

THE MILITANT

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N. Y. Cops Attack Draft Protesters

By Gus Horowitz

NEW YORK — Thousands of antiwar demonstrators, mostly youth, joined "Stop the Draft Week" here Dec. 4-8. They came out for four days in a row in spite of repeated attempts by Mayor Lindsay's police to suppress the peaceful demonstrations in a massive assault on the right to dissent.

Contrary to the image the daily press sought to create, the demonstrators were peaceful throughout the whole four days. There were virtually no acts the police could have construed as provocations at any time during the demonstrations, even though police agents had infiltrated the crowd.

The protest was called by an ad-hoc Stop the Draft Committee, a coalition of various antiwar

youth groups, including the Resistance, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Student Mobilization Committee, the DuBois Clubs, and various antiwar committees and pacifist organizations.

On Dec. 5 several hundred people, including Dr. Benjamin Spock and other notables, were arrested for sitting down near the Whitehall induction center in planned civil disobedience, while police herded thousands of demonstrators behind a maze of wooden barriers spread over a wide area, to prevent them from holding a demonstration at the induction center. Mounted police drove some engaged in the sit-down from the sidewalk into the street. At least one was brutally clubbed, and hospitalized with a brain concussion.

The largest demonstration was on Wednesday, Dec. 6, when 5,000 came out at 5:30 a.m. to protest the draft and the war. Five thousand cops, one of the largest police mobilizations in this city's history, fragmented the demonstration and again prevented the marchers from gathering in front of the induction center, clearly violating the right to voice dissent in peaceful demonstrations.

Police later prevented marchers who went to city hall from gathering there to protest the police actions. The cops also forceably broke up another group that went on to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where Dean Rusk was scheduled to appear.

The next day, about 800 demonstrators showed up at 5:30 in the morning. This time the cops were determined to restrict them even more.

Again police prevented a mass demonstration at the induction center. A token picket line was set up at the center, while the bulk of the demonstrators marched north along the city streets. The police responded with mass arrests and mounting brutality.

The entire group at Whitehall
(Continued on Page 5)

Coast Parley At Berkeley Dec. 22-23

BERKELEY, Calif.—The Movement Against Political Suspensions at the University of California here has called a statewide conference of all campus antiwar groups for Dec. 22 and 23 to oppose attacks on the antiwar movement.

The call for the conference declares: "It is now apparent that for the last few weeks the antiwar movement has been under a new and intense attack. Student leaders all across the nation have been suspended and expelled from school for minor infractions of rules or simply exercising their constitutional rights of free speech. . . . We must act now!"

The conference begins Dec. 22 at noon and is open to all interested people. For more information contact: Movement Against Political Suspensions, 2001 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94701. Phone: (415) 845-9159.



Photo by Shannon

AT CITY HALL. Dr. Benjamin Spock being interviewed by newsmen after leading delegation on Dec. 7 to Mayor Lindsay's office to protest police suppression of New York antidraft demonstrations. At right is Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President.

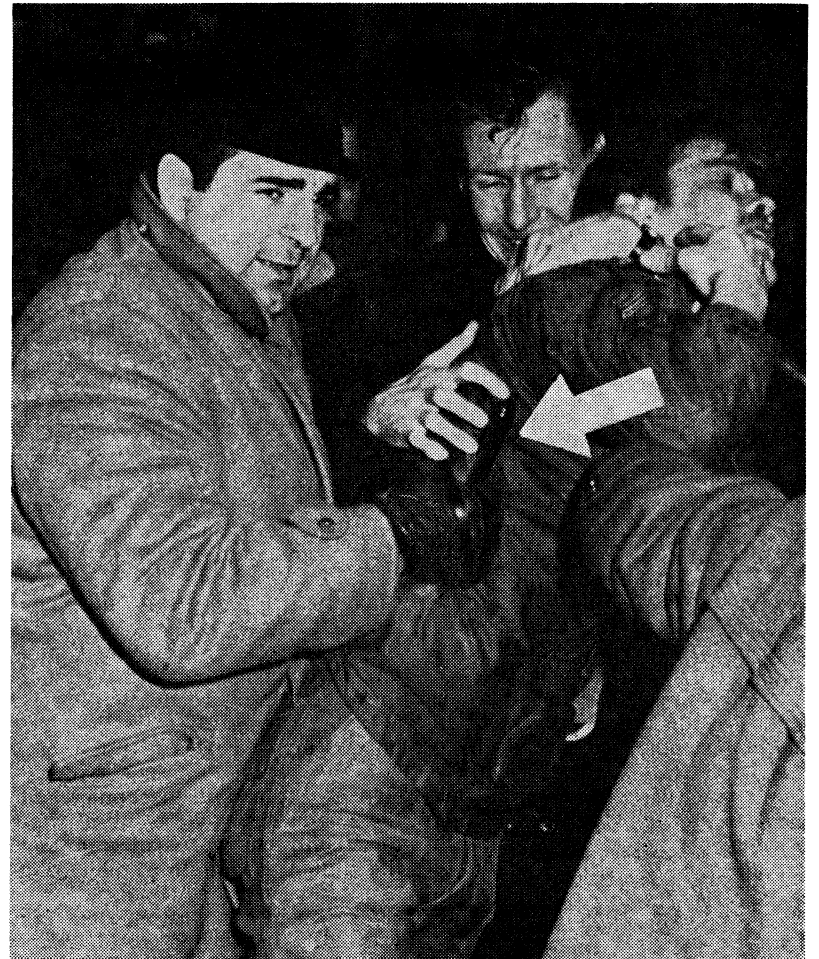
Antiwar Rally in N.Y. To Hit Police Curbs

NEW YORK — A mass rally will be held at City Hall Park to demand an end to curbs by the Lindsay administration on the right to dissent and on freedom of assembly, and to protest acts of police brutality against antiwar demonstrators. The action has been called by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and will be held on Thursday, Dec. 21, from 4 to 6:30 p.m. Every opponent of the war and supporter of civil liberties in the New York area is urged to attend.

The decision to organize the protest action was made by a special meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Parade Committee held at the conclusion of Stop the Draft Week. Throughout the week of demonstrations against the draft, the city administration had used the police to block mass demonstrations in front of the city induction center at Whitehall Street. The police used violence against the demonstrators and arrested hundreds for no good reason.

Attempts to curb the rights of antiwar protesters were initiated on Nov. 14 when the Parade Committee called for a massive demonstration at the New York Hilton where Dean Rusk was addressing the Foreign Policy Association. Thousands turned out but literally only hundreds were able to gather in an area that had been designated for the demonstration across the street from the hotel. They were herded into heavily guarded pens set up with police barricades. Then the approaches to the street were sealed off by a massive formation of cops. As the thousands of other protesters arrived, they were shunted into similar pens several blocks from the hotel. Those who resisted were clubbed and/or jailed.

This was a clear violation of the right of citizens to gather to give voice to their political views. In effect the administration ruled that only a limit of several hundred people could gather to protest in front of the hotel and the rest would be forced to go else-



DEADLY BLACKJACK. Plainclothes cops, who had infiltrated antidraft demonstrations in New York, went into action when uniformed police attacked peaceful protesters. Here two of them attack and choke Vietnam veteran who joined the demonstration. Veteran was then clubbed and arrested. Arrow points to lethal blackjack in cop's hand.

where. This limiting of the size of a demonstration is a clear violation of the constitutional right of free assembly.

It was made clear that the action of the police at the Hilton was not an isolated incident when the same thing was done at Whitehall Street during Stop the Draft Week. Despite a clear-cut promise by Lindsay to demonstration organizers, protesters were again

herded into pens and the number permitted to gather in front of the Whitehall Street center severely limited.

The Parade Committee has compiled photographic and other documentary evidence of police brutality and other violations of the Bill of Rights. This will be placed before the Mayor by a delegation representing the participants in the mass rally.

Paris Rally Hears Carmichael

PARIS — Over 5,000 people jammed the central hall of the Mutualité here on Dec. 6, occupying every seat and every nook left open, in a protest against the war in Vietnam. The meeting climaxed a week of activities organized by the National Vietnam Committee, called "Che Guevara Week for Vietnam."

The hall was decorated by a huge portrait of Che Guevara and a banner reading: "Peace in Vietnam Can Only Come as a Result of the Victory of the NLF."

Stokely Carmichael of SNCC; Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; and Melba Hernandez, member of the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party, were among the speakers. Ernest Mandel, Belgian revolutionary socialist and editor of the weekly *La Gauche*, also spoke.

Melba Hernandez and Stokely Carmichael were both met with a tremendous ovation, expressing the identification of the people at the meeting with the Cuban revolution and the black power movement in the United States.

Hernandez brought the meeting the fraternal greetings of the Cuban Communist Party, and explained that the revolutionists and people of Cuba thought it appropriate to combine the defense of the heroic freedom fighters of

Vietnam with a tribute to that staunch revolutionist, Che Guevara. Both are symbols of uncompromising revolutionary spirit and courage.

Stokely Carmichael said that the black power movement considered the Vietnamese people as allies in a struggle against the common enemy. He called upon all opponents of Washington's dirty war to unite, whether black or white, in struggle against the war. He embraced Dave Dellinger at the end of his speech.

Ernest Mandel discussed the roots of U.S. imperialist expansionism. He called upon the European labor movement to combine the struggle for solidarity with the Vietnamese, the Cuban and the Latin American revolutions with the struggle against their own bourgeoisie, against the Atlantic Pact and for a breakthrough towards the Socialist United States of Europe.

Mandel called for the formation of a global anti-imperialist united front, and demanded from the Soviet leaders that they should solemnly warn the imperialist aggressors that any attack against the Peoples Republic of China would be met with the same response as an attack against the Soviet Union itself. This appeal was met with strong applause.

Dave Dellinger recalled that the

participants in the Oct. 21 demonstration at the Pentagon generally didn't treat the U.S. soldiers as enemies, because they were convinced that doubts and anxieties about the character of the war were constantly spreading inside the army itself. Daniel Guérin, French writer, pointed to the significance of the black power movement in the USA. Kahn, a member of the National Vietnam Committee who recently returned from a visit to liberated areas in South Vietnam, expressed his conviction, gained from his first-hand knowledge, that the NLF would win the war.

Jean-Pierre Vigier, a member of the International War Crimes Tribunal, insisted on the necessity to fight the Atlantic Pact and on the need for a worldwide united front against imperialism.

Denis Berger of the National Vietnam Committee wound up the meeting by announcing that some cooperation with the committee had been refused on the sole ground that the meeting had been placed under the banner of Che Guevara, but this could only strengthen the committee's decision to link Guevara's name to the defense of Vietnam.

The meeting ended with the singing of the "International" to a Cuban recording, with a spirit, enthusiasm and militancy not witnessed in Paris in many years.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The railroad corporations and the rail unions have reached a tentative agreement to raise railroad retirement and unemployment benefits for the first time since 1959.

The increases will affect 1.5 million persons and will be 10 percent higher than the proposed social security pension raises still before Congress.

Both parties will now go before Congress to push for an amendment to the Railway Labor Act, necessary before any increases can take effect.

* * *

Here are some of the "highlights" from the on-going AFL-CIO convention at Bal Harbour, Fla.

* * *

In his keynote address, George Meany is quoted as having said that the "one overriding fact" that "is and must be the primary concern of the AFL-CIO" on the Vietnam war is the existence of free trade unions in South Vietnam.

Meany's assertion that there is a "free trade union movement in South Vietnam" had already been given the lie, at the 1965 AFL-CIO convention, by George Baldanzi, an official of the Textile Workers of America. Baldanzi said in part "... we ought to put pressure upon the civilian government of Saigon to give recognition to the Vietnamese labor movement, because right now there is a statute on the books that any worker, any leader of the Vietnamese labor movement who takes a political position on any issue is subject to being taken out and shot."—Convention proceedings, fifth day, Dec 15, 1965.

* * *

On Dec. 6 President Johnson spoke before the Business Council, appealing for both labor and business to "hold the wage-price line." According to Damon Stetson, special correspondent to the *New York Times*, the President's plea "fell on deaf ears" at the convention. The report says these fatted calves who "lead" the American labor movement intend to press for wage increases during the 1968 round "at least equal to or better than" those won by the Auto Workers.

(1968 promises to be an interesting year indeed, with contract negotiations and/or strikes in key

Chicago Teachers In Job Actions

CHICAGO — The recent teachers' work actions in the Chicago high school system, which have been called sick-ins or sick calls, were precipitated by a rejection of the method in which the board of education certifies its teachers. The actions were called by the Concerned Full-Time Basis Substitutes or "FTBs."

Both actions, one in November and the other Dec. 6 and 7, were very effective in terms of numbers of teachers participating. During the first action over 1,300 FTBs were out and, during the second, anywhere from 3,500 to 4,500 teachers called in sick.

The objective was to pressure the Chicago Board of Education to change its means of certification. At present, to become certified, it is necessary to have a bachelor's degree and pass both a written and oral examination. The Concerned FTBs want this changed so that the requirements for certification would be either the examinations, or a bachelor's degree plus two years of satisfactory teaching experience. Also, the FTBs hope to pressure the American Federation of Teachers to bargain more vigorously in their behalf.

—Marvel Scholl



industries like steel, aluminum, aerospace, the New York transit system, railroads, telephone, longshore on both the East and Gulf Coasts, and coal mining.

(A factor in the AFL-CIO convention's seeming militancy is the new breed of workers they represent — young men and women who know what they want and are not willing to accept "statesmanlike" settlements no matter who tries to sell them. One has only to recall two instances, the airline mechanics and the teamsters, where unsatisfactory contracts were rejected and the union negotiators told, "Go back and get us some more.")

(On business's side the deaf ear was already turned to Johnson before he made his plea. U.S. Steel had announced a \$5 a ton increase in its price for hot rolled steel. The largest steel corporation's example was followed swiftly by the rest of the industry. As of right now, steel industry economists are determining which other products will also be hiked in price.)

The New York Transit contract deadline is just three weeks away. Union negotiators and city-appointed mediators have announced that things are going very well indeed. They have arrived at agreement on everything — except wage increases, working hours, and health, welfare and pension benefit increases!

With this progress to bolster their egos, the union negotiators and the three city mediators took themselves down to Bal Harbour to consult with George Meany at the convention. Mr. Meany promised them his full cooperation, saying, "If there is anything I can do to be helpful, I'll do it." Mr. Matthew Guinan, president of the TWU, found the meeting with Meany "very fruitful." And the head mediator, Theodore Kheel, said they had sought Mr. Meany's help because of "the critical character of the dispute and because of its national implications."

(The "national implications" referred to, which have the whole top misleadership of the AFL-CIO scared green, are the 50-odd antistrike, antilabor bills now lying in wait in Congressional pigeonholes.

(Thus this convention of the AFL-CIO is on the horns of a dilemma. Or to quote a famous metaphor-mixer, "When you're in hot water, you've either got to unfurl your banner or pull in your horns.")

The convention has done one progressive thing: it has begun raising a strike fund to assist the copper strikers. The executive board made the first contribution of \$50,000.

Approximately 40,000 of the striking miners, smelters and refiners involved are now members of the United Steel Workers, which is having financial difficulties meeting the \$250,000 weekly strike-benefit bill.

PRIME SUCKER-BAIT

The McCarthy Campaign

By Harry Ring

Some opponents of the Vietnam war assert that support to Senator Eugene McCarthy's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination will strengthen the movement against the war. They couldn't be more wrong. What it will strengthen is the Democratic Party and capitalist politics in general. To the extent that antiwar activists are sucked into supporting McCarthy, the antiwar movement will be weakened.

The *New York Times* was quick to see the procapitalist virtues of McCarthy's campaign. In a Dec. 1 editorial, it pointed out:

"The decision of Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota to challenge Johnson in the Democratic presidential primaries now enables those who dissent from the administration's policy in Vietnam to find political expression for their convictions. Energies that might otherwise be dissipated in marches and demonstrations . . . can now be used constructively in politics."

Dislikes Climate

This thought was not a *Times* exclusive. In a Nov. 31 statement announcing his hat was in the ring, McCarthy cited his various reasons for being critical of administration policy in Vietnam, including the following:

"... there is growing evidence of a deepening moral crisis in America — discontent and frustration and a disposition to take extralegal if not illegal actions in manifest protest.

"I am hopeful that this challenge which I am making . . . may alleviate at least in some degree the sense of political helplessness and restore to many people a belief in the process of American politics and of American Government."

Nor is McCarthy simply content with getting the demonstrators off the street and into politics. He is concerned that they get into what he deems to be the right kind of politics — capitalist politics. He expressed the hope that his candidacy would "counter the growing sense of alienation from politics which I think is currently reflected in a tendency to withdraw from political actions, to talk of nonparticipation, to become cynical and to make threats of support to third parties and fourth parties or other irregular (!) political movements."

"I do not see in my move," he added, "any great threat to the unity and strength of the Democratic Party . . ."

CP Enthusiasm

The belief that McCarthy's bid strengthens the prospect of channelizing peace forces into the Democratic Party is shared by those on the left who favor such a perspective. For example, the Communist Party, the most notorious promoter of pro-Democratic Party politics on the left, responded with great enthusiasm to the McCarthy move.

"Parley Opens Antiwar Election Campaign," declared a Dec. 10 *Worker* headline on a story reporting the "Conference of Concerned Democrats" where McCarthy launched his drive. The report offers a spirited account of how the gathering became a "launching pad" for the McCarthy campaign. It reported glowingly that McCarthy and other speakers "made the purpose of the meeting clear: 'The regeneration of their party and the return to the ideals of Franklin Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy.'"

An equally enthusiastic editorial in the same issue, headlined "A Bang-Up Beginning," opens with the glad tidings that 21.25 percent of those Democrats who expressed an opinion in a Harris



ENTHUSIASTIC. Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party, sees great things in the McCarthy presidential bid.

poll want McCarthy as their candidate. "This," the editorial declared, "is a significantly impressive figure." Perhaps almost as significant as the poll which found that the big majority of Americans never heard of McCarthy.

However, the *Worker* apparently anticipated this. It assures: "There is no question that sentiment for McCarthy will rise greatly as he begins to move about the country and makes himself known."

Helps 'Peace' Forces

McCarthy will do great things, the voice of the Communist Party assures. He will "create fears" among Democratic candidates reluctant to take an antiwar position. Further, "A strong showing by McCarthy in Democratic primaries will, of course, strengthen the peace forces in the Republican Party, which have shown increasing power in the recent period."

So, you see, why break with the capitalist parties when there are significant "peace forces" in both parties in which so many good things are happening?

All of this, of course, is presented in the name of "independent political action." The Communist Party conception of such independence, insofar as we can determine, comes down to clambering into bed with such Democratic hacks as McCarthy without assistance, that is, "independently."

I. F. Stone, who also favors working in the capitalist parties, but without the piously hypocritical cant about "independence," is for McCarthy too. But he takes a somewhat more dim view of the situation. In the Dec. 11 issue of his *Weekly*, Stone wrote:

"The dreadful thing about presidential campaigns is that they make liars of all of us. We join up, and stop saying what we think, for the good of the cause. I suppose I'll be swept up in this same kind of nonsense myself. But at least at the beginning a few honest words may be useful."

Inspires Little Confidence

The comment was by way of explanation of his opening paragraph which said in part:

"Senator Eugene McCarthy was supposed to be the main attraction at the Conference of Concerned Democrats. . . . But his speech . . . fell flat. He has wit, charm and grace. But he seems to lack heart and guts . . . Watching him at the press conference . . . one began to wonder why he was running at all. A certain cynicism and defeatism seem basic to the man . . . McCarthy gives one the uneasy feeling that he doesn't

really give a damn."

However, Stone glumly concludes, "We have to support McCarthy. A poor showing in the primaries will be a poor showing for peace."

One is reminded of the old wheeze, "I know it's crooked, but it's the only game in town."

The major likelihood is that McCarthy, lacking any significant power and patronage base in the Democratic Party, will not be able to muster significant strength in the primaries. Johnson's hand will be strengthened and neither I.F. Stone nor the Communist Party is likely to change that relationship of forces. All they can do is legitimize the game in the eyes of opponents of the war.

Fewer Bomb Targets

This is particularly so since McCarthy's so-called opposition to the war consists of the most chicken-hearted kind of criticisms of the "excesses" of Johnson's policy and in no way expresses serious opposition to U.S. war policy.

He says, for example, "I would be glad to have them stop bombing civilian areas and concentrate on supply routes today." Which, of course, according to LBJ, is all that is being bombed.

McCarthy's essential point of criticism is that administration policy in Vietnam does not further the cause of U.S. imperialism.

"I think there are many places where we could take a stand against communism," he said at his opening press conference. "If we are really concerned about the expansion of Chinese communism, it seems to me that to waste our manpower and resources where we are doing it in Vietnam would be the worst of all possible choices. We still have the fleet, we still have the position in Japan, we still have a position in South Korea, we have built up a strong base in Thailand. . . ."

Main Error

But the fact that McCarthy is not a genuine opponent of the war, or even the fact that he is not likely to mobilize significant opposition to Johnson within his party, is not the basic issue. Even if McCarthy favored the immediate, unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam (which some individual capitalist figures now do), it would still be a terrible political error to support his so-called bid for the Democratic nomination. It simply is not the way to build the movement against the Vietnam war and the movement against U.S. imperialism.

Popular political pressure can be a decisive factor in helping to bring an end to this war. But that pressure will help to persuade an already shaken ruling class as to the wisdom of withdrawal only if it is mobilized outside of and in opposition to the present capitalist political setup. As McCarthy himself indicated, the war is costly to capitalism in that it is generating anticapitalist as well as antiwar sentiment in the country. To the extent that this sentiment can be bottled up within the framework of capitalist political machines, it is ineffectual and no cause for serious concern on the part of the country's rulers.

SWP Campaign

An "irregular" campaign — that is, an antiwar, anticapitalist one like that being conducted by Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party contributes far more to the cause of peace than efforts to refurbish the Democratic Party. This is particularly so at this moment when there is the greatest opportunity to educate many awakening people to the real role and nature of this political instrument of the capitalist war-makers.

REPORT FROM THE UNDERGROUND

Che's Name Resounds in Bolivia

The following interview was granted by a member of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party, Bolivian section of the Fourth International) to a journalist on a visit to Bolivia early in November. It was made public in Montevideo on Nov. 22. Translation is by *World Outlook*, an international labor press service.

* * *

Question: Have any actions been carried out in Bolivia in tribute to Che since his death?

Answer: Actions have occurred in almost all the universities — La Paz, Oruro, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, Potosí . . . symbolic acts, demonstrations, etc. A very interesting tribute was paid to Che in Tarija, where he was listed among the Liberators of the Americas.

The students of the School of Medicine in La Paz took over the Nueva América radio station, one of the most popular in the country, for 10 minutes, and shouted "Long live Che" and "Long live the National Liberation Army." The international press tried to discount this by presenting it as a student "prank."

In the mines, meetings have been held where solidarity with the guerrillas was voted for; but, as can be understood, the military occupation of the mines prevents public demonstrations in tribute to Che.

Q: Have the guerrillas been defeated in Bolivia?

A: No. Naturally the death of Che and many of his comrades constitutes a stiff blow, but it does not mean annihilation as Barrientos claims. A few days ago, when it was being publicly proclaimed that the guerrillas had been reduced to six persons and were on the point of being liquidated, having been surrounded, Inti Peredo's group fought a battle in which they managed to break out of the encirclement. The other day, at a place more than 200 kilometers [125 miles] away, another group of 23 guerrillas took a town, seized supplies and provisions, and then retreated. This happening alone proves that there is more than one group carrying on, and more than six guerrillas.

Q: Has the repression been very hard in La Paz since the death of Che?

A: Brutal. There are more than 200 new prisoners, in addition to the 300 miners who have been held in Panóptico for some time, accused of conspiring with or having ties with the guerrillas.

In Santa Cruz, for example, a 65-year-old woman, the mother of one of our comrades, who was already living under very diffi-

cult circumstances, was taken by the police as a hostage to try to get her to denounce her son.

Every trade union activist faces dismissal if he is so much as accused of being "linked" with the guerrillas, and often it means imprisonment.

In the mines, this means, in addition, that he is dispossessed from his miserable lodgings and expelled from the town.

In the mining districts, the army has invaded homes and claimed that the things they found there were bought with money provided by the guerrillas, thus entitling them to pilfer utensils and household goods.

Recently the police detained a miner in Huanuni, a mining district, and treated him so brutally that he was left almost dead. The people stormed the headquarters to rescue him, and severely punished the police. To avoid any bigger complications, the army did not intervene, staying in the hills outside the town, where they usually maintain their camp.

Q: What is the attitude of the soldiers, taking into account that they are also part of the people, toward the guerrilla question?

A: You have to take into account that they are constantly shifted from place to place, and, in addition, are subjected to ferocious repression. Recently a case was reported of a machine gunner who was ordered to fire on people and he refused because they were his own people. When he refused to obey the order a second time, an officer killed him in front of his comrades, without the least compunction.

Cases have been reported, such as during the massacre at San Juan, where soldiers, stiff with cold in the morning, had not fired a single shot; and others who fired into the ground. On that occasion, the miners did not kill soldiers, but various soldiers were shot in the back by their own officers. There are barracks in which at least one soldier is shot every week by the officers. Recently at the railway center of Huyuni, a lieutenant killed a soldier who refused to fire on some workers who had been drinking a little. The lieutenant was promoted for his "bravery."

There are cases in the mining districts in which soldiers have gone to the workers to suggest attacking the barracks in an organized way, because they are ready to collaborate. Of course, these are only isolated cases. It should be mentioned, too, that families have demonstrated in various areas to prevent their youth from being taken into military service,

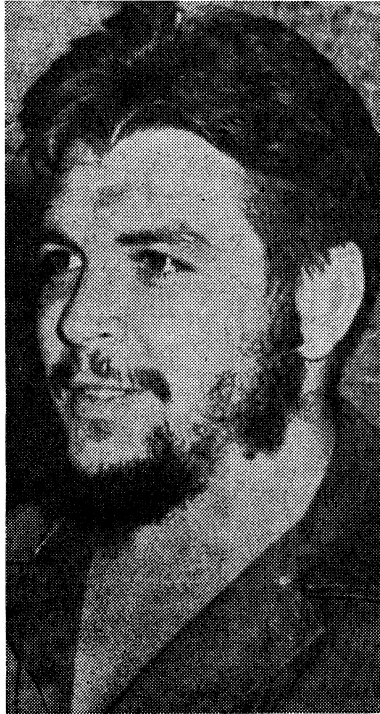
cently it was printed in *The Worker* in this country.

Kolle says of guerrilla struggle in Bolivia that "its application as a strategy does not suit the concrete historical reality of the country's economic, social and political conditions."

Maitan counters sharply, showing that "Given its orientation, the CP did absolutely nothing to mobilize and help the guerrillas win."

Maitan also takes up the attitude of the Maoist leadership in China: "The enormous fact should now be underlined that during the days and weeks in which the entire world followed the events in Bolivia, the Chinese press quite simply ignored the death of Che."

For the full text of both articles, send 50 cents to *World Outlook*, P.O. Box 635 Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.



Che Guevara

as happened some months ago in Pando and Beni.

Q: What is the situation like in the miners' movement since the massacres?

A: The miners' movement has been completely disorganized, its leaders arrested and imprisoned, dismissed and persecuted. But in line with their tradition of struggle, the miners have been resorting to new forms of organization, as well as developing new leaders. Underground committees have appeared, in which the most genuine leaders, the most experienced, are active. Likewise in the legal trade unions, minimum demands are being raised. This is happening in Catavi, Siglo XX and Huanuni, where the unions are opening up new fronts. And the student movement, it is to be noted, has taken up the task of contributing to rebuilding the trade union movement.

The underground committees are serving as the axis for this reorganization, since that is where the best militants among the miners are to be found. The problem of armed struggle is constantly posed there. It was from this source that almost all the miners came who fought in Nancahuazú.

I would like to add something more. The daily topic of conversation in the mines is how to handle the problem of the army. Every miner has his ideas on this and they are continually debating it. The work of these committees also explains why men in the army get "lost," the army command claiming that they are deserters.

Q: What is the attitude of the peasants?

A: I would like to point to the attitude of the peasants in Ucupeña, in the Cochabamba valley. After Che's death, they staged demonstrations in tribute to him, painting slogans on the walls in the town and shouting, "Long live Che!" It should be noted that the demonstrations were carried out by groups, who went through the town on foot or in trucks, despite the repression in force there.

Moreover, the attitude of these peasants is outright repudiation of the bureaucracy controlled by the government, the bureaucracy being the only "force" which Barrientos can rely on in the countryside. The attitude of the peasants in Ucupeña is shared by the peasants in other regions; in some areas it can be said that they don't know about the guerrilla question, but nowhere in Bolivia have the peasant masses displayed hostility toward the guerrillas.

Q: Anything else?

A: Yes. I would like the situation in Bolivia to be known everywhere, especially in Latin America, where the struggle includes the one going on in my country.

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New Witch-Hunt Arrests Made By Mexican Gov't

On Nov. 29 the press in Mexico announced that the police had arrested a group of 14 "terrorists." This new wave of arrests comes scarcely four months after 14 others were jailed on similar, concocted charges.

The new group includes 10 students, three workers, and a lawyer. The defendants reportedly "confessed" to various terrorist acts, but at their first hearing at the beginning of December all those arrested charged they had been tortured by the police and forced to sign false confessions.

Most of the prisoners are members of the Partido Mexicano de Trabajadores (Mexican Workers Party) and the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria Estudiantil (Revolutionary Left Student Movement). The defendants affirmed their political beliefs as socialists and supporters of the Cuban revolution but vehemently denied they had committed any terrorist acts.

With these additions, the political prisoners in Lecumberri penitentiary now number 56. There are eight political prisoners in the women's jail.

International protests are important to help throw the light of publicity on the repressive course being followed by the Mexican government, which is so little known in this country.

The Mexican Committee for the

Defense of the Political Prisoners has issued an appeal asking "all groups, individuals and prominent figures to lodge protests with the executive and judicial authorities of Mexico in whatever form they deem most suitable."

Protests may be addressed to: Lic. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, President of the Republic, National Palace, Mexico 1, D.F., Mexico.

Xmas Donations Urged For Latin Prisoners

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA Justice Committee) has launched a drive to raise funds for "Christmas and after" for the political prisoners in Peru and Mexico.

Under the headline "The New York Times Neediest Appeal Won't Help Them for Christmas . . . Will You?" a letter is going out this week in the New York area. Supporters of the committee are arranging fund-raising parties for the holiday season and collections are being taken at various meetings. One supporter in Boston has pledged \$25 a month to aid Hugo Blanco, the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader.

Donations for the prisoners should be sent to the USLA Justice Committee, P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001.

Che Guevara Speaks

Publication date: Dec. 21, 1967

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Bolivia CP Tops Denigrate Role of Guerrilla Movement

The Dec. 8 issue of *World Outlook* contains two important articles on the guerrilla movement in Bolivia. The first is an interview with Jorge Kolle, a member of the Secretariat of the Bolivian Communist Party, which first appeared in the Chilean CP daily *El Siglo*.

Kolle goes further than any previous statements by the pro-Moscow Communist parties in attacking the Bolivian guerrilla movement and, implicitly, Che Guevara.

The second article is a rebuttal of Kolle's position and a defense of the guerrillas by Livio Maitan, a leading spokesman of the Fourth International.

The interview with Kolle is evidently considered to be of prime importance to the pro-Moscow CPs. Translations of it have appeared in Communist papers in France and Italy, and most re-

The Meat Scandal

By Les Evans

The daily press has been hailing the House-Senate agreement on a "clean meat" bill as a great victory for the consumer. Unfortunately that is very far from the truth. The reality is that, 60 years after the publication of Upton Sinclair's horrifying exposé of conditions in the meat-packing industry, in large part those conditions remain virtually unchanged. Congress has made every effort to assuage the newly aroused fears of the American public without seriously challenging the powerful meat lobby.

We should begin by examining the conditions that exist in the meat industry to get an idea of the scope of the abuses before we come to the specific provisions of the measure agreed upon by Congress, in order to acquire a scale to judge the adequacy of the reforms proposed.

News reports have tended to deal in vague generalities, referring to "unwholesome meat," and usually implying that violations of sanitary standards are concentrated in the South, or confined to poor neighborhoods, small companies and local stores. It is usually implied that if the reader is white, lives in a Northern city and shops in large chain stores, buying name brands, he will be able to escape eating dirty, diseased or adulterated meat. This is simply not true.

Interstate Commerce

While conditions are much worse in the black ghettos and in the South, some of the worst offenders are the major meat packers and chain stores. Federal inspection covers only meat that is sold in interstate commerce. Fifteen percent of all prepared meat in this country is sold in intrastate commerce and not subject to federal inspection. A whopping 25 percent of all prepared meats is not federally inspected. This includes hamburger, sausage, lunch meats, canned meat products, canned hams, canned soups containing meat, and frankfurters.

Senator Joseph Montoya (D-N. Mex.), sponsor of the final "compromise" bill that passed the Senate, gave an extensive run-down to the Senate Nov. 27 on conditions in non-federally inspected meat plants. He reported Department of Agriculture findings that "of the 19 million cattle slaughtered outside Federal inspection each year, more than 10 million head go without any inspection on any level of government. Of the 8.75 billion pounds of meat which is processed outside of Federal inspection, nearly 5 billion pounds receives no inspection whatsoever."

Montoya pointed out some of

the dangers lurking for even the most careful consumer:

"First, modern chemicals and drugs completely nullify the usual tests of sight and smell with respect to meat. Injections of antibiotics . . . cancel out the smell and appearance of decaying or unhealthy meat."

This last is particularly dangerous because the antibiotics kill only the bacteria that cause overt spoilage, which usually acts as a warning of more dangerous bacteria. The antibiotics have no effect on the growth of deadly botulisms which can cause fatal food poisoning, or the infection of meat with disease. Meat is also dyed to look fresh.

Secondly, Montoya pointed out, "it is no guarantee that meat is federally inspected to shop only in large, nationally known retail chain stores. A 1967 USDA survey of intrastate meat products purchased in regular grocery stores and supermarkets — including such national chains as Kroger, Safeway, and A&P — showed that only 39 of 162 meat products tested met all Federal meat inspection requirements."

Big Firms Involved

As to big-name companies, the Senator testified, "brand names and labels provide no protection. The largest meat packing companies in the nation have established plants doing business only within a state and therefore escape the stringent requirements of federal meat inspection which products from their other operations must undergo. For example, the meat industry's big three — Swift & Co., Wilson & Co., and Armour & Co. — have admitted operating more than 100 intrastate meat plants which slaughter, process, and prepare millions of pounds of meat each year without federal inspection."

The reason for these evasions are simple enough: there is more profit in it. Montoya says the intrastate operator can "buy inferior animals, dress up bad meat with chemicals, and use cheap fillers with impunity."

As to the standards of state meat inspection, the Department of Agriculture has testified that there is *not a single state* that has standards equaling federal inspection. Twelve states inspect meat only if the meat packers themselves request it. Seven states, including Minnesota, have no meat inspection statutes at all.

Congress has been sitting on these facts for years. The Department of Agriculture prepared an extensive report of investigations of packing plants in 1963 that was kept secret for four years. A second investigation of intrastate plants made by the department this summer was read into the

Congressional Record Nov. 27. It is a horrifying, state-by-state indictment. Here are a few samples:

ARKANSAS: "House employees' aprons were dirty. It appeared that blood was caked on their aprons and had never been washed. Also their boots were filthy, covered with blood and manure . . . Mr. — showed me the hog dehairing machine. When he turned it on the flies were so thick I had to move back away from it. The machine had not been sanitized and emitted a very foul odor."

CALIFORNIA: "Canned meat food product is produced without any semblance of inspection on the part of California State Meat Inspection." One plant was described that operates with a normal business permit, inspection furnished by the Los Angeles County Health Department:

"The operation is located in a building that is falling apart. It is infested with flies, cockroaches, and rodents since there are many openings located around the structure . . . There is nothing to help keep the operation clean, no semblance of sanitation."

COLORADO: "On the morning of July 29, 1967, I visited subject firm which is a processing plant only. The man at the chopper had a cigarette in one hand and was picking his nose with the other. Without washing his hands he [put] his hand into the comminuted product."

At another plant the inspector saw "three cows in the holding pens. One cow, a Holstein, had a large swollen udder which appeared to be infected with mastitis. The second cow appeared to be emaciated, and the third was a 'cancer eye' with part of the skull around the eye eaten away with cancer and infection." The cattle were slaughtered and processed for food.

Manure, Maggots . . .

At still another plant "there were pools of rancid water, blood and manure on the floor. In the fabricating room they were breaking beef, grinding, and cutting steaks. The band saw had not been cleaned for several days and the bone dust in the bottom of the saw was filled with maggots. In the assemble room, I noticed rat droppings and tracks on boxes and wrapping paper and in the sawdust on the floor."

The inspector observed that "Drums which appeared to be for use of inedible material were stacked near the rear of the building. Rats were working in the drums, and trash incinerator. As I watched I noticed a rat enter the part of the building which appeared to be the killing floor."

IDAHO: At one plant "Head meat contained large amounts of hair and manure."

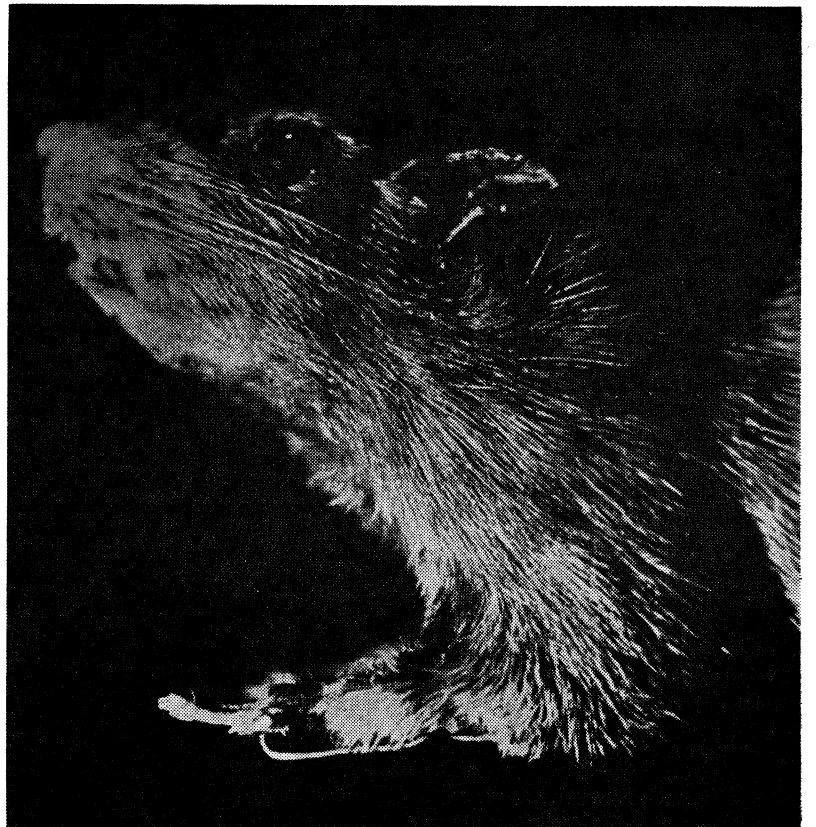
MINNESOTA: "The cooler is absolutely filthy pans tubs and other containers have meat for cure, all in filthy condition . . . Nothing was done to keep flies or rodents out."

NEW JERSEY: "Approximately 1/8 inch water over most of the floors, indicating poor sewage and drainage if any . . . No fly and pest control . . . Meats in wet cartons on wet floors in preparation of use. Poor lighting. Live cats around loading platform."

NEW HAMPSHIRE: "No clean-up from previous operations (or for many days), all rooms . . . were dirty, cluttered, caked with blood, grease, filth. Men with dirty clothing were boning dirty meat on dirty tables . . . Lower extremities of beef quarters were in contact with the floor and dragged when moved . . . Rear dock piled with bones and strewn with manure and paunch contents."

OKLAHOMA: "In the processing room I noted that they were adding pork hearts to their ground beef patties."

At another plant "The exterior



RAT. Finds a fine home in many slaughterhouses and meat processing plants.

of the premises was filthy and stinking. I moved a meat barrel containing meat scrap and a rat jumped out and nearly knocked my hat off. I noticed that the rat entered the rear of subject plant."

OREGON: "The walls were splattered with emulsion from grinders and stuffers, there was water ankle-deep on the floor and employees were wading around like it was a normal condition."

PENNSYLVANIA: "Ninety percent of beef quarters on hand showed evidence of bruises, sores, etc."

At a second plant, "Cardboard dividers were used to separate the meat products. This cardboard was being picked up from the floor after being walked on by the employees. Some of it was covered with blood from the floor . . . Accumulation of filth in corners and along walls in processing room."

Dried Blood . . .

In a third plant a welfare room sewer was plugged and "water was pouring down stairway to two processing floors below."

There is frequent evidence in most of these states of flies and even rats being ground into meat products.

A separate investigation in New York by City Council President Frank D. O'Connor disclosed "Dried blood and green mold on meat machines, rat poison powder beside boxes of processed meat and cobwebs in a meat refrigerator."

And what do the guardians of public health in Congress propose to do on awakening from their slumber? The House first proposed simply to encourage the state governments to improve their inspection systems. This amounted to a proposal to do nothing at all.

The first bill introduced in the Senate was a relatively strong one, proposed by Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.). This called for immediate federal inspection to be established in all state plants that could not demonstrate that they complied with federal standards. That simple and reasonable measure to protect public health was almost unanimously rejected by Mondale's fellow senators. They were horrified, not by the barbarities of the meat industry, but by the "radical" solution that had been proposed.

Drew Pearson, in a nationally syndicated column Nov. 28, put the finger on what was really on the senators' minds in rejecting the Mondale bill:

"Lobbyists for the meat industry," he wrote, "used adroit tactics in trying to weaken the meat bill introduced by Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.), which would give the housewife complete protection against diseased or deteriorating meat."

The meat industry actually supported the Montoya "compromise" in order to avoid the provisions of the stronger bill! Pearson continues:

"One lobbyist, Aled Davies of the American Meat Institute, hovered near the office of Sen. Joseph Montoya (D-N. Mex.) when Montoya and Mondale were trying to whip the final meat bill into shape. Minnesota's Mondale has been the greatest crusader for the housewife. New Mexico's Montoya has been privately dickering for the meat lobby."

The meat packers went so far as to set up a "slush fund" to publicly bribe senators who would vote for the weakest possible version of the compromise bill. Pearson identifies "Blaine Liljenquist of the Western States Meat Packers" who asked "meat packers to contribute toward the reelection of congressmen voting with the meat packers."

3 Years To Go

The Montoya compromise (which "crusader" Mondale ended up supporting) allows the states two years to bring their inspection systems up to federal standards, with a third "year of grace" if they fail in the allotted two years. There is no provision for the allocation of funds for enforcement even at the end of the three years.

The only provisions with any teeth were those allowing a state governor voluntarily to place his state under federal inspection before the two years are up, and allowing the Department of Agriculture to take over a plant if it were found dangerous (but they are not allowed to regularly inspect state plants to verify this).

But the final House-Senate version that will soon be passed into law contains one further compromise: The provision allowing state governors to call in federal inspectors was dropped.

Senator Smith of Iowa lamented in Congress Nov. 29 that the final law would leave "2 or 3 more years of putting chopped eyeballs, hides, and all kinds of other things in the meat." Actually the senator was much too optimistic. Even the *New York Times*, which was at first ecstatic over the "victory for the consumer," began to take a second worried look. They said on Dec. 10 that the new law's "provisions for tighter federal inspection will be of scant benefit unless Secretary of Agriculture Freeman moves at once for an expanded inspection staff."

It will be a considerable number of years before any changes are made, if ever. In the meantime we will eat what the meat packers and their friends in Congress put in front of us.

Worst Meat Put Aside For Sale in Ghettos

If the condition of meat sold in white neighborhoods is bad, it is much worse in ghetto stores. In New York, Rep. Reid (R-Westchester) went shopping in a Harlem market recently to make a spot check. The *New York Post* reported Nov. 25 that Reid found that "two out of four pork chops packaged in transparent wrapping were 'almost black.'"

"What's wrong with that?" he quoted a butcher as replying.

Many of the big meat packers consciously divert inferior and unwholesome meat into ghetto areas, where it is sold at higher prices than the better cuts sent to middle-class white neighborhoods.

Drew Pearson wrote in his Nov. 28 column that "substandard meat . . . has been produced specifically for the black ghettos in the big cities of New York, Chicago,

Newark and Detroit."

When Reid and another congressman confronted the store manager at an A&P market, the man explained that the meat had been "repackaged with a new date."

The label is supposed to tell the customer how long the meat has been sitting at the store. The *Post* reports that "after the meat stays out on the counter a day or two, it's repackaged and a new number is put on it so there's no way to tell when it was packaged originally."

An A&P official, William Vitulli, defended the practice. His argument was that "some meat improves with age."

We have to admit that there is nothing quite like the well-aged flavor of an overripe pork chop.

Critics or Splitters?**Attacks on Antiwar 'Non-Exclusion'**

By Fred Halstead

A widespread discussion has been precipitated within and around the antiwar movement by the experiences of Oct. 21 at the Pentagon, the Oakland draft board a few days later, the Rusk reception in New York Nov. 14, and the Stop the Draft Week demonstrations at Whitehall induction center in Manhattan Dec. 5-8.

In these events a higher degree of militancy and justified anger, which has long been brewing, revealed itself. A full discussion of how this militancy may best be preserved, protected, developed and channeled in the most effective way to help stop the war can only be beneficial. But there are some — sideline critics as a rule rather than committed participants — who see in these developments and some of the problems raised by them a long-hoped-for opportunity to break up the unity of the antiwar movement, which has been carefully built on an ever widening and nonexclusive basis since the April 17, 1965, Students for a Democratic Society March on Washington.

The article by Walter Goodman entitled "Liberals vs. Radicals — War in the Peace Camp," in the Dec. 3 *New York Times Magazine*, falls into this category.

This can be seen most clearly from Goodman's concluding paragraph, which I quote in full: "Thirty years ago an important part of the democratic left in this country found it necessary to call for the 'clearest differentiation' from the Communists with whom they had fought side by side in many worthy causes. So, for the time being at least 'differentiation' seems politically necessary regarding the more apocalyptically

inclined of the New Leftists. Not because of the few Communists among them or because they are the principal enemy in the land. Far from it. And not because liberals can afford to be any less wholehearted in their devotion to peace and Negro rights, or smug about our existing system, or enamored of the Establishment. But simply because the New Left in its present incarnation is an obstacle to building wide support for an end to the nightmare of Vietnam and because its sometime leaders have shown such blithe disregard for the injuries that fire-eating slogans and melodramatic actions can inflict upon this vulnerable, improbable, imperfect and precious democracy."

The bulk of Goodman's article is a review of the history of the unsuccessful fight waged by the right wing of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy to impose its exclusionism and anticommunist phobia on the entire movement and to prevent the rest of SANE from participating in the nonexclusive anti-Vietnam-war coalition.

It is the activities of this coalition — through its various forms such as the united-front mass demonstrations — that have provided unchallengeable proof that a huge section of the American people are flatly opposed to the war. This movement has also dealt a significant blow to the atmosphere of McCarthyism and re-established for the first time in over a generation the right — first in the academic community and more slowly in other areas — of Americans to hear, read, and discuss all ideas.

It accomplished this without the aid, indeed over the direct opposi-

tion, of the pro-exclusionist right wing of the peace movement. It accomplished these things with the militant youth in the lead and with the help of all kinds of people who are sincerely concerned with ending the war. Now the pro-exclusionist right wing — leaping behind the press criticism of the more recent demonstrations — thinks it has a handle to drive a wedge between the angry young militants and other sections of the movement.

In his article, Goodman quotes Irving Howe, one of the right-wingers in SANE, as saying that the slogan "from dissent to resistance" is adventurist. This, of course, is true if what is meant by "resistance" is using the presently organized young antiwar activists as bands which by themselves are going to physically stop the war machine. There have been some illusions on this score among some of the antiwar militants, illusions that the experiences of the recent demonstrations should help dispel.

As Lawrence Grauman, Jr., points out in the Dec. 11 *Nation*: "A girl in the Washington march was heard crying out in despair: 'We came here to shut down the Pentagon, and we're not doing it!' Of course if one really intends to shut down the Pentagon, one must come with armor-piercing ordnance and be prepared to die. That is armed insurrection, not protest or civil disobedience."

But there were the beginnings of other activities at the Pentagon which if developed properly on a massive scale can be as effective as "armor-piercing ordnance." In speaking to the crowd at the Lincoln Memorial just be-



Photo by Shannon

AT WHITEHALL. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, with sign, joins antidraft demonstrations in New York.

fore they marched to the Pentagon, Dave Dellinger pointed out that "there is nothing more powerful than an idea whose time has come" and he appealed for the marchers to talk to the troops at the Pentagon, which some of the young activists did. They found, much to their surprise, that the soldiers — not the federal marshals or police — were not entirely hostile and were open to reason.

This is not to say that it would be wise or practical to ask GIs to desert, or to disobey an order or regulation. They would only tend to be put on the spot and alienated by that. People in their position will find their own ways — quite legal ways — to oppose the war effectively, which is to say on a massive scale, without laying themselves open to immediate and severe reprisals. And the GI is not the only section of the American public whose mind is now opening up to antiwar sentiment. Millions of high school students, religious people, young men facing the draft, their mothers, trade unionists, and so on are also beginning to oppose the war.

But Irving Howe has a strange approach to these opportunities. Speaking of the young militants, he says: "If their pseudo-revolutionary acts succeed in bringing on a real confrontation instead of a symbolic one, we know who is likely to win — the right, not the left — and if the kids have any illusions about their chances, that only indicates how little appreciation they have of the balance of political forces in America."

Once again, if this refers to a physical battle between the present armed forces of the state on one hand and the present antiwar

activists on the other, the antiwar movement could only be decimated and would be foolish to pose the struggle in those terms. But a political confrontation — political in the broad sense — is already under way, has been going on for some time, and is getting sharper by the day. It is this political confrontation that is changing the balance of political forces in the country in the direction of the antiwar movement.

If the young radicals are isolated from the rest of the movement, the capitalist power structure will seize the opportunity to go to work on them with a vengeance. And if they are decimated or demoralized, the rest of the antiwar critics will face the same fate in turn.

And in the political struggle against the war the unity of all those opposed to it, in defense of any section of the antiwar movement attacked by the war-makers and their witch-hunters and their police, is the key to success.

... N. Y. Cops Attack Draft Protesters

(Continued from Page 1)
was arrested, without any warning, while peacefully picketing.

As the main body of marchers moved along, meeting with a hearteningly friendly response from passersby, police arrested individuals, including the chief leaders of the demonstration. A small gang of prowar thugs attacked a section of the march, while police looked the other way.

The cops once again prevented the marchers from assembling at the Times Square recruiting station, where the demonstrators had planned to rally and disperse.

The cops surrounded the marchers, and set them on a forced march eastward toward the UN building. They claimed they would allow them to hold a rally there, but when the march neared the UN, the cops surrounded it and kept it from moving.

Peter Seidman, of the Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam and the Young Socialist Alliance, made a speech to the crowd attacking the police suppression of the demonstration. TV cameras happened to pick up Seidman's speech, and showed the cops arresting the entire group as Seidman finished. This was such a blatant and public violation of civil liberties that the cops later released all those arrested at the

UN, claiming they had made an "honest mistake." The American Civil Liberties Union is planning a suit for false arrest against the city.

Nearly 300 people were arrested on Thursday and approximately 150 were held on charges. Again, a number of antiwar demonstrators were clubbed and beaten by police.

That afternoon the Stop the Draft Committee, in conjunction with the Parade Committee, sent a delegation of people headed by Dr. Spock to Mayor Lindsay's office to protest the repression of the demonstrations.

On Friday morning at 8 a.m. even more demonstrators turned up than the day before to assert their right to protest. Dr. Spock joined the march to show his solidarity with the demonstrators against the actions of the police.

This time, however, the police were more organized than before and had a double line of patrolmen, tactical police, and mounted police marching alongside the protesters. At various times they charged into the march to arrest individuals. They set an arbitrary boundary line at 23rd Street, threatening mass arrests if anyone proceeded beyond the line.

The demonstration continued as far as the Army Intelligence Center across the street from Washington Irving High School near 16th Street. Here the police unleashed their most brutal attack of the week. As the crowd stood peacefully on the sidewalk, chanting and waving to high school students across the street, the cops suddenly waded into the demonstrators, many of them young women, without warning, clubs flying.

Plainclothes cops, who had infiltrated the demonstration, were particularly vicious, using blackjacks. Cops clubbed and kicked and beat, and arrested all they

could lay hands on. Demonstrators were knocked over and trampled in the crush and blood spattered the sidewalk.

The bulk of the demonstrators managed to make it to Union Square, a few blocks away, and tried to determine what they could do. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, explained to the demonstrators that the police outnumbered them, were massing around the demonstration, and had brought up a caravan of police vans. Under these conditions, he suggested that the crowd disperse to avoid useless victimization of the marchers, and plan a more massive demonstration for the near future.

The week-long series of antiwar demonstrations was accompanied by intensive discussion and debate within the antiwar movement prior to and during the actions. The major issues involved the basic purpose of the demonstration.

Some groups and individuals, including the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, disagreed with the formulation proposed as the purpose of the demonstration — that of "closing down" the induction center. They argued that this would (1) cause frustration in the movement because it was an unattainable objective in the face of police power, (2) offer the press the opportunity to brand the demonstration a failure for not closing down the induction center, and (3) by appearing to have an "illegal" objective, the movement would needlessly offer the police an excuse to claim that they were justified in attempting to suppress the demonstration. Spokesmen for this point of view argued that the announced objective should have been to mass at the induction center to talk to the draftees and demand that all the draftees in the army be freed.

SDS Goes to Court Against Hershey

Students for a Democratic Society is seeking an emergency injunction against General Lewis B. Hershey in an attempt to restrain the Selective Service System from imposing the draft as a form of punishment for opposition to the war. In a series of letters and statements, Hershey has urged local draft boards to reclassify students participating in "illegal" acts of protest.

This totally unconstitutional use of the draft has been opposed by a number of prominent lawyers. There has been a show of disagreement between the Selective Service and the Justice Department on the issue, even though the White House had officially backed Hershey's original statement to the draft boards on Oct. 26.

The SDS emergency injunction will be sought in the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C., Dec. 14.

Xmas Gifts Asked For Fort Hood 3

The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee has issued an appeal for "Christmas support" to the three imprisoned GIs. James Johnson, Dennis Mora and David Samas are serving three-year prison sentences for refusing to go to Vietnam on the grounds that U.S. military involvement there is illegal, immoral and unjust.

The committee urges that Christmas gifts be sent to the men. They are allowed to receive nuts, potato chips, pretzels, dried fruit, chocolates, cheese, cookies, candy, cigars (but no canned goods). Gifts may be addressed to each of the three (individually) as follows: Drawer A, Ft. Leavenworth Prison, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas 66027.

Nearly Loses Gov't Job For Criticizing Cops

NEW YORK — Sol Simon, a civilian geologist for the Army Corps of Engineers, witnessed the vicious police attack on antiwar demonstrators on Irving Place Dec. 8. He protested the police action, and was immediately stripped of his security clearance by the Army. A few days later, the brass, embarrassed by publicity, rescinded the suspension.

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.]

Appeal from SNCC

New York, N.Y.

The struggle for the liberation of black people and other oppressed minorities in this country has reached a critical stage. Rebellions and revolts are occurring throughout the land, because the United States power structure has been unwilling to yield to the basic demands of its black population and their allies.

It has chosen to create scapegoats — to shift the burden of responsibility for the upheavals from the oppressor to the oppressed — rather than to undertake the task of correcting centuries of evils.

In this important era, SNCC has intensified its efforts to give political direction to the resistance against police brutality and the degrading social, economic and cultural effects of our society.

SNCC officially declared itself a Human Rights organization in May, 1967. As an organization "technically" composed of American citizens, we feel that our first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government. Hence, we will strengthen our programs of opposition to the draft and to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Realizing that oppressed peoples throughout the world share common bonds, SNCC has established an office of International Affairs in New York City, in order to link its efforts with liberation movements around the world. In calling for a boycott of 1968 General Motors cars on August 27, 1967, we intensified our work to build concrete support specifically

for the African liberation movements.

You may know that our brothers in South Africa and Rhodesia have launched an armed revolutionary struggle against the possibility of United States intervention on behalf of the white South African Government, in order to protect investments such as those by General Motors and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Our continued growth as a Human Rights organization demands that we encourage young black people to remain in school and to obtain the skills so desperately needed in order to develop our own communities here and to aid in the industrial development of some of the newly independent African nations. This growth also demands that we help students to develop self-pride based upon a knowledge of their true heritage.

To this end, we are encouraging the development of nationwide liberation schools, a concept with which SNCC pioneered during the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project. Racism has run rampant throughout this country for well over three centuries. It is intolerable. In the tradition of Frederick Douglass, SNCC will continue to be a proud agitator for constructive change in this nation.

Your support is needed now to aid our resistance to the continued denial of Human Rights.

For liberation,
H. Rap Brown, Chairman
Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
100 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N.Y. 10011

High Praise

Chicago, Ill.

In my opinion *The Militant* is the best newspaper available in the United States. In fact, it is the only newspaper, because it is the only one that gives the news as it is and does not "butcher" it up to make particular people sound good.

Keep up the good work.

Malcolm X liked your paper, I like Malcolm X, therefore I like your paper too!

E.W.

To End Exploitation

New York, N.Y.

While people are starving to death, homeless, drowned in disease and misery and all the other inevitable products of the exploitation of man by man — capitalism — throughout the world, the victims of the system discover that their only means is combat. All-out combat till the death or the victory by burying exploitation forever.

The exploiters, through the representatives for a "free" world, commit not only themselves to suppressing the people's, struggles against the exploitation of man by man, but also commit the exploited and oppressed in its own bosom as policemen of suppression.

Goldwater, an already known spokesman for all-out suppression of the peoples' struggle throughout our planet, himself admitted that over 40 such treaties of suppression exist.

Every parent can well see the consequences very clearly: all those who are of age, and those who will soon be, know the future that awaits them. No one doubts that eternal militarism by the plans of the exploiters to suppress peoples' struggles hangs over their head as a result of being born into a system which prides itself on being the representative for a world "free" for the exploitation of man by man.

There is little doubt that the victims of exploitation — who have nothing to lose and everything to gain — are not going to

be intimidated and discouraged, and just stand by with arms crossed over an early grave. And they are not alone, they are not leaderless.

There are many who, like our beloved brother Che Guevara, feel noble human indignation at the sight and knowledge of such avoidable human misery and are willing to place their lives at stake in the struggle against all actions of the exploiters to maintain exploitation.

All the progress in science and technology can never end the reality of exploitation until the system of exploitation has ended. *The Militant* knows this and teaches it to all those willing and ready to learn it. Keep it up.

J.O.

Defends Landlords, Cops

Newark, N.J.

In writing about the black uprisings that have taken place in many cities in the United States, I believe *The Militant* is making serious mistakes. In general terms you speak of "price-gouging merchants" and white merchants who exploit poor people. This is not the truth.

Almost all the store owners who had their windows broken and stores looted were small merchants who run the business by themselves or with some help from the family. With all the competition from many other store owners they just make a living if they are lucky enough.

I understand and sympathize with the rioters and looters. But

they are hurting the wrong people, not the people who are causing their plight. The price-gouging and exploiting are done at the source by the big capitalist employers in all industries.

The Militant is all wrong in using the term "rent-gouging landlords" when speaking generally. Certainly there are so many landlords whose only reason for buying a little extra property is to have some security in the future, which this economic system does not provide. In the meantime they have the "headaches" of all the petty things to take care of. Don't blame them if rent goes up. Again blame this inflationary economic system.

Many small store owners and landlords would prefer instead to have a decent job. Of course in specific cases gouging does apply.

To speak of cops generally as racist and brutal is wrong too. To most men, being a cop is just a job to make a living. Be specific, and where it exists, fight it.

These people mentioned above are a large segment of the pop-

ulation. Putting the blame falsely on them for the plight of poor people creates animosity so that they become misled against socialism. Thus you hurt the cause for socialism instead of promoting it, which should be your primary purpose.

D.A.

[It goes without saying that we disagree with almost every point raised in the above letter. We invite comments from other readers on these questions. EDITOR]

Really Interested

Flushing, N.Y.

I received and read two sample copies of *The Militant* Nov. 29 and was really interested. I've been a member of New York Resistance and was waiting for my little thing to do.

Finally I found it — and it's *The Militant* where I can jump into antiwar and Black Liberation. Fine job filling my gap.

I am very much interested in receiving *The Militant* till the "struggle" has ended.

W. C.

Thought for the Week

"The rise of anti-American feeling [in Saigon], first noticeable on the political left, was extended last week to the right wing... One member of the new House of Representatives... has already said the United States has no business asking 18-year-old Vietnamese to die to protect its interests in Asia. But the more profound malaise that grips this capital is better illustrated by the thousands of prostitutes... the few luxury buildings that rise among the thousands of hovels, the cripples, beggars and homeless children..." Report to the Dec. 10 *New York Times*.

It Was Reported in the Press

Like Ear-Stretching, For Instance? — Asked how she felt about living away from the White House since her marriage, Luci Bird said it was OK except that she missed certain "cultural aspects" of life with father.

Like That Magical Old USA — Paris authorities evoked a storm of protest for selling holiday advertising space on the city's bridges. Parisians were particularly infuriated to see their city's oldest bridge twinkling with: "Happy New Year from Pepsi-Cola." "A storm in a tea cup," snorted Pepsi's European division manager. "The decorations make a sort of fairyland," he added.

The Xmas Spirit — The House of Seagram's had its California license suspended for a series of legal violations including importation of at least 808 cases of liquor from Nevada by private car to escape state taxes. The license was suspended for 180 days. But, apparently having soaked up the Yule spirit, the Alcoholic Beverage Commission director reduced it to 60 days, and ruled that the suspension not go into effect until February so as not to interfere with the seasonal rush. Wonder how many "common criminals" had their sentences reduced and postponed until after the holidays.

Note to Mayor Lindsay — While Lindsay's cops were massed at the Waldorf-Astoria Dec. 7 to prevent New York antiwar demonstrators from exercising their legal right to protest the presence of Dean Rusk, gunmen walked into a nearby jewelry shop and walked out with \$100,000 in diamonds.

Gift Suggestion — Sign the kid up in the (no joke) Seminal Idea of the Month Club. According to an ad in the *New York Review of Books*, the club offers students and scholars "seminal ideas" for research papers, monographs, etc. Subscribers agree to purchase at least three "seminal ideas" a month at an average price ranging from \$4 to \$12.50 a month, de-

pending, we assume, on content, seminal-wise. For every three seminal ideas purchased, one bonus idea free. No two alike.

Only in America — The Seminal Idea of the Month Club reminded us of the time a European friend was reacting to the suggestion by another person that a mutual friend was a genius. "Maybe," he shrugged, "by American standards he's a genius. After all, here you call a barbers' school a college."

Problems, Problems — The Dec. 10 *New York Times* reports that one of the more noticeable trends of Xmas toy sales is that military toys are not selling as well as in previous years. "I don't feel the present situation in the world helps to sell toy or hobby military products," complained Edward Kapitanoff, a toy distributor.

Like Nature's Own — The Food and Drug Administration filed suit against Rheingold's, charging that the "no available carbohydrates" claims for its new Gablinger's beer is false and misleading in its suggestion that the beer is of value in weight control. Meanwhile, the manufacturers of Dia-Beer, a rival brew, filed suit for unfair practices, charging that Gablinger's had reduced carbohydrates by changing the solids-to-water ratio in favor of water. But that at least should bolster the contention that Gablinger's is less filling.

Dig That Slinky Draft Card! — If a House-approved amendment to a pending postal rate bill passes, you'll be able to tell the postman not to forward mail you find "sexually provocative." That could include anything from a phone bill to a draft notice.

—Harry Ring

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Wisconsin Viet Group Zaps CIA

By Bob Wilkinson

MADISON, Wis. — On Nov. 29 members of the Committee to End the War in Vietnam here received confirmation that the Central Intelligence Agency was planning to hold "private" interviews of University of Wisconsin students in a downtown motel. Earlier, CIA officials had publicly stated that, fearing antiwar demonstrations, they were suspending all interviews until February of next year. CEVW members quickly discovered that the CIA had sent letters to those who had signed up for interviews. The letters set appointments for Dec. 11-14 at the Park Motor Inn in downtown Madison.

The next day, the CEVW sent a letter to the manager of the Park Motor Inn noting that the CIA's activities had aroused "the clamor of an outraged public." The letter went on to urge the management of the motel to deny their facilities to the CIA. "If interviews do occur," the letter concludes, "we will go to the Central Intelligence Agency officials and demand that they justify their agency's policies, its actions, and its right to exist."

The CIA apparently took the warning of demonstrations to heart. Shortly after their little secret was exposed, the CIA canceled its interviews.

The CIA postponed recruiting at the University of California in Los Angeles because of student militancy, school spokesmen said. The cloak and dagger outfit also postponed interviews at San Fernando Valley State College.

By Barry Sheppard

The principal Maoist grouping in the U.S., the Progressive Labor Party, has opened a broadside attack upon the leadership of the Cuban Revolution.

The PLP has published the first issue of a new magazine called *World Revolution*, featuring an article titled "Marxism-Leninism vs. Castroism." This article is a reprint of a statement by the Maoist grouping in Chile, attacking the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). The MIR was formed in 1965 as a result of the regroupment of revolutionary forces going on throughout Latin America under the impact of the Cuban Revolution. It includes militants with various backgrounds — Communist, Socialist, and Trotskyist — who are forging an organization with the goal of carrying out the socialist revolution in Chile.

What's wrong with the MIR (in addition to containing "Trotskyites," of course), the Maoists assert, is that it "numbers itself among the semi-official representatives of the Cuban line." The article goes on to explain the asserted evils of the "Cuban line" in a series of falsehoods and slanders. The "Cuban leaders," it charges, have capitulated "to the pressures of Soviet revisionism." They supposedly did this during the missile crisis in 1962 (when Castro blocked the formula of "UN inspection" of Cuba, which Khrushchev had agreed to!).

The Cubans have also imposed "an opportunist line for Latin America," using the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) as the "center for Latin American revisionism," the Chilean Maoists assert.

The article hints that capitalism is on the way back in Cuba: "The



Fidel Castro

petty-bourgeois class origins of the MIR leadership, and to a great extent its 'super militants,' explain its devotion to the Cuban leaders, its line and methods. In Cuba, all its dreams are realized. The Trotskyite group of MIR applauds because Cuba proclaimed socialism 'by decree,' all at once. [!]

"These people," the article continues, "are not interested in objectively analyzing what kind of socialism has been instituted there. They do not seem to take notice that the greater part of Cuba's land is in the hands of small owners who exploit the manual labor of others, that capitalist, not socialist, forms of agricultural production have developed, that the bourgeoisie has not been relieved of its positions of leadership in the bureaucratic apparatus and in the cultural institutions but that, on the contrary, the bourgeoisie is becoming more secure and gaining new positions of power."

The mendacity of this analysis can be indicated by taking a quick look at the reality of Cuban agri-

culture. In the first place, the Cuban leaders have not "proclaimed socialism all at once," but have followed the correct Leninist policy of aiding small farmers, while limiting their holdings, preventing them from selling their land except to the state, and providing for the gradual take-over by the state of the small farms, in accordance with the desire of the farmers. The limitation on the size of the small holdings in effect precludes any large-scale "exploitation" of hired labor.

Second, most people on the Left know that the Cuban land reform expropriated all of the large landholdings. State farms are the backbone of Cuban agriculture, and represent the decisive sector of it.

(One need hardly add that it must be difficult for the Cuban bourgeoisie to run the "apparatus" in Cuba — from Miami.)

The attack is picked up again in the Nov.-Dec. issue of *Progressive Labor*, in an article by PLP national committee member Jake Rosen, facetiously titled "Mucho Debris from Régis Debray." Rosen attacks Debray's book, *Revolution in the Revolution?*, but his real target is the Cuban leadership.

"Counter-revolutionary ideology confronts us from two main sources on the Left," Rosen warns us. The two sources? Moscow and Havana.

For Castro to carry on his counter-revolutionary dirty work, Rosen says, he had need of a theoretical Left cover. The Cubans "had no theoretical work to oppose to Mao's," he explains. So, they commissioned Debray to write a book, whose "mission" is: "(1) to deny Mao's theories any general validity; (2) to publicize the theories of Fidel Castro as the generally valid theories that should replace Mao's; (3) to claim for Fidel Castro an historical status equal to Marx

and Lenin and a contemporary status greater than Mao's..."

There are many things wrong with Debray's book (see Sept.-Oct. 1967 *International Socialist Review*) but one would have to be a little paranoid to believe that its "mission" was to denigrate Mao.

Most of Rosen's article is a lengthy discussion of how Debray and Castro have departed from the straight and narrow path illuminated by Mao's thoughts.

One interesting aspect of Rosen's diatribe is his accusation that the new, united Cuban Communist Party is thoroughly bureaucratic, "with no inner life, no real activities, which actually debates nothing and decides nothing." What makes this interesting is the fact that the Chinese Communist Party, unto which Rosen sings high praises, hasn't exactly been a model for democratic discussion in the past few years. Party leaders have been removed, policy decisions made and remade, without even a meeting of the CCP. In fact, there has been no national congress or convention of the Chinese party in 10 years! And the PLP itself has had one national convention — since it was organized in 1962.

What really is involved in Maoist hostility to the Cuban Revolution and its leaders has been the refusal of the Cubans to knuckle under to Mao. The Cuban leadership has continued to develop a genuinely revolutionary policy in Latin America and in the world, independent of both Moscow and Peking. The Cubans have made telling criticisms of the failure of both big powers to meet Washington's aggression in Vietnam with an adequate response.

You just don't question Mao's infallibility that way — not if you want to remain in the good graces of PLP.

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Black Liberation Notes

Three Afro-American members of the Harvard football team came out in support of the boycott by black athletes of the 1968 Olympics in a letter to the Dec. 10 *New York Times*. In the letter they saluted "the courage of those who choose to stake their reputations on principle rather than athletic contests."

St. Petersburg, Fla., is carrying on a campaign to clean up the black community. But the campaign isn't sponsored by the Sanitation Department and its purpose is not to make the ghetto area more livable.

Police Chief Harold Smith is running the clean-up effort and his goal is to get rid of any "ammunition" such as empty soft drink bottles, bricks, and other debris that might be used by black people to defend themselves against cops. The "ammunition" pickup is a once-a-week operation. "This way," explains Smith, "there won't be a buildup of debris in alleys and between buildings that could become potential weapons to be used against us."

According to the Nov. 16 *Los Angeles Times*, a dispute has been raging between the Black Student Union at Los Angeles City College and the campus newspaper. The black students have insisted, among other things, that the newspaper cease referring to black people as "Negroes."

One of the results of the dispute has been an agreement whereby the campus newspaper will use the word "black" instead of "Negro" to refer to members of the Black Student Union. Other black

students on campus will be polled "to determine their preference."

The Black Student Union at Los Angeles City College is one of 14 black student unions in the Southern California area. These have united into a larger body called the Black Student Alliance.

In a Nov. 17 statement to the United Nations, James Forman, International Affairs Director for SNCC, uncovered a number of little-known facts concerning U.S. support for South Africa. One of these is the U.S. subsidy of South African sugar.

Forman explained that in 1960 President Eisenhower cut the sugar quota for Cuba to zero. This was a reprisal against the revolu-

tionary policies of the Cuban government. Part of this quota was then given to South Africa. The price paid to the South African Sugar Association is about 7 cents per pound compared to the 2.2 cents per pound on the world market.

Forman charged that "In granting a quota to South Africa the United States accepted the stability of the South African government, a government in the control of white racists oppressing the majority will of the African people and blocking their efforts to eliminate racism and apartheid and to have self-government."

Two professors at Wayne State University support the idea that last summer's rebellion in Detroit was a demonstration of sentiment for black control of the black community. They reached this conclusion after making a study of the revolt based on interviews with 222 Afro-Americans between the ages of 15 and 30. Seventy percent of those interviewed said they had been on the streets during the rebellion and 30 percent said they had taken part.

"I think we came up with something that some of the other studies have overlooked," said Dr. Lowinger, one of the professors who made the study. "Certainly Negroes want jobs, education and housing. But they want more than that. They want to control the property and activities in their own neighborhoods... They're looking at the street they're on and they want it to belong to them, to be under their own control," he said.

—Elizabeth Barnes



James Forman

Navy Getting Jittery Over Peace Activists

U.S. military brass are becoming frightened by the growing spread of antiwar sentiment among servicemen. They are attempting to use the recent desertion of four antiwar sailors in Japan as an excuse to further restrict the rights of GIs and to prevent contact between men in uniform and the antiwar movement, both here and abroad.

The Navy has warned its personnel to avoid "antiwar peace groups." The *New York Times* reported Dec. 11 that "Military spokesmen in Saigon said the Navy was . . . planning to conduct classes to caution sailors against associating with peace groups. Other military sources said warnings would soon be made to all American servicemen in Vietnam."

It is plain that intimidation of antiwar views is a primary aim of the move. Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, the Chief of Naval Operations, in a directive last month to naval commanders in Vietnam instructed his subordinates to "as-

sure that our young men are properly indoctrinated . . ."

Moorer claimed that "In the U.S. and abroad, there are groups functioning under various slogans who are actively engaged in efforts to subvert the loyalty, allegiance and morale of the members of the United States armed services, and to otherwise obstruct our military operations."

After saying that there were "some bona fide pacifist groups in the United States," the Admiral opined that "it is difficult for the average member of the armed services to be able to distinguish between legitimate political minority-group actions and subversive propaganda."

The Admiral's conclusion is that "All hands are to be cautioned against improper influence by any of the various groups posing as peace advocates."

The antiwar movement has the right to talk to GIs and they have the right to listen if they choose under the United States Constitution, all other ordinances to the contrary.

Greek-Americans in N. Y. Protest Military Regime

By O. Fondas

NEW YORK—Following Greek tradition, on Human Rights Day, Dec. 10, over 2,000 Greeks and Americans made a silent and candle-lit Epitaphios (march of mourning) for the death of human rights in Greece. Actress Melina Mercouri led the demonstration, which was called by four Greek organizations in the U.S. Several of the speakers linked up the issues of Vietnam and Greece.

Bold new leaders in the New York Greek community had sought the active support of antiwar groups.

Many Organizations

In radio broadcasts preceding the march, the conservative Greek leadership in New York had been challenged to clarify its position on the military junta now in power in Greece. The subsequent demand by the members of many Greek organizations here for anti-junta declarations and the large turnout represented a victory for the democratic Greek organizations.

Pete Seeger underscored the internationalism of the event by singing in Greek and English a

song by jailed composer Mikis Theodorakis, which dealt with Jewish and Greek prisoners in a Nazi concentration camp. Michael Cacoyannis and other members of the cast of "Ilya Darling" joined Melina Mercouri at the head of the parade.

Letter From Prison

Spyros Mercouris closed the meeting by reading from a letter, relayed from an Athenian prison, that described the tortures the prisoners are suffering. Mercouris told the crowd that by the next morning the prisoners in Athens would learn of the New York demonstration.

The most militant of the Greek groups used the occasion to circulate the latest bulletin of the Patriotic Front. The message was the strongest to date and fiercely attacked the king, the colonels, and the CIA. The Front criticized the Soviet Union for not making a stronger effort against the military dictatorship; and it criticized antifascist groups which were underplaying U.S. involvement in the military coup for their own political reasons.



PROTEST JUNTA. Greeks and Americans marched in New York Dec. 10 against suppression of human rights by Greek military dictators.

Socialist Workers Party Nominee Heard at Berkeley 'Mill-In'

SAN FRANCISCO — Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, has recently completed an extensive speaking tour of the Bay Area that included meetings on the University of California campus in Berkeley, where he declared his support for student activists in their fight against political reprisals by the university administration.

Boutelle arrived here directly from the Black Youth Conference held in Los Angeles Nov. 25-27. He opened his tour with a press conference Nov. 28 that was written up in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* commented that "His humor and honesty . . . charmed his listeners."

Boutelle went directly from the press conference to San Francisco State College, where a rally of 200 heard him explain his candidacy. Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle gained five new supporters from the rally, at which Boutelle said, "I'm a black nationalist, but my political and economic philosophy is socialism." He pointed out that the two philosophies are complementary rather than contradictory.

While at S.F. State, the candidate attended a meeting of the Black Student Union and was interviewed by the campus paper.

Boutelle attended a rally on the Berkeley campus Nov. 29, where he had an opportunity to meet student activists. The rally was a kick-off for the "mill-in," protesting the suspension of student leaders for their part in demonstrations at the Oakland induction



Photo by Tom Kukyendall

AT BERKELEY. Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, speaking at rally at University of California campus in Berkeley in defense of rights of students. At right is Peter Camejo, spokesman for SWP and one of students suspended for antiwar activity.

center in October. Boutelle returned to the campus on Friday, when he spoke at a large rally. He castigated the university administration for its suppression of student rights and its complicity with the government in trying to stifle protest against the war in Vietnam and the draft.

During the week the candidate

also appeared on a radio talk show on station KNEW in Oakland; met with local black power advocates at a party given for him by Clyde Cumming, SWP candidate for Board of Supervisors in the November city elections in San Francisco; taped a TV interview; and spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco.

On Saturday, Dec. 2, Boutelle met with leaders of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland. Huey P. Newton, the party's minister of defense, is being held by police on a frame-up murder charge after being shot by cops in an altercation that left one cop dead and another wounded.

West Coast Black Youth Conference Mapped Increased Organization

By Elizabeth Barnes

The Western Region Black Youth Conference held in Los Angeles Nov. 23-25 marked a step forward for black radicals who are grappling with the question of how to organize and unite the black liberation movement more effectively.

The communications workshop discussed a new national black communications center being set up in Atlanta. Already the center is sending out information on the movement through an *Aframerican News Service*.

In the workshop on education, it was recommended that the black student organizations springing up around the country affiliate with and support SNCC. The conference requested that SNCC make it a policy to work as a national communications center for the student unions. The *Aframerican News Service* has reported since the conference that news is already starting to come in from campuses across the country. (Information for the *Aframerican News Service* should be sent to: 360 Nelson St. S.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.)

In a very important speech on the first day of the conference, James Forman, SNCC International Affairs Director, stressed the need to organize. He emphasized the importance of defending militants who are under attack, arrested, or jailed. "We have to build visible defense committees," he said, "and link all the militants in some confederation so that it will be more difficult to isolate and destroy any of us."

Forman also took up the key question of what causes the exploitation of black people. He said

it could be looked at in three ways:

"One, we can take the position that says we are exploited solely because of our skin color. This I call the skin analysis. Two, we can take a second position that says our exploitation is solely due to our class position in society. This I call the exclusive class analysis. We can take a third position that says that our exploitation results both from class positions as well as from our race. Given all that I said, it is obvious that I hold the third position."

The youth conference was also significant in that the workshops came up with some important conclusions regarding a political program for the movement. In the black political and economic workshop, Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, presented a position paper on the need for an independent black political party. The paper was supported by the majority of those in the workshop.

The *Aframerican News Service* reported that the following resolutions on political action were among those passed by the various workshops:

"Black youth see no use and no hope of affiliating with the Democratic, Republican, or George Wallace's American Independent Party because they are anti-black and therefore anti-human institutions.

"Black youth advocate all-black independent parties whose reason for existing is to have the politics and politicians respond to the will of black people in the black community."

Fred Halstead Makes Tour Of Northwest

By Will Reissner

SEATTLE — Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Fred Halstead has just completed a successful tour of the Pacific Northwest.

Halstead's campaign swing was kicked off with a well-attended press conference here on Nov. 20. He appeared on six different television newscasts, and local papers as far away as Spokane and Pullman picked up the story.

University of Washington Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle sponsored an afternoon on-campus meeting for him on Nov. 21. In the evening he spoke at Western Washington State College in Bellingham. Each meeting was attended by over 100 students.

Halstead's next stop was Portland, Ore., where Students for a Democratic Society sponsored meetings for the SWP candidate at Portland State and Reed colleges.

In Vancouver, B.C., Halstead spoke on three campuses and at the Vanguard Forum.

Back to Seattle for the wind-up of his tour, Halstead addressed a meeting organized by the Northwest Campaign Committee for Halstead and Boutelle, 5257 University Way, N.E., Seattle.