I'm tired of fooling around with you. I'm going to spill your guts."

SNCC workers reported the incident immediately to the FBI and Justice Department and urged federal intervention and protection. Not surprisingly, none came.

That night, Younge went to a gas station operated by Segrest and asked to use the men's room. He was referred to a hole in back relegated by "custom" to blacks. Younge insisted on his right to use the regular rest room. He died of a gun shot wound in the head.

Massive demonstrations erupted at Tuskegee at the time of the killing and Segrest was indicted for second degree murder. However, his trial was transferred from the predominantly black town of Tuskegee to Opelika, about 49 miles away, on the claim that he couldn't get a fair trial in Tuskegee. In Opelika, an all-white jury "deliberated" an hour and a quarter and then cleared the killer.

The lesson inferred by the Tuskegee students, who emblazoned the demand for Black Power on the statue, is simple. As long as black people are without political power in this racist society, hate-warped whites will continue to kill innocent blacks and get away with it.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1689. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver, Colo. 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-8135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 922-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 812, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St., San Diego, Calif. 92113.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party. LA 2-4325.

Statement by 4th Int'l

China's Political Crisis

[On Nov. 6, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a statement on "The Internal Crisis in China." Tracing the development of the present political struggle in China, which is unfolding under the guise of a "cultural revolution," the statement probes the intra-bureaucratic conflicts reflected in the struggle. It assesses the role of the Red Guards and relates the internal crisis to the international political situation.

Space limitations prevent us from publishing the entire statement. The complete text appeared in the Dec. 16 World Outlook and may be obtained by sending 50 cents to: P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Sta., New York, N. Y. 10010.

The following are excerpts from the statement.]

The real question at issue is most certainly not the restoration of capitalism. What is involved essentially is an intra-bureaucratic conflict, affecting various layers, over what line to adopt in relation to the crucial issues of the present stage and to the long-range problems of perspective confronting the bureaucratic leadership at this stage . . .

The second wave of the "cultural revolution" and the formation of the Red Guards were the products of a situation of this nature within the party. In the face of resistance and hesitations of all kinds, the group assembled around Mao and Lin Piao decided to mobilize the masses partially and to gain a new instrument of pressure, capable of being used against a part of the apparatus of the party and the state. The decision was to take a distinctly limited sector — the student masses — with which the Mao group wanted to establish close relations and which it also considered it could control and channelize more easily . . .

Leadership Weakens

In any case, the Mao leadership will emerge much weakened from this test. Up to now the masses saw it as homogeneous and strong, standing on the tradition of the victorious revolution. Now, divisions have appeared openly and the wear and tear has proved to be serious. From now on, the lead-



"CULTURAL REVOLUTION"? Youthful Red Guards march through Peking with banner featuring portrait of ubiquitous Chairman Mao.

ership will be judged by the cadres in a much more critical and questioning spirit . . .

In the field of international policy, it was particularly in relation to the crisis in Indonesia and the course of the war in Vietnam that the Chinese positions underwent a severe test. The maintenance, despite criticisms levelled against Khrushchevism, of out-and-out opportunist orientations with regard to certain national bourgeoisies of the colonial or ex-colonial countries, and the determination to subordinate to a large degree the needs of the anti-capitalist struggle of the masses to the diplomatic needs of the state, unquestionably contributed to the tragic defeat of the Indonesian CP, the most faithful ally of the Chinese CP for a number of years.

The rejection, a priori, of a united front with the USSR and the other workers states on the cause of the seriously injured Vietnam was the National Liberation Front and the defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and, in the final analysis, of the Chinese People's Republic itself, threatened as it likewise is by imperialist aggression.

Growing Isolation

All of this — together with the utilization of odious methods of pressure and even blackmail (for instance, on the matter of rice for Cuba, and the reprisals against the Japanese CP) — contributed in a decisive way to the growing isolation of the Chinese leaders in the international Communist movement . . .

At the present time, the Fourth International reaffirms the need to establish a united front of all the workers states and parties on a platform of consistent struggle against the American aggression in Vietnam.

United Front

While the Fourth International maintains its severe criticism of the major responsibility of the Soviet bureaucracy; while we hold that distrust on the part of China can be explained by a whole series of positions by Moscow (extending from its passive position in Vietnam to its equivocal policy in Europe and from military aid to the reactionary Hindu bourgeoisie to the loan granted the militarist government of Brazil); while we believe that a Soviet leadership measuring up to its duties would reaffirm its alliance with China in the hour of danger and make it clear to imperialism without any possibility of misunderstanding that a war against China would be considered an attack against the Soviet Union, it likewise condemns the outright rejection by Mao-Lin Piao of a united front and joint action . . .

With regards to the problems of the international workers movement, the Fourth International holds that a whole series of recent experiences — in the first place, the catastrophe in Indonesia — must be critically probed to the bottom. Those responsible for the policy that led to the disastrous defeat must be mercilessly denounced . . .

LBJ's Slip of the Finger

The American press, which always tries to convert small things into big sensations, was filled with headlines, editorials and ponderous think columns for several days after the Texas White House admitted Dec. 6 that a mistake had been made in the bill for the war in Vietnam. Instead of \$10,000,000,000 a year, it is running about \$20,000,000,000. It appears that Johnson's finger slipped when he was totting up a column of figures.

Actually the error was only too human. Johnson, it seems, was at the adding machine during the excitement of the election campaign.

Doubts Error

There are those, however, who are trying to read something deeper into it than a mere slip of the finger. Edwin L. Dale, Jr., in a Dec. 7 dispatch from Washington to the *New York Times*, said: "There is a widespread view here that the original understatement of expenditure was largely political, to make the war seem cheaper than it was, particularly before the election."

Stuff and nonsense! Anyone with any experience at all knows how easy it is to hit the wrong key on an adding machine or cash register. Usually the errors are on the side of management, due to the fact that the law of averages happens to favor the profit-mak-

ing system. But occasionally an error does occur that makes the customer feel temporarily richer than he is.

Of course, all patriotic Americans — an easy-come-easy-got — will laugh off this error as a big joke on Johnson and dig up the change so their well-meaning and usually nimble-fingered president won't be stuck with it.



Our Pious President

A SOCIALIST VIEW

The Issue of 'Student Power'

By Lew Jones

Protest involving a high percentage of the student body have recently rocked a number of campuses. The largest was the student strike at Berkeley, which saw 8,000 students attend rallies and an estimated 50 percent refuse to go to classes. At New York University, 75 percent of the student body participated in a one-day boycott of classes (see page 8). Over 4,000 students protested a ban on sit-ins at the University of Michigan, and later 1,500 conducted a sit-in demonstration. There have been other, smaller actions, such as the protest by 500 students against CIA recruiters on campus at Columbia.

At Berkeley, the issues involved concern a deliberate offensive by the university administration against student rights to participate in radical politics. The specific issue which triggered the strike was university use of police to attack an anti-draft literature table set up next to a Navy recruiting table.

The NYU boycott was part of a struggle against a tuition increase, and students demanded the right to participate in the administration of the university.

At the University of Michigan, students were objecting to the university practice of turning over names of members of campus radical political organizations to the witchhunting HUAC committee, and to a ban on sit-in demonstrations.

At Columbia, in addition to the protest of CIA recruiting on the

campus, students have demanded that a student referendum on whether class ranks should be turned over to the draft board be binding on the administration.

The issues involved in these struggles are democratic rights — the democratic rights of students to participate in political struggles in the society as a whole, and the democratic right to participate in the functioning of the campus itself. This latter aspect has been generalized in some of these struggles into a demand for "student power," or student control of the university.

Campus Radicalization

The background to these campus outbreaks is the growing radicalization on the campus. Beginning with the support to the Negro struggle in 1960, up to the present antiwar movement, there has been a growth of left-wing ideas, organizations and actions on the campus. This growth of campus radicalism has precipitated the current student conflicts with university authorities both through the struggle for democratic rights for left-wing organizations and in the example of protest set by the student political activists.

The American student is confronted with daily contradictions. Taught that the system in the U.S. is the bastion of democracy and the torch-bearer of freedom, the students see a reality of government hypocrisy, a war of aggression in Vietnam and an intentional denial of human rights for

Afro-Americans. At the university itself, which many students look to for genuine education, the student is treated as an object, a commodity to be produced, ready to take his place as an intellectual servant of the capitalist society around him.

The student has few alternatives in resolving these conflicts. He can either give in, and try to get ahead within the system, as most students do; he can drop into the cynicism and despair of the bohemian underground; or he can fight and search for a strategy to change the system.

In recent years the growth in the number of students who have begun to oppose the system to one degree or another, has meant a developing conflict with the university authorities, who represent the forces of the status quo.

The current conflicts between students and university authorities have been seized upon by the press to attack the idea of "student power." After a week of biased articles and a couple of "get tough" editorials, the Nov. 12 *New York Times* carried an article entitled: "The Student Threat to University Independence," by education editor Fred M. Hechinger. Hechinger explains that student control has never worked. Referring to expanded student rights he says, "The consequences to the national interest — both in the production of educated manpower and in terms of political stability — is disastrous."

Defends Capitalism

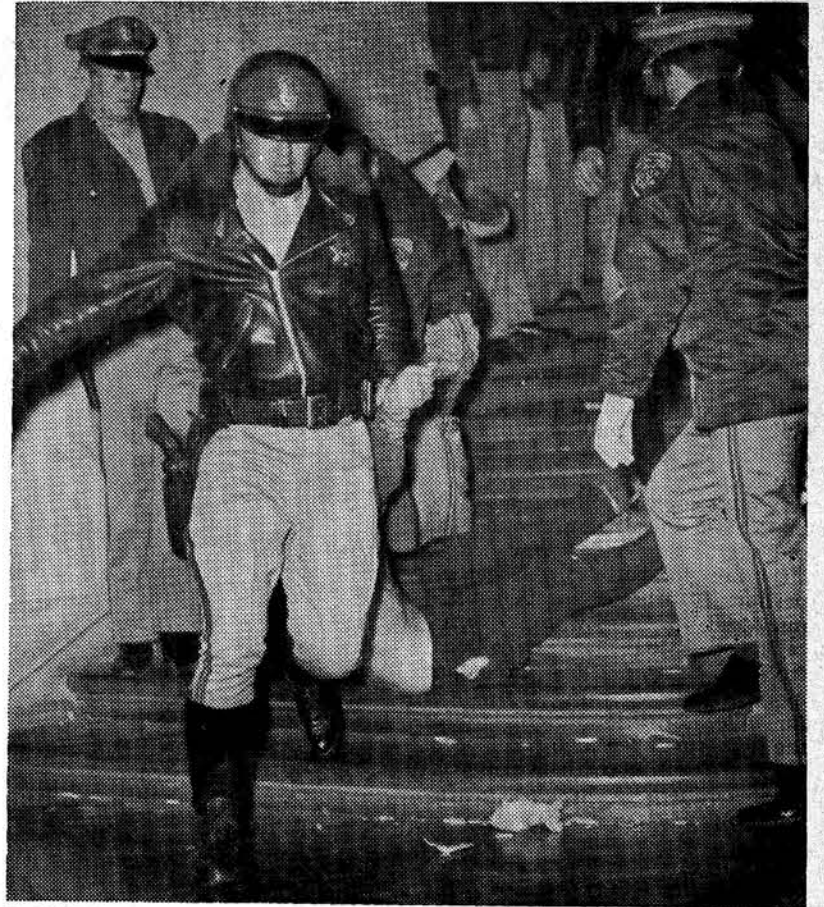
Hechinger, reflecting the views of the powers that be, is afraid of expanded student rights and ultimate student control of the university. He doesn't want the "national interest" damaged. What he is talking about is the "national interest" of the American capitalist class, which wants the university to continue to perform its functions of serving capitalism.

The interests of the capitalist class in the university are direct: they want the university to turn out the scientists, engineers and administrators needed for both civilian and military production; they want trained ideological apologists for capitalism; they want military research such as the germ-warfare project at the University of Pennsylvania; and in general, they want students trained to help operate the capitalist system. They don't want students rebelling against the values of capitalist society, and they especially don't want students to become opponents of capitalism. The educational function of the university is distorted and molded by these aims.

Chain of Command

The capitalist class controls the universities through boards of regents and trustees (where "captains of industry" are well-represented), through the government, and through its control of the private and public funds of the universities. Thus, the demand for student power is aimed not only at the university administration, as some student leaders believe. Behind the administration stands the capitalist class, its government and the whole state apparatus, including the police, national guard and armed forces. This has been made very clear in recent years in Berkeley, where police and the national guard have been used against students. The actual achievement of student control, therefore, is no simple matter, but involves fundamental questions of power in the society as a whole.

It would be an illusion to expect to achieve genuine and complete student control short of a basic change in society. But the current struggles can make limited gains and win concessions in the area of student rights and even



LAUNCHED MOVEMENT. Scene during 1964 sit-in at University of California at Berkeley. Police attack helped launch militant Berkeley Free Speech Movement.

win a student voice in some aspects of the administration. They help to further radical political protest and organization.

There is a continual pressure on student leaders, however, to conduct struggles for student rights as a substitute for confronting the government on major political issues. For example, a member of Students for a Democratic Society (and Progressive Labor) at Columbia recently proposed that the Columbia antiwar committee dissolve, and its members, to "most effectively" fight the war, go into SDS to fight on the question of the student referendum. This was opposed by both the overwhelming majority of the antiwar committee and by other members of SDS.

Struggles around student rights provide an opportunity for the antiwar movement to surge forward, not backward. Most of the campus struggles involve the antiwar movement and its rights directly, since the Vietnam war is the most important issue on campus at the present time. Even in cases like NYU, where the fight is over tuition, antiwar issues are also at stake — the tuition rise is part of the general war-exacerbated inflation. The antiwar movement should explain the connection between such issues and the Viet-

nam war. New recruits to the antiwar movement can be made by fighting university complicity in the Vietnam war. The important thing is to step up antiwar activity and propaganda, connecting the war with student rights, and not to liquidate the antiwar movement under the banner of student power.

Socialist Program

Also, the socialist movement on campus can, in addition to raising the connections between student rights and the struggle against the Vietnam war, raise the more general social questions of who controls the university and the society.

There is a connection between democratic rights on the campus and the larger questions of the class nature of U.S. society. Socialists should enter the current struggles on campus with their analysis of the university and society. They can explain that the real power behind the administration is the capitalist class and its state, and that the students by themselves have to look to another force in the society — the working class — to find the power to win the fight for the ideals of peace, brotherhood and democracy many students are beginning to champion.

North Korean Leaders Urge Escalated Vietnam Defense

The Ninth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which was held in Sofia Nov. 14-19, was a rather cut-and-dried affair that stirred little interest among Communist circles. However, a militant note in relation to the war in Vietnam was sounded by Huh Suk Sun, the head of a fraternal delegation from the Korean Workers Party.

In the first part of his speech, Huh Suk Sun gave high praise to the Bulgarian Communist Party and the achievements registered in Bulgaria since capitalism was overturned there. He then went on to present the Korean view on the war in Vietnam:

"The U.S. imperialists are further escalating their war of aggression in Vietnam . . .

"The obtaining situation makes it incumbent upon the anti-imperialist forces of the world to unite close and further intensify the struggle against imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular.

"All the socialist countries should take a colder and tougher

attitude toward U.S. imperialism and thoroughly expose and condemn its policy of aggression everywhere.

"As the U.S. imperialists are escalating the war of aggression in Vietnam, so the socialist countries and all the progressive peoples of the world should escalate their struggle to oppose U.S. imperialism and aid Vietnam.

"Only through a staunch struggle against U.S. imperialism can its policies of aggression and war be frustrated and peace safeguarded.

"Today, it is very important to defend the cohesion of the socialist camp and solidarity of the international communist movement.

"To this end, all the communist and workers' parties should abide by the norms governing the relations between fraternal parties such as equality, interdependence, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and comradely cooperation."

The American Way of Life

[The first two items reprinted below appeared in the Nov. 28 issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*.]

* * *

SANTA CRUZ — An elderly widow who was evicted from her apartment last month was found dead Saturday in a cave she had dug for herself beneath a fallen tree in Henry Cowel Redwood State Park.

The body was found by a fisherman about a mile from the nearest road near the San Lorenzo River, and about five miles from Santa Cruz.

Deputy Coroner James Powell said yesterday that Lasca Norma Gibboney, 60, had been dead about 48 hours. An autopsy has been ordered.

Powell said Mrs. Gibboney had been evicted from her Santa Cruz apartment for non-payment of rent.

He said she may have been living a hermit's existence since then, although no food was found near her. The fully-clothed body was surrounded by personal effects, including two coats.

Powell said Mrs. Gibboney's family, which included a parent and a brother and sister in Santa Cruz, lost contact with her about two years ago.

* * *

NEW YORK — A young mother — friendless, destitute and suffering from cancer — plunged from a window of her fifth-floor apartment before dawn yesterday with her son in her arms. Both were killed.

Police tentatively identified the victims as Maria Jessurun, a Venezuelan in her late 20s, and her six-year-old son, San Diego . . .

Police said Mrs. Jessurun was under treatment for cancer and

had been despondent for some time. Her husband's whereabouts were unknown and she appeared to have neither relatives nor friends in New York.

There was no money or food in the apartment and police found that the woman owed three months back rent. A bank book showed a balance of \$1.35.

* * *

[The following are excerpts from an article that appeared in the Nov. 28 *New York Post*.]

* * *

Barbaralee D. Diamonstein, a slight, animated young woman with hazel eyes and shoulder-length curls, looks like an ingenue and sounds like an academician.

The combination is bound to enhance her new role as Parks Commissioner Hoving's Special Assistant for Cultural Affairs. The title is so recent that the \$15,000 salary that accompanies it has not yet been officially approved, but Dr. Diamonstein . . . views her new assignment with limitless enthusiasm . . .

The handsome, culture-packed duplex she shares with her mother in the East 70s establishes the broad range of Mrs. Diamonstein's eclectic tastes: Regency furniture, a Dufy over the mantel, a small Ben Shahn, Meissen ware in the formal dining room and, on living room wall, something called kinetic sculpture . . .

A native New Yorker . . . Mrs. Diamonstein considers herself one of the group Prof. Goldman has dubbed Metro-Americans.

"Young, educated, largely middle-class Americans, who take for granted the pressing concerns of our forefathers, such as housing, clothing and food, and are reaching out for the refinements of life," she explained . . .

Thousands at Rally in Paris Back War Crimes Tribunal

By Ken Coates

Outside the great hall of the Mutualité in Paris Nov. 28, thousands of young people were milling around every entrance. The hall was full, jammed with at least 6,000 people, standing in every corridor, craning their necks over the stairways. Once you were in, it was impossible to get out through the seething thousands who were straining to get in. Altogether, perhaps 10,000, perhaps 15,000 had mustered.

The occasion was not a visit from the Beatles. It was altogether more serious: a rally, "Six Hours for Vietnam," organized under the honorary presidency of Bertrand Russell, at which, alongside other eminent spokesmen of the independent left in France, appeared a whole galaxy of international figures, centered around a group of members of the War Crimes Tribunal.

The meeting was chaired by Laurent Schwartz, himself a member of the Tribunal, and amongst his colleagues speaking were Jean-Paul Sartre, Vladimir Dedijer, Dave Dellinger, Courtland Cox (representing the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and Stokely Carmichael), and Ralph Schoenman, who brought a personal message from Bertrand Russell.



Jean-Paul Sartre

The meeting was big in every sense of the word. After a plenary session, which included a film in which Fidel Castro spoke in defense of the Vietnamese revolution and which lasted in all for some three hours, the rally broke up into a number of seminars, some of which contained well over 1,000 people, to discuss various aspects of aid to the Vietnamese people's struggle.

But with all its vast size and marathon organization, the thing that was most inspiring about the rally was its enthusiasm. Time and

again, the youthful audience cheered militant speakers to the echo.

Sartre, who went out of his way to appeal on behalf of the Peruvian revolutionary, Hugo Blanco, who is in imminent danger of being judicially murdered in prison, was given a standing ovation.

[The November 30 *Le Monde* reported him as saying, "We want peace in Vietnam, but not just any kind of peace. Peace must consist of recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam. But we don't want peace solely because of moral reasons. Morality is not a sufficient justification. Our theme, the themes of our struggle, must be political . . . This is the way we must show our solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Their struggle is our struggle. It is our struggle against American hegemony, against American imperialism." Sartre ended by declaring, "A defeat for the Vietnamese people would be a political defeat for us, a defeat for all the free peoples. Because Vietnam is fighting for us."]

Urge Solidarity

Similar ovations were given the spokesman of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, and Dave Dellinger, who appealed for aid to the American people — not of money ("We've got too much of

Ho Endorses War Crimes Probe

In striking contrast to the Johnson administration, which is trying to hamstring the International War Crimes Tribunal, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is supporting its efforts. Thus on Nov. 17 Ho Chi Minh sent a message to Bertrand Russell.

"On the occasion of the setting up on your initiative of the International Tribunal to condemn the U.S. war crimes," Ho Chi Minh said, "I wish to send to you my best congratulations. The U.S. imperialists are expanding their war against national independence and peace in Vietnam. Monstrous atrocities and crimes more odious than those perpetrated by the Hitlerite fascists are being committed by the U.S. of America. The solemn condemnation of these crimes by the International Tribunal will arouse universal indignation against the U.S. aggressors and intensify the movement of protest of the peoples of all countries demanding the cessation of this criminal war and the withdrawal of the troops of the U.S. and its satellites from Vietnam."

that already," he said) but of solidarity in the struggle for peace.

Courtland Cox, who has been working in the field for SNCC, in the heart of the most bitterly racist areas of the southern states, said that the oppression of the black people at home in the USA, and of the Vietnamese people abroad, were part of one and the same struggle. "You won't get us to fight the people of Vietnam; not if hell freezes over," he said. "We are brothers."

Lawrence Daly also received deafening applause when he put the case for solidarity with the Vietnamese people and described the struggle in Britain.

Not every speech was received so warmly. Nobel prize winner Alfred Kastler's call for a United Nations neutral force of peacekeepers was received with mounting unease, turning into boos and catcalls.

The Algerian spokesman, Mahmoud Guennez, was strongly heckled with loud cries of "Free

Ben Bella" and "Free Harbi," and protests, "What about torture?" These turned into loud chanting at the end of his speech.

But on the other hand, a most moving demonstration of solidarity took place when Abderamane Youssefi, the Moroccan speaker and a colleague of the murdered Ben Barka, took the rostrum.

The remarkable thing about the whole meeting is the way in which it was assembled entirely by the independent socialist forces, the Parti Socialiste Unifié and the numerous left groupings of Paris. In spite of every appeal, the French Communist Party stayed aloof, and *l'Humanité*, the official CP daily, even went so far as to report a rightist attack upon the organizers' officer, which took place the night before the rally, without mentioning a word about the very demonstration which had aroused this hostile action from the right. But this remote attitude will not be tenable for very much longer, if the response to this rally is anything to go by.

A Cuban View of World Struggle

Last August, the Fourth Congress of Latin American Students was held in Havana. The closing session was addressed by Dr. Armando Hart, organizational secretary of the new, united Communist Party of Cuba. Dr. Hart polemicized against reformist currents in Latin America and argued for the need to unite around a revolutionary perspective. Relating the perspectives of the Latin American revolution to those of Asia and Africa, he went on to discuss the interrelationship of the revolutionary struggle in the colonial world and in the advanced capitalist countries. Although delivered some months ago, we believe this particular section of Dr. Hart's speech will be of interest to U.S. readers, particularly those active in the movement against the Vietnam war. The translation is from the English-language edition of Granma.

The political position approved in the Tricontinental Conference constitutes an essential base for unity among revolutionaries . . . And naturally, that political position, even though it is the position of three continents, is not isolated from the rest of the world. The Tricontinental also defined the importance of closing ranks, of strengthening ties with popular movements, especially with the working class and progressive sectors in capitalist countries and with the socialist countries as a whole.

The political position of the Tricontinental is not, therefore, a position limited to three continents, but rather it is a position which unites the revolutionary movement of the whole world. But these ties are not expressed in a simple program, in a political platform. These ties express themselves in a specific way, for example, in the actions taken by peoples of capitalist countries showing solidarity with the liberation struggles of the peoples of underdeveloped countries.

There already exists important experience in this regard.

Very often, we revolutionaries speak of the need for unity between the working class and pro-

gressive sectors in capitalist countries and the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This has been said many times.

But there is a practical example which very clearly illustrates to us how this occurs. And this example is in the repercussions in many capitalist countries, including the United States itself, of the progress of the war, the revolution in Vietnam.

The revolutionary movement in Vietnam has made an important contribution to the people's struggle within the United States itself.

The militancy of the masses in certain sectors of the U.S. population has increased because of the development of the revolution in Vietnam.

This also shows us that the union of revolutionary forces in Asia, Africa, and Latin America with the working class and pro-

gressive sectors of the capitalist countries will also be produced through the development of the revolution in underdeveloped countries, in the countries of the three underdeveloped continents.

This shows us clearly that the advance, the progress of revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America does not divide, but unites the peoples of those three continents with the peoples of the capitalist countries. It shows this clearly. As the revolution advances, as it progresses in these three continents, the revolutionary unity of all the people and all the workers of the world will become all the more evident.

For the revolutionary people of these three continents, the fundamental task on behalf of the unity of the workers of the world is, above all, to make the revolution. In so doing, they will close ranks with the popular movements in all the capitalist countries.



HIGHER EDUCATION. Boston-area students at rally against Vietnam war. Struggle of Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression has awakened many U.S. students to nature of imperialism.

Dedijer Scored by Yugoslavs For Russell Tribunal Role

Vladimir Dedijer, the Yugoslav historian and author of the book *Tito Speaks*, has been subjected to heavy pressure because of his participation in the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell, according to a report in the Nov. 16 issue of the Paris weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

Dedijer fell into disfavor with the Tito regime in 1955 when he expressed solidarity with Milovan Djilas. He was sentenced to prison for "disseminating news in the American press prejudicial to his own country." His sentence was commuted and he was permitted to go abroad. After teaching history at Manchester, Harvard and Cornell, he finally returned to Yugoslavia about a year ago.

Known For Integrity

Russell knew of his reputation for integrity and considered him particularly well-qualified to serve on the Tribunal. Dedijer accepted, becoming the sole member on the Tribunal from any of the workers states.

From Belgrade, Piotr Sardej reported to *Le Nouvel Observateur* what happened next:

"Dedijer explained in the Belgrade newspaper *Politika* why he had accepted this invitation. A little later he was attacked by Josip Vidmar, chairman of the Academy of Sciences of Slovenia, close friend of Edvard Kardelj and former president of the Slovene Republic. According to Vidmar, Yugoslavia did not need to participate in Bertrand Russell's enterprise nor conduct propaganda for him. Vidmar's theses on the war in Vietnam strangely resembled those of the Americans, indicating the political confusion reigning in certain leading circles of the Yugoslav Communist League.

"A newspaper of the students of Ljubljana, *Trubuna*, took up Dedijer's defense and even formed

a committee to support the Bertrand Russell Tribunal. The author did not hesitate to accuse the Yugoslav government of furnishing shoes for the American army right during the war in Vietnam. It was to be hoped that this courageous move would be made the occasion for opening a free discussion on the war in Asia. The poet Matej Bor, chairman of the Writers Union of Yugoslavia, and several other figures wrote an open letter in which they solidified with Dedijer. The authorities intervened and barred it from being published.

"It is not known yet whether the Yugoslav authorities envisage taking measures against Dedijer. If they do so, Dedijer, sentenced ten years ago on charges of 'Americanism,' would now be condemned for the opposite — which would be truly paradoxical."

Guerrilla Leader Reported Wounded

Agence France Presse reported Dec. 1 that the Guatemalan government claimed that Yon Sosa, the leader of the November 13th Movement, was wounded during a skirmish with government forces and two of his guerrilla followers killed. The report has not yet been confirmed by the MR-13.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Merit Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003

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.]

Bond in Indianapolis

Indianapolis, Ind. Julian Bond spoke here Sunday, Dec. 4, just before the Supreme Court ruled the Georgia legislature should seat him, on the subject of the Southern freedom struggle. He was heard by a sympathetic and well-impressed audience of over 200.

Bond laid particular emphasis on the significance of the Lowndes County Freedom Party, which he sees as assimilating the political experience that the movement has had since 1960. In a moving and convincing way, Bond described the living dynamic of the Southern Negroes growing rejection of the two major big-business parties.

In addition, Bond strongly supported SNCC, Stokely Carmichael and the concept of black power. And he strongly denounced the dirty war in Vietnam, advocating U.S. withdrawal.

R.L.

No Freedom, No War

[The following letter was received by Paul Boutelle, who is active in the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, and is reprinted with permission of the writer.]

Atlantic City, N.J. Dear Mr. Boutelle,

I am deeply interested in what your committee is trying to do. I have two brothers of draft age, 18 and 19, who are refusing to go to Vietnam or any other place and be killed for some millionaire's property or rights. I personally cannot see why anyone in his right mind can go to Vietnam and fight when Congress has not declared war.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES
MARXIST COMMENTARY. A bi-weekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., Dec. 26, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., Dec. 29, 12:45 p.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK
DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN, author and literary critic, will speak on MARAT/SADE: A New Dimension in Social Drama. Fri., Dec. 23, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

I feel today that Afro-American youth have a great challenge to meet. The answer should be a loud "no" — no freedom, no war.

The first soldier killed from Atlantic City was an Afro-American who had also fought in the Dominican Republic. He was a student with my brothers. I wonder what he died for. His mother, father, sisters and brothers are still living in rat traps. By the way, the City Fathers did plant a tree in the park to his memory.

I would like to keep in touch with your committee because there are a lot of us who aren't taking this draft and war lying down. Some of the students in college and trade school were given an examination to determine their fitness for the armed forces. In some cases they didn't complete or do their mental tests, but they passed them anyway.

Some had physical defects which weren't checked at all. The recruiting sergeant tried to get them to volunteer by telling them they could complete the education while they train. I don't know who they are trying to fool.

When the student deferment papers are sent to the draft board, they swear they haven't received them yet. These are just a few of the things going on here. I am looking forward to your literature.

A.T.

We Noticed

New York, N.Y. Did you notice that for its lead article Dec. 10, the Baltimore Afro-American reprinted (with credit to *The Militant*) Dick Roberts' article on how black Americans are bearing the brunt of the fighting in Vietnam?

J.B.

War Referendum

Denver, Colo. A referendum such as the one voted on in Dearborn, Nov. 8, should be included in as many city elections as possible next spring, or, if necessary and possible, a special election could be called to vote on the Vietnam war. The Dearborn resolution was as follows: "Are you in favor of an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so the Vietnamese can settle their own problems?"

Such referendums could serve as the basis for continuous activity between now and the spring elections, ranging from door to door work to large rallies. It could be a rallying point for all antiwar groups in a given locale to work together, perhaps in an ad hoc committee.

Initially, feelers should be put out to the councilmen in the cities concerned to see if the issue could be put on the ballot directly by

them. In most cases, this will probably not be possible, but almost all city charters have a provision for initiated action by petition. The petition campaign itself would also be a good opportunity for a carefully planned education program.

The only drawbacks seen in working on Vietnam referendums would be the effect when we lost, as we probably would. For example, in Dearborn over 40 percent of the voters were in favor of getting out of Vietnam, but the newspaper headlines presented this as a great victory for the administration. In actuality, if one-third of the voters in a number of cities were in favor of getting out of Vietnam, this would be a great victory for the antiwar position.

Any ideas on how to best proceed on a referendum on Vietnam as suggested above or analyses of such projects would be appreciated by the Denver Stop the War Committee. P.O. Box 86, Denver, Colo. 80201.

Mary F. Walter

Hard-Core Tax Dodger

Philadelphia, Pa. Knowing the way the bourgeois state tries to milk workers out of their wages through sales taxes, and feeling particularly indignant at having to live in Pennsylvania with a 5 percent sales tax, probably the highest in the U.S., I was thinking about how to avoid paying as much as possible, and I was struck with some horrible realizations and several suggestions for keeping your sales tax to a minimum.

It Was Reported in the Press

Peace on Earth — For the third successive year Wright Patterson Air Force Museum in Fairborn, Ohio, is displaying the Christmas spirit by decorating the top of an Atlas missile with a beaming Santa.

Caffeine-Pushers — The coffee industry is launching a \$6-million TV advertising campaign to get youth between the age of 17 and 20 to drink more coffee. "We think younger people are not drinking all the coffee they should," an industry spokesman said.

Self-Critical — Arthur Himmelman of the University of Minnesota DuBois Club, told the *Minnesota Daily* that the club was trying to get out of the "quagmire of unimaginative thinking." "We haven't disturbed anyone on campus," he confided, "or for that matter anyone anywhere, other than the middle-class parents of the people who belong to the club. In fact, we've been regarded as rather dull. For a radical group, that's terrible." To recast the DuBois image, the club adopted a campus program of action, including such demands as changing the name of the *Minnesota Daily* to the *Daily Student*.

Precise Performance — A correction in the *New York Times* said the paper had erroneously reported that a B-52 bomber carries a total of 58,200 pounds of bombs. The correct figure, the paper said, is 60,000 pounds. Which reminds us of the comment that Leon Trotsky once made about the *Times*. He observed that the *Times* is scrupulous about small facts so that it may lie all the better about big ones.

Therapy — According to London psychiatrists, a straying husband was cured of an irresistible attraction to the lady next door through "aversion therapy." Pictures of his wife and mistress appeared alternately on a screen. When his mistress' picture came

Thought for the Week

"I'll never go again. I'd just as soon go to jail as be on the line again, you see your buddies get killed like that. No more for me."
— A wounded GI whose platoon had been decimated by guerrillas near Suoia, south Vietnam.

It's bad enough they charge you 5 percent, but they charge even more than 5 percent. In Pennsylvania, since an even 5 percent tax can be charged only every 20c., i.e., at 20c., 40c., 60c., etc., they charge you the higher penny from 21c., 41c., etc., on. In other words, if you buy a 20c. item, you pay 1c. tax, an even 5 percent. But if you buy a 21c. item, you pay 2c. This is grossly higher than 5 percent. When you get up to around 38 and 39 and 40c. where you still pay 2¢ tax, this is closer to 5 percent and not so unfair. But the minute you get to 41c., you pay 3c. tax. It would be a lot fairer if they made the cutoff points at 30c., 50c., etc., right in the middle of the way the brackets are now. Then you'd be paying a little more than 5 percent in some cases, a little less in others, and it would balance out. But no, they try to milk you out of even more than 5 percent. Well, here are some suggestions for trying to cut your sales tax (change the figures for states with different tax rates):

1. Don't buy anything costing around 21c., 41c., etc., because that is the biggest gyp over 5 percent. If you buy one thing costing 41c., try to buy it in conjunction with another thing costing 39c., or 59c.,

or thereabouts, to even out the taxable amount to an even 60c. or 80c. or \$1.00 and avoid paying an extra penny tax.

2. They can't tax you on a 10c. item. If you can get 3 cans of soda for 29c., it's no bargain, because the tax makes it 31c. It's cheaper to buy one can at a time.

3. If one thing costs about 30c., or 50c., i.e., right in the middle of a tax bracket, buy two of that item. Then it will be right on a tax bracket. Example — a 29c. item costs 31c. because the tax is 2c. Buy 2 of that item, and it's 58c., plus 3c. tax. If you bought the item once today and once tomorrow, however, you pay 4c. tax (2c. plus 2c.).

4. In restaurants, they can't charge tax on meals costing less than 50c. If one person orders less than 50c. worth, there should be separate checks so he doesn't have to wind up paying tax. However, if one person orders, say, 75c. worth, and the other person 85c. worth, it's better to get one check, where the total would be \$1.60, plus 8c. tax, instead of 4c. tax for the 75c. person plus 5c. tax for the 85c. person, totalling 9c. tax.

I hope these hints save readers money.

Amy Lowenstein

he was given an electric shock. He reportedly lost interest in the lady next door. We doubt it would help, but the thought came to our mind of Lyndon watching a film of Vietnam atrocities while a therapist with a cattle prod . . .

Shopping Tip — For that last-minute Xmas gift, how about a gold and porcelain powder case from Tiffany's with a lipstick case to match? \$1,300 for the powder case and \$295 for the lipstick holder. Or, perhaps, a Tiffany diamond and platinum necklace. \$170,000. (Subject to prior sale.)

Roosting the Poor — Poverty program officials in St. Petersburg, Fla., made a study of how the poor get poorer. They found these examples among families of four with incomes under \$3,000. One mother bought shoes for her children from a traveling peddler at

50 cents a week. She paid nearly \$20 a pair for shoes worth a couple of dollars. Another paid \$100 in \$5 installments for a used refrigerator worth less than \$25. A woman bought a band for an old watch from a traveling salesman at 50 cents a week. She paid \$28 for a band worth \$2.

Getting Thick — When Mayor Lindsay complained about smoke billowing from a Con Edison smokestack in New York, a company official replied the mayor was seeing things, that it was only steam coming out of the smokestack.

News Item — "Bull" Connor, the former Birmingham, Ala., police chief, who became known through his use of dogs and fire hoses against rights demonstrators, is ill. He suffered a stroke which paralyzed his left side.

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Viet War \$\$\$ Outpace Social Welfare 17-1

By Ed Smith

Now that the White House is outlining its budgetary proposals for consideration of the incoming 90th Congress, it is a good time to ask what the Johnson administration's "Great Society" budget has accomplished so far. When you get down to money, marbles and chalk, however, it is not so easy to determine exactly what — if anything — actually comes under the category of "Great Society" spending.

One way of defining Johnson's war on poverty might be in the president's own terms: According to Johnson, the government was going to make great increases in its spending on federal social programs in the fiscal year 1967, beginning last July. Using this criterion, the total estimated federal expense on housing and community development, and health, education and welfare programs, was projected at \$13.4 billion for 1967, (according to the 1966 *Statistical Abstracts* published by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce.)

Total Increases

According to the same source, that compares to \$10.8 billion spent on these programs in fiscal year 1966 meaning that the sum total of "Great Society" increases this fiscal year was all of \$2.6 billion. But that is based on last year's estimates. On Nov. 29, in preparation for the announcement of his 1968 spending plans, President Johnson revealed that he had made cuts in the 1967 budget.

The cuts were as follows: \$546 million had been cut from housing and urban development; \$275 million had been cut from health, education and welfare; and \$395 million had been cut from the program of aid to the states and local communities for elementary and secondary education. That comes to a total cut of \$1.2 billion, and it means that the total increase in fiscal 1967 was a slim \$1.4 billion.

Well, so much for the "butter" side of the Great Society. What about the "gun" side? It is now estimated that the total war bud-

get for fiscal year 1967 will be \$67 billion, amounting to a whopping \$14 billion jump over the war budget in fiscal year 1966. *Ten times as much additional funds were raised for the war machine than the so-called war on poverty.*

In terms of expenses on the Vietnam war, the difference is



even more striking. According to present estimates, over \$24 billion came out of the 1967 budget for Vietnam war spending alone — over 17 times the amount of money the Johnson administration scraped together to add to the "Great Society."

Johnson has been quite silent so far about his plans for fiscal year 1968, but some of his more highly placed advisers have been not so chary. James Reston, associate editor of the *New York Times*, put it straight in a Dec. 11 column: "Military spending will rise substantially and the rest will go down."

Reston places the 1968 war budget at \$70 to \$75 billion. Taking the upper figure, which corresponds to other predictions, that would place the total expense of the Vietnam war next year at \$30 billion.

NYU Tuition Fight Spotlights Basic Issue of Student Rights

By Melissa Singler

NEW YORK, Dec. 13 — "The question at issue is not the existing structure at the university, but the question of change of that structure." This statement, made at a recent student meeting, expressed the feelings of thousands of New York University students currently engaged in a fight over a new tuition increase. The students demand the right to take part, along with the faculty, in the administration's decision making.

The protest began on Dec. 6, when students distributed 1,500 copies of the school paper and 3,000 leaflets announcing a rally to oppose the tuition increase. With only a few hours notice, almost 1,000 students at the generally quiet campus gathered at the rally to hear speakers attack the University administration's policy of excluding students and faculty from decisions. The meeting ended with a call for the university to rescind the tuition rise until students, faculty and administration could get together and discuss it and go over the books. In addition, a boycott of classes was proposed. Then, almost the entire meeting marched to administration offices in Vanderbilt Hall to present their demands to President James Hester.

That night, a meeting was held to work out tactics for the planned boycott. Constituting themselves the Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose the Tuition Increase, the students voted to distribute a leaflet on the following day calling for a boycott if President Hester didn't rescind the tuition rise. In addition, they sent Dr. Hester a letter demanding a moratorium on the increase and requesting an answer by the following night.

The next day, leaflets were distributed on campus calling for a one-day boycott, pending Hester's agreement to rescind the rise and announcing a meeting for 7 p.m. to hear the president's answer.

The meeting began with student David Stones' description of what had already happened and a re-statement of the Ad Hoc Committee's demands. His militant speech calling for a boycott if the tuition rise was not rescinded met with applause and shouts of approval from the audience of almost 1,000.

Hester Concession

Les Shapiro, president of the Washington Square College Student Council, read a letter from Hester in which he refused to grant the moratorium, but offered to "delay formal action on proposed increases in dormitory rates and food services for next year."

Jerry Bornstein, of the Ad Hoc Committee, then took the microphone to call for the planned boycott in light of Hester's answer. He pointed out that if Hester could postpone the dormitory rate increase without consulting the board of trustees, "he could do the same thing with 'tuition.'" He also explained that it was the students' actions of rallying, picketing and threatening boycott which made the University back down this far and called for continued actions to force them to back down even more.

The gathering decided to meet at 8:30 the following morning to begin picketing of university buildings. The boycott was on.

Thursday, Dec. 7, saw 75 percent of the student body boycott classes. For example, by 11 a.m., only 40 students had entered the commerce building. Several hundred pickets marched in front of classroom buildings all day with signs reading "It's Your Money —

Join the Line." Many members of the faculty supported the boycott. The student newspaper, *Washington Square Journal*, which supported the boycott, announced an open meeting that afternoon at which Hester would speak on the tuition increase.

Loeb Student Center, site of Hester's meeting, was packed early, with students waiting in line to enter the auditorium. Over 1,500 jammed into the center to hear the president defend his position against the demands of boycott leaders. Hester's disregard for student opinion was expressed by the fact that he was a half-hour late and rushed off after only one hour with the audience. He spent half of this time pre-

university's faculty had been improved. Peter Fricke, president of the Independent Student Association, agreed by saying, "The quality has been improved and I offer as evidence the events of the last three days." Again, shouts and applause were heard.

Hester then announced, after only a half hour of questions, that he had to leave to go to a fundraising dinner. Someone from the audience shouted out that he should remain there since the students represented 68 percent of the university's money. But Hester, in obvious contempt of the students and their leaders, began to prepare to leave. Joe Knock, another leader of the Ad Hoc Committee, took the microphone and re-stated the question and demanded an answer before the president left.

Hester again stated that students have no voice in making decisions, especially decisions on tuition, and that it was the administration's duty to make these decisions. Knock then said, "The reason there were 1,000 students in Vanderbilt Hall and at the rally last night was because we want a voice — not a suggestion position — but a decision-making voice!"

Decide on Sit-in

After Hester left, student leaders announced a meeting would take place immediately to discuss further protest. Despite a chaotic situation, a democratic meeting was held with suggestions heard from tens of students. The overwhelming feeling was that an action must be taken right then and a sit-in was suggested.

During the discussion, the "respectable" student government leaders, who disliked the militant stand of the Ad Hoc Committee, announced that they were pulling out of the meeting and going into a separate room. They requested that leaders of the Ad Hoc Committee come with them to make plans for the group.

But Joe Knock, who was chairing the meeting, said "I'm not going into any corner with anybody to make any decisions for you. We'll all make the decisions here." The students showed their agreement with this when very few of them followed the student government leaders. After about an hour of suggestions and discussion, a vote was taken to hold a sit-in at once in the main building.

As soon as the vote was taken, the students rushed out of the Student Center, ran across Washington Square Park, and entered the main building. Their sit-in lasted 23 hours, until 6 p.m. the next day. During the sit-in, Les Shapiro showed up to read the terms of the proposed settlement made by leaders of official student organizations with university administration officials. However, he was interrupted with shouts because the group drafting the settlement terms did not have any representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee. The demonstrators voted to reject the settlement terms.

Yesterday, Dec. 12, Hester met with Ad Hoc Committee representatives and recognized their legitimacy by agreeing to meet with them again on Dec. 16. This meeting will also include faculty. The students will hold a rally on Wednesday to plan further actions.

Also, the faculty issued a statement yesterday which said they wanted to take part and be consulted in the university's decision-making.



NEW YORKERS will have a chance to picket Hubert Humphrey on Monday, Dec. 19, 10:30 a.m. until 2 p.m. at Spruce and Williams near City Hall. Humphrey will be there for a groundbreaking ceremony. Sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

senting graphs and statistics about the university's budget.

The real feelings of the audience were expressed in the spirited question period. Jerry Bornstein was greeted with resounding applause and a standing ovation by most of the audience when he spoke in "praise of students and faculty who cooperated in making the boycott a success." In contrast, when Hester entered the auditorium only a handful of students stood "in respect."

Bornstein ended by asking, "Is the university a factory," or a place where students and faculty can have a say in the decision of the administration? Hester said he would disregard the question because it was a nonsense question. This was greeted with hisses and boos from the audience.

John Mason, president of the Weinstein Student Government, re-stated the question and requested an answer because it was the question students were asking. Hester then said that students have no right to participate in the decision-making meetings of the university.

Les Shapiro, Student Government leader, then explained that the students felt they "should have the right to present opinions and facts before the university makes any decisions" which affect the student body.

One of the big points in Hester's presentation had been that the



LOSER IN VIETNAM WAR. Young resident of Manhattan's Lower East Side. Huge war appropriation has pared already miserably inadequate slum clearance program.