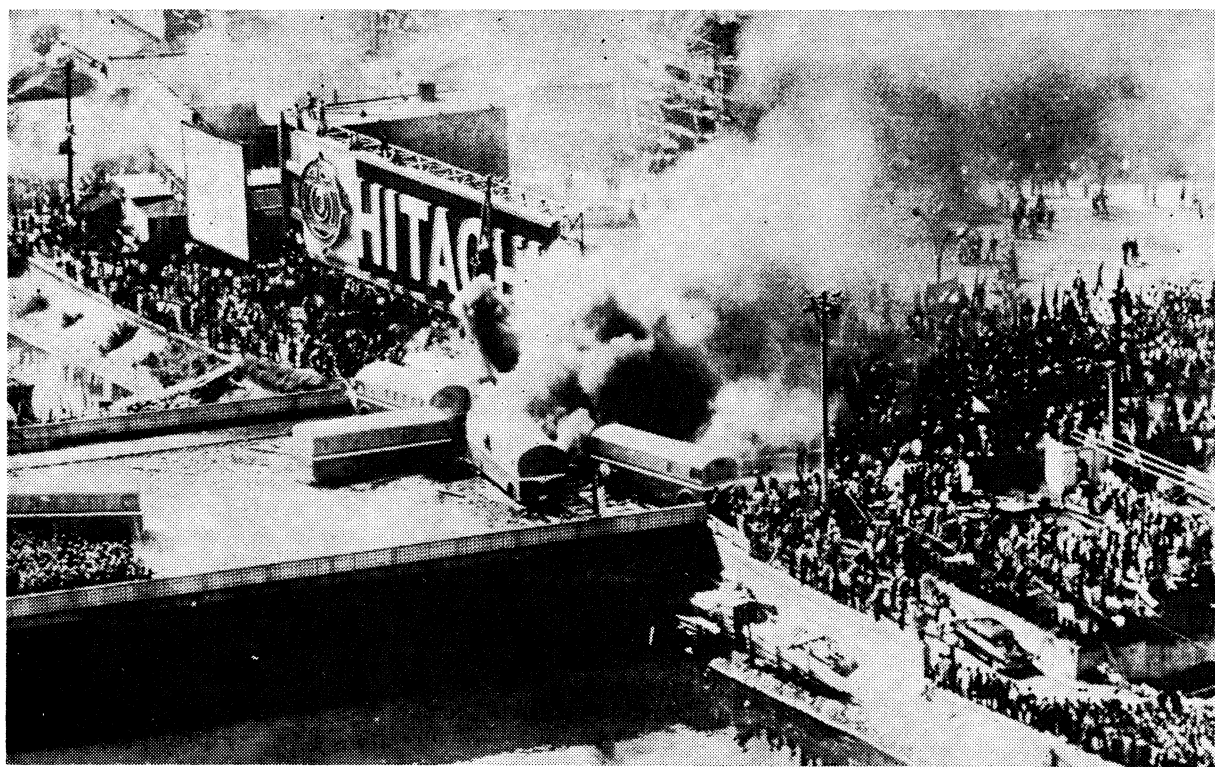


# RALLY IN D.C. OCT. 21!

## Protest the War and Gov't Attempts to Stifle Dissent



**JAPANESE ANTIWAR ACTION.** Police armored vans burning on the Anamori Bridge in Tokyo as police attack antiwar student demonstrators. Students protested Saigon visit by Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato. Actions in Japan will mount to massive demonstration Oct. 21 in solidarity with U.S. demonstration.

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Oct. 9 — Spokesmen for the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam made clear today there will be a massive demonstration in Washington Oct. 21 to oppose the war and to protest efforts to stifle dissent. The committee responded to government maneuvers relating to the issuance of permits for the slated demonstration.

Dr. Benjamin Spock declared today that he had accepted a committee invitation to address a Lincoln Memorial rally against the war and that he was determined to speak.

A leader of Women Strike for Peace announced that her organization had sent a special notice to all its members urging them to bring their families to Washington Oct. 21. Speaking for Dag-

mar Wilson, founder of WSP, Cora Weiss declared: "We are insistent that government policy be changed and the war stopped." She expressed confidence that the necessary permits for the rally and parade would be obtained.

The declarations were made at a special press conference held by the National Mobilization officers here today. Dave Dellinger, chairman of the group, disclosed that a representative of the various concerned D.C. police agencies had asserted on Oct. 6 that permits for the march and rally would not be issued unless the National Mobilization Committee publicly repudiated acts of civil disobedience slated at the Pentagon Oct. 21.

At a meeting of the administrative body of the National Mobilization Committee the following day, it was unanimously agreed to reject any such ultimatum. The com-

mittee officers were instructed to continue to press for the permits and to initiate any legal action necessary to get them. This has been undertaken by a legal team including the noted attorney William Kunstler and Edward De Grazia, Chairman of the Washington Lawyers Committee for Oct. 21.

Dellinger predicted today that the government's efforts to obstruct the right of free assembly would spur the American people to speak out even more forcefully

(Continued on Page 5)

## Racist Bombing in Tougaloo, Miss.

By Derrick Morrison

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 7—Shortly after one o'clock in the morning on Oct. 6, I heard a terrific blast as I tried to get some sleep at a friend's house in Tougaloo, Miss. I didn't know what to make of the noise at that time. As it turned out, it was a bomb that had exploded on the campus of Tougaloo College.

The bomb had torn away the rear end of a brick house occupied by Dr. William Bush and his wife. Dr. Bush is white and is the executive dean of the college. Reports have it that had the dean's children, who were at their grandmother's, been home, they would have been blown to bits since they usually sleep in the rear of the house.

The bomb blast occurred four hours after Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, had addressed a crowd of over 150 students in the chapel at Tougaloo College. The meeting was sponsored by the Political Action Committee, a militant black student group.

On the morning after the explosion, I was told by Howard Spencer, chairman of PAC, that the FBI had questioned him and

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## Many Lands Join In Oct. 21 Action

By Les Evans

The October 21 confrontation in Washington to end the war in Vietnam promises to be the occasion for the most widespread and massive series of international demonstrations against U.S. aggression in Vietnam that have been held to date. Reports have come into the National and Student Mobilization committees of concrete plans for more than 80 demonstrations in 14 countries outside of the United States.

Demonstrations in solidarity with the October 21 action in Washington and with the Vietnamese people are scheduled to take place in Canada, France, Scotland, England, Japan, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Australia, Germany, Belgium, The Netherlands and Hungary.

The action in Japan has already begun, with the most militant protest action since President Eisenhower was forced to cancel his visit to Japan in 1960. The picture on this page shows thousands of Japanese students in Tokyo Oct. 8 in a pitched battle with police. The protest aimed at preventing the departure of Premier Eisaku Sato on a goodwill trip to the American puppet regime in Saigon.

Tokyo police blocked bridges

leading to the airport to keep the students from getting close to Sato. The students captured seven armored cars from the police and set fire to them. In the three-hour battle one student was killed and 100 others injured. Four hundred and seven police were hurt.

This demonstration was scheduled as a preliminary mobilization to the massive assemblage planned for October 21. The Japan Youth Committee Against War has estimated that three million people throughout Japan will protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam and a central rally in Tokyo is expected to draw 300,000. It is sponsored by SOHYO [the Japan General Council of Trade Unions], the Japan Socialist Party and the Japan Youth Committee Against War.

In Belgium there will be demonstrations in Liège, Antwerp and Ghent. The large trade unions plan to participate in Liège for the first time. A letter from Ghent to the Student Mobilization Committee reports that on October 21 "militants of the left socialist and communist organizations will be spreading leaflets to make clear to the people what's happening in the U.S. on that day . . . We are spreading postcards to be sent to

(Continued on Page 4)



Photo by Shannon

**URGES MASS TURNOUT.** Cora Weiss of Women Strike For Peace tells Oct. 9 New York press conference that her group is urging biggest possible turnout in Washington Oct. 21 to protest war and attempt to stifle dissent. At left is Dave Dellinger, chairman of National Mobilization Committee.

had asked for the whereabouts of Boutelle. Spencer had responded to the question by telling the FBI to look for the criminals who planted the bomb rather than waste time trying to find Boutelle. During that same morning, the local press had photographed a leaflet announcing the Boutelle meeting. Spencer also told me how the FBI and Jackson newsmen were crawling all over the campus, intimidating and harassing the students.

Although the national news media reported only that there was a bombing, the press and the FBI in Jackson are trying to create the notion that the militant activities of PAC caused the bombing, not the racists organized in terrorist organizations like the KKK.

According to a dispatch in the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*, the FBI was not only looking for witnesses to the bombing on the campus, but for possible "evidence" that students might have planted the bomb.

The bombing marked a new stage in racist violence directed at Tougaloo. Before this, KKK elements resorted only to threats of violence, and firing of shots onto the campus a couple of times. This

was the second bombing within a month in the Jackson area. The first took place at Beth Israel Temple, located in the city. Although the FBI stated publicly that there didn't seem to be any connection between Boutelle's appearance on campus and the bombing, it seems that the local racists used the appearance as a pretext for the nefarious deed.

Tougaloo College has been, and still is, a center for activity in the black struggle in Mississippi. In the early 1960s, students from Tougaloo participated in the first sit-ins. Last year, the college was used by the Meredith Mississippi March as the site for a huge rally before entering Jackson. At the present time, activity around the ideas of black power is being led by the Political Action Committee, headed by Spencer. A year ago, PAC organized an antiwar march in downtown Jackson. This was the first action in Mississippi taken against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. PAC also organized meetings for H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael on the campus.

PAC is not only active on the campus, but maintains close ties with the black community in Jackson. (Continued on Page 5)

# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The strike of the steel haulers, now growing rapidly, is falsely described in the national press and other news media as an "inter-union fight," not a labor-management contract dispute.

The central issues in this dispute are economic demands for better terms than are provided under the present three-year contract. The independent owner-drivers want an increase in payments — the national contract provides that each hauler (who leases his rig to trucking companies) get 72 cents out of every dollar charged the steel corporations. The drivers are demanding at least 79 cents. They charge that most of the lessees pay as little as 69 cents per dollar income. In assessing those figures remember that the truck owner must pay all of his expenses out of income — including board and room for lay-overs while awaiting loads.

And it is those lay-overs which form the basis of most of the anger these drivers feel. They are demanding \$15 an hour for every hour over two they have to wait for loads. Sometimes those waits stretch out to 10 hours or more.

At this writing the National Steel Carriers Association bleat, "We are the innocent bystanders," and have flatly refused to reopen the contract. They criticize Fitzsimmons for not moving "aggressively" to break the strike.

The Teamster officials say: "We've got a contract, the employers won't release us from it, and that's that."

The strikers are emphatically saying, "That's not that." The Oct. 6 *Wall Street Journal* quotes a labor attorney described as long familiar with the Teamsters: "I've never seen a wild-cat strike so extensive in area, so extreme in its violence and intensity, or so incredibly effective."

Two years ago, on New Year's Day, residents of New York City awoke to find that at long last the Transport Workers, under the leadership of the late Mike Quill, had actually gone on strike. No subway trains or buses in this huge city moved for almost two weeks. The city's new mayor, Lindsay, who had been inaugurated a few minutes after the New Year broke, faced the first of many large public-employee strikes. Injunctions, the threat of the Condon-Wadlin antistrike law, nothing moved the trains or buses. A settlement was finally reached; the strikers won their wage increases and other demands.

That contract runs out on Jan. 1, 1968. On Oct. 6 Transport Workers Union officials laid before the city fathers their demands for the next two years — including as main issues a 30 percent increase in wages and a 30-hour week. City Hall is aghast. It says the new contract will cost the city \$162 million and will most certainly mean another fare increase.

It will be most interesting to watch Mayor Lindsay and the Transit Authority squirm and wriggle during the forthcoming negotiations. As the workers' mood in 1966 showed, the Transit bosses can't count on a backdoor deal with the union leadership to pull a quick "settlement" before the strike deadline. They know the rank and file of the Transport Workers Union will pressure the current leadership into fighting for just demands.

In Thailand five trade unionists, in prison since October 1958, have finally been released. That was the year trade unions were banned in that great "democratic" country so dear to American capitalism's heart. Strikes were forbidden and many trade unionists were imprisoned. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to which the AFL-CIO is affiliated, has repeatedly appealed to the Thailand government to release the imprisoned men, to restore trade union rights. It has also appealed to the International Labor Organization and has contributed financial aid for the legal defense of the imprisoned men and support for their families.

On Oct. 6 a blond Rockette left the picket line long enough to be married at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Ten minutes after the final knot had been tied, Mimi Schwensen was back on the line in her white satin wedding gown.

New York's Radio City Music Hall has long been a main tourist attraction, with four-abreast lines stretching for two blocks, while visitors waited patiently in all kinds of weather to see the famed Rockettes do their precision dancing, and the Corps de Ballet and singers entertain. For almost a month now these artists have been doing their stint on a different stage — the sidewalk outside Radio City. Their demands are very simple. They want more money and they want to be paid for the 40 hours rehearsal time they now put in for free each week.

Twice the management has offered them small increases — and twice the guys and gals have said "No." They have been working for \$99 to \$126.50 (after three years) per week. They are demanding salaries of \$135 to \$175 per week.

More news from Detroit: Strike action by the Pattern Makers Association of Detroit (AFL-CIO) last week came as a welcome boost to the UAW strike. Thirty job shops were picketed. Pattern makers are demanding an increase in wages of \$1.50 per hour, bringing their scale from \$5.16 to \$6.66 per hour. They want a one-year contract.

—Marvel Scholl

## PAUL BOUTELLE REPORTS

# Lowndes Freedom Party Thriving

By Paul Boutelle

LOWNDES COUNTY, Ala. — I spent two days in Lowndes as part of my Southern tour, and also found time to visit Selma in Dallas County. Lowndes County is one of the poorest counties in America, and has a high percentage of black people — 80 percent. John Hulett, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Party, says that since 1960 possibly 3,000 people, mainly blacks, have left Lowndes in search of better conditions.

There are no hospitals here, only one clinic that is open one day every other week for three hours. Two dentists and two doctors serve the entire county and the nearest hospitals are in surrounding counties.

Most black people in Lowndes have no telephones. John Hulett has to go 12 miles to make calls from a friend's house. (Last spring he made a call to Chicago from a public pay phone in a Hayneville store and the white storekeeper listened to everything he said. The next day, Hulett was refused use of the phone. None of the public phones is in a booth.)

The telephone company claims they don't have the money to run lines in many areas of the county.

There is only one factory in Lowndes, Dan River Mills.

In many counties in Alabama, black children still go to school only six or seven months a year because they have to work on the plantations. There have been big changes in Lowndes in the last two years, largely as a result of the activity of the Freedom Party and the Christian Movement. Most of the children in Lowndes now go to school nine months a year.

A new elementary school was recently opened in Lowndes, and at the first PTA meeting (which I attended) almost 50 percent of the parents were present. The concept of black control championed by the Black Panther Party (as the Freedom Party has become known because of its symbol) was reflected in the large turnout of parents despite the fact that many of them work long hours and have to travel great distances.

Hulett said the Freedom Party plans to run candidates in next year's elections. The offices they



John Hulett

will be contesting will be five openings on the board of revenue, two on the board of education, the office of superintendent of the board of education, and maybe probate judge of the county.

As of May 1966, there were 2,200 registered black voters in Lowndes and now there are about 2,900. Just a few years ago, there were less than 10 registered voters. The Freedom Party conducts workshops to encourage people to register and teaches them to use voting machines. Discussions and talks are held on such subjects as land purchase, cooperatives, community problems, the Vietnam war, politics and why it is important to remain independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Freedom Party meetings are held every other Sunday evening, with an attendance of about 150.

Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown are held in high regard by many of the people in the areas I visited. An elderly couple in a small shack, well off the main road, asked Hulett and myself if we heard any recent news about Stokely, his health and whereabouts. Hulett said that "most people feel that if Stokely went to Cuba and North Vietnam, it is to help black people and not hurt them."

## SOCIALIST FUND

# Romney Goes Slumming

By Evelyn Reed  
Fund Director

Governor Romney wound up his recent 19-day tour of the slums in our major cities with the warning that time is getting short before they break out in open rebellion. "As I have rubbed elbows with those who live in the ghettos," said this wealthy capitalist who is hopefully seeking the Republican nomination for President, "I am more convinced than ever before that unless we reverse our course and build a new America, the old America will be destroyed."

Indeed, as Romney asserts, the old decadent America needs to be destroyed and a new America built in its stead. But the questions remain: Who can be relied upon to abolish the America of segregation, poverty and war and create a country of equality, security and peace? And how is that going to be done?

L. B. Johnson's "Great Society" has already been demonstrated as a cruel hoax. His promises have been blasted by the bombs falling in Vietnam and the explosions of the black masses in the big city ghettos.

Romney suggests that a Republican administration would do better, although naturally he fails to remind the American people that

it was the Republican Eisenhower who sent the first U.S. military mission into Vietnam.

The abominable conditions Romney saw — and left behind him — are built into the capitalist system; the rich corporations profit from the exploitation which brings about such misery for the poor. The only effective way to eliminate these evils is to get rid of the system that breeds them.

The first step in that direction is for people to stop voting for either of the twin parties that are dedicated to maintaining the rule of big business. As yet there is no national independent black political organization or a labor party on the scene, but there is one sure way to register a protest against the old America and call for a new America in 1968. That is to support the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party and its ticket — Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President.

The Socialist Workers Party is conducting a \$20,000 fund drive to carry its program for a socialist America to millions of people who are seeking an alternative to capitalist politics. We urge you to make your contribution to this fund. Just fill out the coupon on this page and mail it with your donation.

The Lowndes County Freedom Party is still strongly organized — a living reality of independent black political action. It is an example of what can be done by black people throughout America — break with the Democratic and Republican parties and organize independently with a program based on the needs and aspirations of the black masses.

The spirit of militancy and determination is still very strong in Lowndes. Blacks from other parts of America can learn a lot from this struggle in one of the poorest and most racist areas in the U.S.

Contributions are always needed, and Hulett said the Freedom Party could use a tape recorder. Send contributions to: Lowndes County Freedom Party, Route 1, Box 125, Hayneville, Ala.

A regional director of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission has asked the city commission of Battle Creek, Mich., to change the city seal. He said it is "racist and violent" because it "depicts a white man in the process of hitting an unarmed Indian with a rifle butt." The mayor of the city says the seal is "absolutely not" racist.

If the Battle Creek authorities decide to drop the seal but don't want to waste it, they can always send it to the flim-flam man in Washington, where it would be appropriate as a national emblem.

# N.J. Socialist In State Race

NEWARK — The Socialist Workers Party has entered the November elections here, putting forward Joe Carroll as its candidate for State Senator from Essex County, which includes this city. Carroll, 52, has raised a demand for a statewide referendum to bring the GIs home from Vietnam. He calls for black control of the black community in Newark and has described the use of national guardsmen against the black community last summer as "brutal military aggression similar to the killing of innocent people in Vietnam whose only crime is fighting for their freedom."

An issue in Carroll's campaign will be retention of the recently enacted Strikers' Benefit Law. This law provides for payment of unemployment compensation to workers while they are on strike and is scheduled to go into effect Jan. 1.

## Break with Capitalist Parties

"The enactment of this progressive piece of legislation," Carroll declared, "was engineered by the Democrats only for the purpose of regaining labor support, lost to Republican Senator Case in the last election. After the elections in November, there is a strong possibility that a coalition of anti-labor Republicans and Democrats will form and repeal the law, under the false pretext that the people do not favor giving strikers unemployment benefits."

Carroll said that to protect this or any other piece of progressive social legislation, and to advance the goals of all working people, a definitive break with the twin parties of war, racism and strike-breaking is required. He called on black people to form their own independent party, controlled by the black community and not by the white capitalist rulers who now control the city, state and federal government in this country.

This would point the way for the organized labor movement to carry through a break with the Democratic Party and form an independent labor party.

# I Want to Help

Enclosed is my contribution of \$..... to help fulfill the \$20,000 Socialist Fund.

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Send check or money order to:

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**  
873 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10003

# N. Y. Teachers Penalized Under Union-Busting Law

By Jeff Miller

NEW YORK — On Wednesday, Oct. 4, State Supreme Court Justice Emilio Nunez imposed the penalties of the union-busting Taylor Law on the United Federation of Teachers and its President Albert Shanker. Justice Nunez, reading his decision in open court, said that the union had "... deliberately, willfully, and contumaciously flouted the clear mandate of the court." He claimed, "This strike by a powerful union against the public was a rebellion against the government; if permitted to succeed it would eventually destroy the government with resultant anarchy and chaos."

The UFT, which has a membership of 50,000 teachers, was fined \$150,000 under the provision of the Taylor Law which calls for a fine of \$10,000 for each day of a strike by public employees. This amounts to a fine of about \$3 for each member of the UFT. In addition, Union President Shanker was fined \$250 and sentenced to 15 days in prison under the law. The union has appealed the decision.

A militant teacher picketing at a Bronx school remarked that "they couldn't bust this strike with all the laws on the books," while another teacher summed up the feeling of UFT members when he argued that "as long as the city thinks that teachers or any other city employees are different from any other workers, they're going to be in for a lot of labor trouble in the future."

Although the membership of the union is ready to wage a strong fight against the attack, many



**TEACHERS' RALLY.** Ranks of teachers demonstrated solid support for contract action.

teachers were left with the feeling that the walkout had not achieved what it had set out to. The wage settlement is generally felt to be satisfactory. The new contract provides for smaller class size, and the expenditure of funds to improve education in the city's ghettos, but it also contains several loopholes which provide that these and other sections will be implemented only if there is "available space" or "deemed appropriate" by the board. Teachers in the ghetto schools were especially displeased by the settlement.

A UFT member who carried a

sign at Madison Square Garden reading "Two and a Half Weeks for This," voted against the contract because he felt that "every single change we got has a provision which voids it."

The union did not win any change in the More Effective Schools program, originally a major demand of the teachers. Instead, the board agreed to appropriate a special fund of \$10 million to be spent for special programs in the ghetto, but according to the contract this fund will not be under the administrative control of the union and will be expended by another board-appointed committee.

The present legal attack on the teachers is an attack against the entire labor movement. It follows an effective work action which had almost complete support of the city's teachers and is aimed at preventing strikes by other public employees unions. The city is beginning negotiations with the Transport Workers Union, as well as with the Sanitation Workers, and the outcome of the struggle of the teachers against the Taylor Law will have an effect on these negotiations. Ellis Van Riper, secretary-treasurer of the TWU, stated that "laws didn't settle strikes," and that the UFT would be "10 times stronger" when the battle was over.

The New York State AFL-CIO at its convention last week also extended important support to the teachers. The convention stated that "the penalties which have been imposed on the teachers' union prove that the Taylor Law is designed to destroy the fundamental rights of government employees to bargain collectively and, as free citizens, to withhold their labor."

## Spock Quits SANE Post

NEW YORK — Dr. Benjamin Spock has resigned as national co-chairman of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and will devote himself largely to serving as the new co-chairman of the National Conference on New Politics. In a statement here Oct. 2, Dr. Spock said he expected to continue as a national board member of SANE.

Dr. Spock was named co-chairman of NCNP along with James Rollins, a St. Louis community organizer.

## Fred Halstead in Detroit For Campaign Opening

By Neil Bronson

DETROIT, Oct 6 — Socialist Workers presidential nominee Fred Halstead spoke here today at a highly successful campaign kickoff rally sponsored by the Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

Halstead reviewed the positions of the Republican and Democratic presidential aspirants on the war in Vietnam before an audience

composed mainly of young people. Picking up on Gov. George Romney's statement that LBJ had "brainwashed" him on Vietnam, Halstead pointed out that even the "dove" candidates and mass media evidenced brainwashing in the unconscious racism of assuming that somehow the U.S. had a mission in Vietnam.

In calling for withdrawal of U.S. troops, he said that the SWP "speaks for more Americans than the Democrats or Republicans."

Judy Watts of Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle read a statement prepared by 19-year-old Bill Hagans, who was ill, on why black people should support the campaign.

Jan Garrett, of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, urged young people to join "the multi-issue movement that this socialist campaign is building." Addressing himself to students and young workers, he discussed how youth can support black liberation through supporting socialist candidates.

Several young people signed up as supporters of the campaign.

Michigan state campaign chairman Paul Lodico read a letter from the state official in charge of receiving petitions to put minority parties on the ballot. This letter indicated that the SWP had submitted enough valid signatures to place it on the ballot in '68.

Earlier in the day, Halstead appeared at a press conference to explain the nature and purpose of his campaign. The two major Detroit dailies attended and gave the rally relatively objective and adequate coverage.



Fred Halstead

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Monday, October 16, 1967

## China's Anniversary

This month marks the 18th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese revolution and the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The defeat of Chiang Kai-shek in October 1949, and the subsequent establishment of a workers state in China, was a giant step forward for the world revolution.

The plans of the U.S. capitalist class to "roll back" the socialist revolution in the USSR were delayed indefinitely by the revolutionary victory in China. This prevented an early opening of World War III.

The Chinese revolution was also the first salvo in the upsurge of the colonial revolution that followed the end of the second world war — and stood as a great inspiration to oppressed people everywhere who were fighting for their freedom.

The great strides China has taken since the revolution amply demonstrate the superiority of a nationalized, planned economy in rapidly raising the economic and cultural level of an underdeveloped country. She has shown remarkable advances in all fields, including education, technology, and science.

The recent development of a hydrogen bomb and the beginnings of a missile delivery system are only the most dramatic reflections of deep-going and rapid changes that are taking place in Chinese society. These range from the elimination of illiteracy to the development of a sophisticated machine-tool industry.

The accomplishments of the Chinese revolution become all the more striking when compared to the decay and stagnation of those colonial countries that have remained under capitalist rule. The most significant comparison is with India, China's giant capitalist twin. India is still wracked with the spectacle of famine devouring hundreds of thousands of lives — a thing of the barbaric past in China.

In drawing a balance sheet of the accomplishments of the Chinese revolution we must begin with the recognition that the new society in China is superior in every basic respect to conditions in colonial nations where capitalism and imperialism prevail. And, the Chinese revolution is a key link in the chain of world revolution, which will replace capitalism everywhere with the higher system of socialism.

But for an accurate and objective appraisal of present-day China it is also necessary to recognize that many of the achievements of the Chinese revolution have been carried out in spite of an inadequate and bureaucratic leadership which has promoted programs at times openly harmful to the Chinese economy and society.

Such memorable fiascos as the Great Leap Forward of the late fifties, with its backyard iron foundries and frantic expansion of the Communes without an adequate technological base, are part of the record of the Maoist leadership.

For two years all of China has been engulfed in a series of struggles and purges among the top leaders of the party that passes under the euphemism of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." This spectacle is pointed to by capitalist spokesmen the world over to discredit socialism.

We do not know the views of Mao's opponents. This in itself should raise very serious questions about the methods of Maoism — especially as the proscription on dissident views is used to deny the Chinese masses access to information on the real issues at stake between Mao and his antagonists. (There has been no tangible evidence to assume the Liu Shao-chi faction to be any more progressive or revolutionary than that of Mao.)

In the field of foreign policy, the Mao regime has managed to rack up an even more impressive series of defeats and disasters. At the time of the ouster of Khrushchev in October 1964, the Maoists appeared to be on the way to building a powerful wing in the world Communist movement. Today, with the single exception of the Albanian party, there is not a communist party of any size anywhere in the world that supports the Maoist line.

The Indonesian Communist Party, the largest communist party in the capitalist world and a staunch supporter of Maoism, went down to bloody defeat in 1965 as a result of the "popular front" line of Mao.

In Vietnam, the Chinese leaders refuse "on principle" to form a united front with the Soviet Union to defend the Vietnamese from the onslaught of American imperialism. This sectarianism is an important factor in President Johnson's calculations in escalating the war, moving toward an eventual attack on China itself.

Such blind factionalism on the part of the Maoists is dangerous to the Chinese workers state, and incidentally plays into the hands of the conservative bureaucrats who head the USSR. The Kremlin is able to make a case for blaming Peking for the lack of a concerted defense of Vietnam, when the Moscow bureaucrats themselves are the chief culprits, in their failure to answer adequately U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The bureaucratic rulers of China stand in the way of developing real workers democracy and a genuine revolutionary internationalist outlook and practice. In their struggle to build a socialist society, the Chinese masses will eventually sweep away these misleaders.

# Opposition to Vietnam War Growing Deeper and Wider

By Susan Harris

No one, least of all President Johnson, can contend that the Vietnam war has the support of the American people, in face of the current unprecedented and rapid escalation of antiwar sentiment.

It would be impossible even to begin to cite all the manifestations of this mounting opposition, so we have picked out some of the most important.

- According to the most recent Gallup poll, two-thirds of the people now disapprove of Johnson's handling of the war.

- The latest Harris poll reports, "Over the past year and a half, President Johnson has never once achieved over 50 percent support for his conduct of the war. In this most recent survey he has hit an all-time low." Sixty-nine percent of the people polled gave him a "negative" rating.

Furthermore the poll reports that "those who want to 'get out as quickly as possible' are gaining . . . and 'total military victory' sentiment is ebbing."

- The State Poll of California reports that 58 percent voted to "negotiate peace" while only 30 percent said the government "should not negotiate peace."

- A poll taken by a Portland, Ore., newspaper came up with some of the most startling results. To the question, "Should the United States withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Vietnam?" 52 percent answered "Yes."

- Representatives of the Student Mobilization Committee, who have been organizing support in rural areas for the Oct. 21 demonstration, say they have encountered a shift in mood among people in the small towns. Where there used to be considerable hostility to antiwar activists (especially to demonstrations and rallies), there is now often a friendly response.

- Donald Fraser, a Minnesota Democrat, has stated, "In my district . . . fewer and fewer people seem to support the Administration's policy. The mood appears increasingly to be one of 'win or get out.' But, even the 'win' outlook seems to be losing supporters in favor of more determined efforts to get out."

- Of the 243 congressmen and



DEFENSE. A self-defense unit of a factory located in Haiphong.

governors who responded to a recent *New York Times* survey on their assessment of public opinion on the war, 80 discerned a "strong sentiment for negotiation or withdrawal" and 64 reported "broad general opposition." Sixty-nine said there was no weakening of support for the war, and only 30 reported sentiment for a victory through more military action. (Of those officeholders who responded, 145 identified themselves as "supporters" of the President. Thirty of them said they had switched to a "stronger peace posture" in recent months.)

- The article on the *New York Times* survey reported that even Cabinet members are telling the President that they are finding more opposition to the war in their travels.

And what is Johnson's reaction to all this? He has urged the "public" to "press" for a tax increase!

"I know it is not a popular thing for a President to do," he says "— to ask anyone for a penny out of a dollar to pay for a war that is not popular either.

"If I were concerned only with my own popularity or my own poll, that wouldn't be the way I would go about it — to suggest higher taxes or more wars. But you have to do what is responsible and you have to do what is right, if you sit in this place."

If sentiment against the war is strong, reaction against the tax increase to finance it is overwhelming. According to the California State Poll only 23 percent approved of it, and 13 percent of these "approved with reservations."

# Auto Unionists Face Strike Strategy Issue

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Oct. 7 — On the eve of the United Auto Workers Special Convention, which convenes in this city tomorrow to consider a dues increase and a special assessment on working members to aid Ford strikers, the question of strike strategy casts a shadow over the deliberations of convention delegates. Most probably the Reuther machine will not allow this overriding question of how to run the strike to come to the floor, but the sharp contradiction between Reuther's methods and the needs of the rank and file is beginning to show in picket-line action. Meanwhile, Solidarity House, UAW headquarters, has made a number of decisions which weaken the strike.

This week UAW top officials agreed to reopen three struck Ford plants. These are parts plants that supply American Motors Corporation. The decision came as soon as an AMC spokesman notified Ford and the UAW that his firm is running out of parts and might have to close down before the end of October.

UAW officials also agreed this week to open picket lines at two Ford installations here in the Detroit area, at the National Parts Depot in Livonia and the Detroit Parts Depot, to prepare parts shipments to Vietnam. Ford produces a variety of vehicles and parts for the Army. The Pentagon claimed parts are urgently needed to prevent shortages at the war front. UAW officials hastened to release all needed parts.

In a similar action to prevent the Ford strike from "damaging the national economy" or "slacking the war effort" or threatening Ford competitors in the auto industry, Douglas A. Fraser, director of the UAW Chrysler department, rushed to Dayton, Ohio, this week to head off a strike at Chrysler's Airtemp plant there. Workers in that plant are members of the International Union of Electrical Workers, not UAW, and their contract with Chrysler expired yesterday. They make instrument panels and heaters for almost all Chrysler cars and a strike by them would have closed Chrysler plants across the country. There are about 2,600 workers in this Dayton plant and they voted

last September to strike if Chrysler failed to settle with them before the old contract expired.

Fraser's job was to get them to extend the old contract while negotiations continue. He argued that closing down Chrysler at this time would cut across the UAW one-at-a-time strike strategy and hurt the Ford strikers. The IUE workers voted to go along with Fraser's appeal, but of the 1,500 who attended the meeting only 600 voted. A second meeting had to be called in order to record a larger vote.

The IUE walked out earlier at two GM plants for a short time before agreeing to go back to work without a contract — "in order to help the Ford strikers," as UAW officials put it.

This is the strategy of defeat in which no one suffers except the strikers. Only their demands go unanswered. The auto industry continues to increase production. Government demands for military supplies are promptly met. Strategic Ford plants are reopened and continue to operate. Those that are being picketed are maintained by salaried personnel. Ford continues to roll up profits. Ford stock gains a point or two. Under these circumstances Ford feels no need to talk about a new contract with the UAW and negotiations remain deadlocked.

Ford strikers have different ideas about how to run their strike, how to force Ford to talk about a new contract, how to get some of their grievances settled, and how to win higher wages.

Last Thursday 300 UAW pickets at Ford's Sterling Plant in the Detroit area turned back 1,000 salaried employees and closed the plant down tight. Representatives of UAW Local 228 found out that these salaried employees were making parts in the gear laboratory of the plant. The company claimed they were only doing "some work to preserve the plant and its equipment."

It is illegal for pickets to refuse anyone admission to a struck plant, according to Sterling Township Police Chief Maurice Feltz. However, he said, "We didn't see anyone actually refused. Maybe they didn't want to go through the line because there was a lot of men."

## ... International Protest

(Continued from Page 1)

Johnson. For our town we expect some 5,000 people to sign."

The Hungarian Peace Council, writing from Budapest, has announced a Vietnam Week, October 15-21. This will include meetings and programs in "factories, cooperatives, schools, offices, in towns, villages and farms . . ." A collection has been taken throughout Hungary for aid to the Vietnamese and "on the occasion of the Vietnam week we shall present the complete equipment of a hospital of 340 beds and different equipment for schools to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and one camp hospital to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam."

There are demonstrations planned in five major cities in Canada: Winnipeg, Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. The *Bulletin* of the Canadian Student Association to End the War in Vietnam reports that the local committee in Winnipeg plans "motor cavalcades, demonstrations, speakers, mime shows and folk singers. It is called 'A Cry-Out Loud

Against the War in Vietnam.'"

In Norway the Norwegian Solidarity Committee for Vietnam has called a student strike for October 21, followed by a mass distribution of leaflets in all cities.

The October 22 Vietnam Ad Hoc Committee in London plans a mass mobilization in Trafalgar Square. This effort has a broad base of support including the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and the National Association of Labor Student Organizations (NALSO), the youth of the Labor Party.

Demonstrations throughout France have been called by the National Vietnam Committee. Other important centers will include:

Berlin: A protest sponsored by the U.S. Campaign and other groups.

Sydney, Australia: A demonstration organized by the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament.

Stockholm: Actions initiated by the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

In Scotland there will be demonstrations in Edinburgh and Aberdeen.



NEWS ITEM. "Excluding those missing, the Pentagon reported a total of 100,269 killed and wounded through last Saturday [Sept. 30] . . . A United States command spokesman said 150 Americans were killed last week and 1,758 wounded."

# Oct. 21 News

[Following are excerpts of recent reports that have come in to the Student Mobilization Committee on plans for building the October 21 confrontation to end the war in Vietnam.]

**NEW YORK** — Columbia University has reserved 20 buses to go to Washington. Hundreds more are being chartered by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee at a round-trip fare of \$8.50. For information on departure points and times call the Parade Committee at 255-0062.

An all-star benefit concert for the Parade Committee is being organized by *Topic* magazine and United Jazz Workshops. Two shows are scheduled for Sunday, Oct. 15 at the Village Theatre, Second Ave. and 8th Street. A 3 p.m. show will feature Phil Ochs, Eric Anderson, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Paul Krassner, the Archie Shep Quartet and others.

At 8 p.m. Richie Havens, Charlie Mingus, Tim Rose, Moondog and Strings, Bill Frederick and others are set to perform.

**EASTERN TRAIL BLAZE** — (From a trailblazing team): "They got 1,200 to April 15 from Cornell so we can expect great things from them . . . in Buffalo they have 60 people down to Student Mobilization Committee meetings and are planning at least five buses.

"The University of Rochester, a school of about 3,000, is planning three buses to begin with . . . Colgate University in Hamilton . . . has about 200 in the antiwar committee up there out of 1,500 students . . . At the University of Rhode Island at Kingston, R.I., they will be sending buses . . ."

**TWIN CITIES, Minn.** — "Six buses have been chartered, and will leave the Twin Cities at 7 a.m. on Friday, Oct 20, and return Sunday evening October 22. The round-trip fare will be \$40 . . . Tickets can be purchased through the Minnesota Mobilization Committee. Phone 338-1826."

**JAMESTOWN, N.Y.** — "Last week several mobilizers visited Jamestown. We were all very much impressed . . . Posters have already been placed throughout the campus and in the community, and we are hopeful for a good turnout."

**SHEBOYGAN, Wis.** — (From Lakeland College): "We are hastily organizing a car caravan to Washington October 21."

**MADISON, Wis.** — "Next week we will be sending people to Whitewater and Oshkosh to help build the Mobilization."

**BELLPORT, N.Y.** — "We would like to have at least one busload of peace people from eastern Suffolk County in Washington on October 21."

**LOS ANGELES** — "People on the East Coast must realize that going to Washington will involve much expense and time in traveling. However, despite this, we plan for more than 100 to be going. The transportation will be by plane (chartered — \$160.27 round trip), bus (Greyhound — \$95.85 round trip) and cars (approximately \$30 each person)."

**BOSTON** — "Things have gotten off the ground in all the major campuses of the Boston area. At MIT, Boston University, Harvard and Brandeis, meetings

have been held and committees or mobilization projects have been set up. Equally very interested in the Student Mobilization have been groups at Tufts, U. of Mass. at Boston, Wellesley and Emerson. . . ."

**DETROIT** — "Calls are beginning to roll in from people who want to go to Washington. But not only are individuals phoning in their reservations; groups of 20-50 want to reserve buses . . ."

"The *Inner-City Voice*, a militant black newspaper, is organizing an Afro-American contingent. They plan to leaflet inner-city high schools, and also to organize the black Wayne State University students to go to the confrontation.

"In Ann Arbor, a group on the University of Michigan campus is making plans for the confrontation. They expect about 600 students to take buses directly from Ann Arbor to Washington . . ."

Round-trip bus fare is \$15; plane fare is \$45.05. For more information: Detroit Area Mobilization Committee. Phone 832-5700.

**BERKELEY, Calif.** — (From a trailblazing team): "During the first week, we hit 17 campuses in the Bay Area, Northern California and the University of Nevada in Reno. We were well received everywhere we traveled . . ."

**DANVILLE, Ky.** — "Next week I am running an editorial in our campus newspaper, *The Centro*. Also I am going to set up an information table in the student union in an effort to arouse more support for the October 21 confrontation. At present, I have 10 people definitely signed up and another 30 to 35 tentatively . . ."

**GAMBIER, Ohio** — (Kenyon College — from a trailblazing team): "They [the Kenyon antiwar committee] have made good contact with the freshman class and have 39 people signed up to go to Washington the 21st . . ."

**EAST LANSING, Mich.** — (From a trailblazing team): "Thursday night we went to the Michigan State U. SDS meeting and told people about the Oct. 21 confrontation. A number of people will definitely be coming out to Washington . . . We should also be setting up Student Mobilization Committee chapters as we go through Kalamazoo and E. Lansing, in addition to hitting several smaller places like Albion, Battle Creek, Holland, etc."

**NORMAN, Okla.** — (From the Oklahoma University Committee to End the War in Vietnam): "Future plans of the committee include a campus-wide mobilization for the Oct. 21 March on Washington, concerning which leaflets calling for students to 'Confront the Warmakers' have already been distributed, contributions received, and several cars and a committee member's Ford bus all lined up and ready to go."

**MILWAUKEE, Wis.** — "Those of us who will be going will travel with the Milwaukee Organizing Committee, which is sending about 100."

**NORTHFIELD, Minn.** — (From *The Carletonian*, campus paper of Carleton College): "A bus for Carleton and St. Olaf students going to Washington will leave Willis early Friday morning, October 20, and take the students to the University of Minnesota, where they will join university people for the trip."

## The Democrats and Black Power

# Stokes' Cleveland Victory

By Elizabeth Barnes

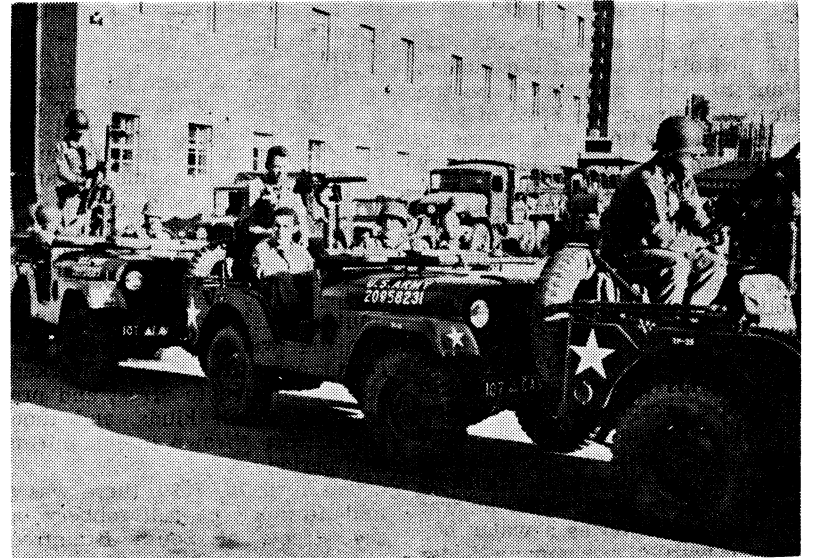
For the first time a black man has been nominated on the Democratic Party ticket for mayor of one of the nation's major cities. It happened in Cleveland on Oct. 3 when Carl Stokes defeated the present white mayor in the Democratic primary by a vote of 103,637 to 91,369.

This election reflected, in a negative way, the tremendous potential political power of black people. Seventy-four percent of Cleveland's black voters turned out and 95 percent of those pulled the lever for Stokes. In order to win Stokes had to split off only a small percentage of the white vote, since black people comprise a large section of the voters.

The Stokes victory is only one example of the effect that radicalization in the black community is having on the Democratic Party. In Gary, Ind., a town that is 58 percent black, the Democratic Party is also running an Afro-American mayoral candidate against a white Republican.

In Washington, D.C., where over half the population is black, President Johnson has appointed an Afro-American as the city's new commissioner and he has named five Afro-Americans to the nine-member District of Columbia City Council.

Democratic politicians are finding that they must at least appear to be responding to the needs of the black community if they are to maintain the support of Afro-American voters. The Democratic Party is dependent on the black vote in order to win, both in the cities and on a national level, and party leaders hope that by making a few superficial changes they can keep black people pulling the lever for their candidates. They



**NATIONAL GUARD.** During black rebellion in Cleveland last year, Guard was used to "restore order." Stokes charged the Mayor with vacillating before sending them in against his own people.

are thus looking for more black candidates to run as Democratic Party window dressing.

After the Stokes election, for example, an article in the *New York Times* commented that Democratic politicians hoped Stokes would be the Democratic Party "equivalent" of the Republican's Senator Brooke.

Ironically, it was Stokes himself who helped alert the Democratic Party to the danger of black voters leaving the party fold when in 1965 he ran as an independent candidate for mayor and was only barely defeated by incumbent Mayor Locher in a photo-finish vote of 85,375 to 87,833.

Although both Stokes and Hatcher (the Democratic candidate for mayor of Gary) have had to fight county Democratic Party chairmen in their areas, they have

received enthusiastic support from more sophisticated party leaders and supporters, who realize they need a few black faces to help cover up their real role as guardians of this racist system. Vice President Humphrey immediately responded to the Stokes victory by stating that Carl Stokes "has the leadership qualities every great city needs."

Democratic Party supporters have pushed the lie that Stokes' election is proof that freedom can be won by working through the existing political setup. Bayard Rustin said it indicated that American society is capable of "accepting Negroes" and Stokes himself stated that the victory "vindicates my faith in American Democracy."

Stokes' political program is fully in accord with that of the Democratic Party. For example, his response to the black rebellion in Cleveland last year was to criticize the mayor for not calling in the National Guard fast enough. In addition he has successfully sponsored legislation enabling the state governor to send troops into the black community in Cleveland without getting the O.K. of the mayor.

Stokes may feel that "American democracy" has fulfilled his personal dreams, but in his position as window dressing for the Democratic Party he will only help to sow false illusions among the masses of black people about the nature of this party which is controlled lock, stock and barrel by the enemies of black people.

As SNCC members in Washington, D.C., pointed out after the appointment of the Afro-American as commissioner, it is not the fact that a candidate is black that determines whether he will be relevant to the needs of the black community. If Stokes is elected as mayor of Cleveland he will be able to do no more to solve the problems of black people than have the black Democratic Party politicians that black people have sent to Congress year after year.

## ...Protest Action in D.C.

(Continued from Page 1)

against the war and to insist on their democratic rights to do so. He reported that the Mobilization office had received a flood of phone calls from persons who indicated they would go to Washington Oct. 21. In a number of cases, people not previously planning to go to Washington on that date have phoned to say that now nothing can keep them away.

From Washington, Dagmar Wilson urged that telegrams and letters be sent to the U.S. Attorney General and Washington authorities urging them to reverse their stand and provide permits for the rally and march. Mrs. Wilson said she would participate in the demonstration and added:

"As a resident of Washington, D.C., I join with thousands of other Washingtonians in the simple demand that federal authorities use every means at their disposal to provide facilities and protection for all those residents of Washington and visitors to the city who are joined together to protest this unjust and brutal war."

The National Mobilization Committee emphasized today that the civil disobedience at the Pentagon in which some of the protesters would participate was in no way involved in the request for the march and rally permits. The committee's plans include assembling at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington and marching to the Pentagon for a mass rally. Following the rally, those who wish to will attempt to sit down in the entrances to the Pentagon.

Dellinger explained to newsmen today that to use the slated civil disobedience as a pretext for denying the march and rally permits was clearly illegal. It denies the right of free assembly to those who do not intend to participate in the civil disobedience, he said. **As to those who do intend to com-**

mit civil disobedience, the government has every facility to act against them after they do so. They have no right to penalize them in advance in other areas.

He pointed out that the committee had announced the plans for civil disobedience in advance to ensure a minimum of confusion and difficulty with the police.

In an Oct. 6 statement Dellinger noted that many of the groups and individuals were not planning to take part in the sit-in. "The sit-in is purely optional," he explained. He said that people from groups like SANE, Women Strike for Peace, Vietnam Veterans Against the War and SNCC would probably participate only in the march and rally.

John Wilson, a co-chairman of the National Mobilization and New York director of SNCC, confirmed that SNCC would not take part in the Pentagon sit-in. "We'll go to the march and rally," Wilson said, "but we won't sit in. We'll go to the black community and have an intensive 'black organizing' session."

As a result of planning initiated by the National Mobilization of officers prior to the police ultimatum, the slated day's activities is now as follows. Demonstrators will assemble at Lincoln Memorial for a mass rally. There will be a march to the Pentagon and a second rally. Then, those who wish to will attempt to sit in at the Pentagon entrances.

Dave Dellinger and Julian Bond will co-chair the rally. Others already slated to speak include John Wilson of SNCC, Floyd McKissick of CORE, Johnny Mae Walker of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Dr. Spock, Juan Mari Bras of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, ex-Green Beret Donald Duncan, and Clive Jenkins, a British labor leader. Other speakers are to be announced.

## ...Tougaloo

(Continued from Page 1)

son, organizing around black political activity independent of the Democratic Party. Because of its militancy in action as well as in words, PAC may be slated for attack by the conservative college administration and the local authorities.

Right now, the local press is launching the witch-hunt with innuendos and slanted remarks about the organization. Any attempt to crush PAC is not only an attack upon the black liberation struggle, but also upon the antiwar movement. With this in mind, radicals and civil libertarians alike should keep abreast of the struggle that PAC is waging.

## 40th Anniversary of Martyrdom

## SACCO AND VANZETTI

By Beverly Scott

Forty years ago, on Aug. 22, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were murdered in the electric chair by the State of Massachusetts, victims of a frame-up conviction on charges of robbery and murder. The case of the two Italian-American anarchists aroused mass indignation and outrage the world over, and remains one of the most infamous cases of political persecution in U.S. history.

Nicola Sacco, 29 years old at the time of his arrest, was born in Italy of a prosperous peasant family. He went to school for seven years, and then quit to help his father in the vineyards. He came to the U.S. in 1908, when he was 17, and got a job as a water boy for a construction company. Later he learned edge trimming in a shoe factory and drew good pay as a skilled worker. He became an anarchist, and joined a group of Italian-American anarchists.

## Draft

In 1917 Congress passed the military conscription act, ordering all males between 21 and 31, whether citizens or not, to register for the draft. However, aliens were not liable to the draft unless they had taken out citizenship papers. Sacco did not understand this provision, however, and since he was strongly opposed to the imperialist war, he decided to go to Mexico to avoid the draft. After three months, he returned.

At the time of his arrest in 1920 he had a wife and a six-year-old son. A second child, a girl, was born five months later.

Bartolomeo Vanzetti was 32 when arrested. He was also the son of an Italian peasant family. After seven years of school, he held jobs as a pastry and caramel maker, and came to the U.S. in 1908 as Sacco had done. He held numerous short-term, low-paying jobs in different parts of the country. Vanzetti played a role in a strike at the Cordage Company in

Plymouth, Mass., and was subsequently blacklisted from the industry.

He later held other jobs, mostly doing outdoor work, and for several months before his arrest had been selling fish from a pushcart. Like Sacco, he became an anarchist in the U.S., and he also fled to Mexico in 1917 to avoid the draft. Vanzetti was a bachelor.

The background to the frame-up of these two men was the witch-hunt against radicals begun during the war and continued for some years after. Radical workers were subjected to arrest and prosecution of all kinds, and thousands were thrown in jail during this period.

On April 15, 1920, there was a mid-afternoon payroll robbery on the streets of South Braintree, Mass., in which the paymaster and guard were killed. Witnesses reported that "foreigners" had done the job, and police were looking for Italian suspects when they accidentally came across Sacco and Vanzetti. After discovering that the two men were anarchists, the cops decided to pin the crime on them.

## Frame-up

The "investigation" of the crime and the trial were crude witch-hunt frame-ups. Witnesses changed their stories to suit the police version of the crime. Defense witnesses were discounted. Also, between the time of his arrest and his trial, Vanzetti was swiftly tried and convicted of another attempted robbery. This too was a frame-up, designed to help the prosecution get a conviction on the murder charge. The proof of the innocence of the two anarchists has been well documented in such works as Felix Frankfurter's *The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti: A Critical Analysis for Lawyers and Laymen* and Louis Joughin and Edmund Morgan's *The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti*.

As soon as Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, the Italian-American anarchists organized a defense

committee. After Vanzetti was convicted of the attempted robbery, Carlo Tresca, the famous anarchist leader living in New York, contacted the committee and suggested they hire Fred Moore, who had been a lawyer in several IWW cases.

Moore acted not only as the chief attorney for the case, but also as its chief promoter. He recognized the need for publicizing the case as widely as possible and broadening the base of the defense committee. He obtained a resolution in support of the witch-hunt victims from the national convention of the American Federation of Labor, and from many local unions. He convinced the Boston Civil Liberties Committee, and later the American Civil Liberties Union, to support the case, and also involved a number of Boston's wealthy nonconformists in the defense.

## World-wide Protest

Moore also initiated the international side of the defense, which resulted in the case becoming known throughout the world, with support for the two working class victims being expressed by the toiling masses in many countries.

In this country, they did not receive as much support at first as they got internationally. After they were found "guilty," the defense began the process of appealing the crudely unfair trial. In spite of all the evidence of prejudice on the part of the judge, the contradictory testimony of witnesses, and new evidence pointing to a professional gang as the real perpetrators of the crime, all appeals were denied.

In 1926 and 1927, the defense began to receive more domestic support. The strongest came from the International Labor Defense. The ILD was headed by James P. Cannon, now the national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Cannon writes in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* that the ILD "was formed in 1925 under the direct inspiration



MARTYRS. Nicola Sacco, right, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti

of the Communist Party, was specifically dedicated to the principle of nonpartisan labor defense, to the defense of any member of the working class movement, regardless of his views, who suffered persecution by the capitalist courts because of his activities or his opinions."

Many intellectuals were drawn into the defense, now that the previous period of reaction was subsiding somewhat. They saw the fate of the two anarchists as a shameful relic of a past period. Among them were Walter Lippmann, Heywood Broun, Felix Frankfurter, John Dos Passos, Dorothy Parker, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Ruth Hale, Arthur Schlesinger, Upton Sinclair, and John Dewey.

## Support from Workers

It is noteworthy that this case reached out beyond the radical and intellectual communities and received significant support from the general working class population.

International support continued to grow. Men like H. G. Wells, Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein added their names to the defense. Mass demonstrations continued throughout the world.

In 1927 the defense lawyers learned that there had been extensive cooperation between the Boston district attorney's office and the federal Department of Justice in 1920, when the evidence for the trial was being accumulated. The federal government wanted sufficient proof that the two were anarchists, just in case they happened to be acquitted of the murder charge, and thus the two departments worked hand in hand.

## Federal Agent

One former federal agent made the following affidavit: "From my investigation, combined with the investigations made by other agents in the Department (of Justice) in Boston, I am convinced not only that these men had violated the Selective Service Rules and regulations and evaded the draft, but that they were anarchists and that they ought to have been deported . . ."

"What I mean [by the word anarchist] is that I think they did not believe in organized government or in private property. But I am also thoroughly convinced, and always have been, and I believe it is and always has been the opinion of such Boston agents of the Department of Justice as had any knowledge on the subject, that these men had nothing whatever to do with the South Braintree murders and that their conviction was the result of cooperation between the Boston agents of the Department of Justice and the district attorney.

"It was the general opinion of the Boston agents of the Department of Justice having knowledge

of the affair that the South Braintree crime was committed by a gang of professional highway-men."

The defense lawyers tried to get the Department of Justice to open its files, so they could discover what other relevant material might be in those files, but naturally, since the Department of Justice had such a strong interest in this conviction, which in effect was carrying out an assignment for them, they refused.

The prisoners received two short-term postponements of the execution, and — after spending seven years of mental torture in jail — were scheduled to die in the electric chair on Aug. 22, 1927. During that week police in Boston, fearing a massive outbreak, canceled all permits for demonstrations and outdoor meetings. Nevertheless, on the 22nd, 172 people demonstrated in front of the state house and were arrested.

## Mass Protests

The two valiant fighters were executed at midnight. That night in Paris 15,000 demonstrated, in London there were 12,000 in Hyde Park, in Berlin there were scores of meetings ending in parades, in Japan a delegation visited the American ambassador, in Switzerland demonstrators attacked the American consulate, in Australia 1,800 were discharged for taking part in a strike, and in Johannesburg, South Africa, the American flag was burned on Town Hall steps. In New York City 10,000 demonstrated in Union Square, and other protest meetings were held across the country. The next day demonstrations continued both in this country and abroad.

The funeral was held in Boston on Aug. 28, and 200,000 gathered to observe the funeral procession. There was a series of violent battles between those who were determined to march with the procession and the police who were trying to break them off and shunt them into side streets. In spite of this 10,000 managed to march the eight miles to the cemetery.

## Class Persecution

"The electric flames that consumed the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti," wrote James Cannon in the October 1927 *Labor Defender*, "illuminated for tens of thousands of workers, in all its stark brutality, the essential nature of capitalist justice in America. The imprisonment, torture and murder of workers is seen more clearly now as part of an organized system of class persecution."

The memory of Sacco and Vanzetti and the sacrifice they made for toiling people everywhere is not forgotten. Their case and example helped shape a generation of radicals, and will inspire the new radical generation beginning to emerge in America today.

## ONE WOMAN'S EXPERIENCE

## New York: "A Fun City"

By Yvonne Groseil

NEW YORK — Candida Caro lives in fear. Her life has been threatened. A rock was thrown through her window at 1 a.m. Voodoo charms have been left outside her door. She has been attacked with a knife and threatened with a gun.

All of this happened in New York City, and it is not part of an underworld gang war. Miss Caro is just a tenant who does not want to move.

Candida Caro lives on West 15th Street, in one of five houses the landlord wants to vacate. On June 22, 1967, the agent for the Chelsea Estates Holding Company, Irving Kissin, informed the tenants they would have to move. No offer of compensation or of paying moving expenses was made. Several tenants moved at once; others just stayed and waited. Again they were told to move, but this time services were curtailed, hot water was shut off, and the rent was refused. A delegation of tenants from the five houses came to the Chelsea Save Our Homes Committee to explain their problem and ask for help.

The Chelsea Save Our Homes Committee consists of one paid community worker and a half-dozen residents of Chelsea who volunteer their time and energy. Every Tuesday night the CSOHC holds meetings at its center at 239 West 15 Street to which tenants come with housing problems.

The CSOHC is opposed by the slumlords and by the big real

estate interests that would like to "renew" the Chelsea area by building (at a good profit) luxury housing.

At the meeting, the tenants began action to stop this attempt to force them from their homes. Petitions were filed with the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration to protest the harassment of the tenants and to have services restored. The tenants were told to pay their rent in order to prevent eviction proceedings later. A delegation from CSOHC called on the superintendent to tell him the harassment of the tenants was illegal. He replied that he had only been following the agent's orders.

## Threats

The tenants began to move out as the weeks went by and nothing was gained from legal procedures. Miss Caro became the leader of the struggle against the landlord and the special target of threats and abuse. The police say they cannot do anything unless she is actually harmed or they see an attack. Her neighbors are afraid to testify; they are afraid to be seen talking to a CSOHC member.

The enforcement division of the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration, after prolonged pressure from CSOHC, finally granted a hearing on the harassment charges for Miss Caro. The hearing took place on Sept. 14, and the decision has not yet been given.

Candida Caro is now the only tenant left in the building. All the other tenants have been fright-

ened into moving out without compensation. As the other tenants left, the superintendent removed the doors to their rooms and put sheet metal over the windows.

Miss Caro is afraid to stay in her apartment and afraid that if she leaves it her furniture and possessions will be destroyed. CSOHC has arranged to have women members take turns sleeping in her apartment each night to give her some company and protection.

On Oct. 3, the gas and electricity are to be turned off because the superintendent owes Consolidated Edison over \$500. The fact that the gas and electric bill has not been paid in more than four months indicates that the landlord expected to have the building empty by now.

Miss Caro cannot afford to move. She works, irregularly, in a garment factory. She has been ill, and her doctor insists that she needs rest. She only wants the landlord to pay her the legal compensation for moving and to repay the amount (\$500) which is due her from back overcharges on her rent. With this money, she wants to return to her home in the Dominican Republic.

Possibly the best comment on this case was made by a member of the staff at the Consulate General of the Dominican Republic. She listened silently to a report of Miss Caro's problem, then asked in amazement: "How can this happen in America?"

# 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.]

## SNCC's Israel Stand

Tougaloo, Miss.

I read your recent article in the paper on SNCC's stand — that it's not a question of anti-Semitism but a question of pro-imperialism by the Zionists.

I support this stand by SNCC and its analysis of the Middle East crisis. I think that the truth should be told about things that take place. The students at Tougaloo College support SNCC's stand.

I think SNCC shows Israel to be a pack of imperialists who are trying to determine the future of Africa.

Reader

## Greek Freedom Fighters

New York, N.Y.

The full-scale effort by the American mass media to create a heroic martyr of Helen Vlachos, a multimillionaire, royalist, arch-conservative publisher in Greece, is part of the Phase Two plan of the American State Department.

Mrs. Vlachos is going to be tried for "insulting the government." The real newsmen of Greece have long ago been put in prison or killed. No real enemy of the junta has been allowed out on bail as has Mrs. Vlachos. Should she be convicted, a royal pardon is a certainty.

What is more crucial is that in the not-too-distant future the junta will be replaced or greatly modified in terms of personnel and public relations. People such as Mrs. Vlachos will be allowed to publish. The reactionary National Radical Union will be allowed to form a "democratic" government. Miniskirts and beards will be allowed to flourish. American aid will flow.

The palace will get credit for having "reestablished democracy." The only flaw in the picture will be that left trade unionists and radicals of all types will be treated much as they have been by the colonels.

The poverty of the peasants and workers will be accepted as a given and permanent factor of Greece. Conditions, in short, will revert to the period immediately following the end of the civil war with the gains of 20 bloody years wiped out.

Phase Two, however, is not operating in a vacuum and 1967

is not 1950. Persons interested in regularly receiving material in Greek or English from Greek sources on the antifascist struggle should contact:

**Dan Georgakas**  
**Ritsos-Z-Theodorakis,**  
**Box 418 Stuyvesant Station**  
**New York, N.Y. 10009**

## October 21

Detroit, Mich.

The Detroit antiwar movement is going ahead full swing in planning for October 21st. Twelve billboards were put up in the city to advertise the mobilization. Already responses are coming in from people who have seen the billboards and are interested in going to Washington. One man called in, irate because he'd almost had an accident while looking at the billboard; he informed us that he was opposed to the war and wanted more information about going to Washington.

Response to the march is great. People call in or come in daily telling us they want to arrange transportation in their areas or among their friends for between 10 to 60 people. From all indications, a large contingent from Michigan will be coming to Washington.

E.K.

## Vets for Peace

Minneapolis, Minn.

As a member of the newly founded "Vets for Peace in Vietnam" movement, I feel a word must be said in behalf of those vets who oppose Washington's policies in the Far East.

The issue is not communism vs. democracy, whereby "anti-communism" becomes a vague panacea in itself. The issue for concerned vets should be whether the U.S. has an honest, realistic defense system, or corrupt usurpation and profiteering by a powerful, yet remote, military-industrial complex such as we have now, under the guise of "containing Communism."

Who can honestly believe that a tiny nation of poor, barefoot Asian farmers are the enemy of the American workers? Who but the ruling class would have the audacity to charge them with "aggression" and "crimes" against their oppressors! Patriotism consists of fighting crimes against one's society, not following the "brass hats" to Armageddon.

This fiscal year I understand the "War on Poverty" will receive less than \$3 billion, while the Pentagon will "take" over \$70 billion. Surely there must be a higher calling and a more sane, rational set of standards by which we

judge the worth of all human life on this planet than that envisioned by the narrow opportunism of the military elite.

D.S.

## Muslim Program

Philadelphia, Pa.

I must criticize your newspaper for not clearly defining our position, and I would appreciate your printing of our goals.

We, the Muslims in America, want independence — we want a land so we can develop our nation as others in the past have done. We do not want an integrated nation because history has proven very few whites accept Islam. We want peace for all mankind.

Milton X

## People's Congress

Evansville, Ind.

Regarding the October 21st Mobilization: have you contemplated transforming the groups which will gather in Washington into a sort of People's Congress — an ad hoc assembly of the unrepresented? I urge you to do so. Call it the Third Continental Congress. A situation of dual power must be set up if this war is to ever end; it can only end through revolution here.

Instead of everyone merely packing up and going home after

this demonstration, encourage all groups present to leave behind delegates who will remain in session continuously. Appeals should then be made to the country to elect ad hoc committees to send delegates to the Congress. Open to all, the weight of one's vote determined by the number of constituents.

Sound ridiculous? So did the first two continental congresses at first. You say such a congress would have no power? But does the "legitimate" Congress have any power? Fulbright recently admitted that if Johnson used atomic weapons, Congress could do nothing about it. Impeachment would be "unrealistic." The present Congress is merely a rubber stamp for the military-industrial clique ruling this country.

What would such a People's Congress do? To answer this is to engage in utopianism. Such questions can only be answered in practice, in the heat of the struggle. I appeal to you, as revolutionaries, to seriously consider such a Congress.

T.F.

## Poems for Malcolm X

New York, N.Y.

The address of the publisher of *For Malcolm X*, the book of poems dedicated to Malcolm, was left out of my review in the Sept. 4 *Militant*, due to an oversight. For readers who might want to obtain this valuable book, the address is: Broadside Press, 12651 Old Mill Place, Detroit, Michigan 48238.

George Saunders

## Thought for the Week

"Throughout our visit, individual team members paid particular attention to burns. The cases were relatively limited in number . . . and we saw no justification for the undue emphasis which has been placed by the press upon civilian burns caused by napalm. A greater number of burns appeared to be caused by the careless use of gasoline in stoves which were not intended for gasoline. Probably most burns occurred from this source." — A Vietnam report to Johnson by a medical "investigating" team headed by the executive vice president of the AMA.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Such Touching Sentiment** — We're sure that Vietnamese napalm victims would be even more moved than we were by the following item from the *Los Angeles Times*: "Mrs. Lyndon Johnson took a 17-mile ride on the Mississippi River during the second day of her Midwestern tour and beamed as the Great Riverboat Barber-shop Chorus sang 'Let Me Call You Sweetheart' to her . . . The President had cabled the request to the choral group from the White House."

**Contemporary Morality** — A news item recently explained how Hollywood introduced nudity to U.S. screens in *Cleopatra* in 1963. The Legion of Decency complained that the picture featured "continual emphasis upon immodest costuming throughout." However, the producer, Twentieth Century Fox, was on the verge of bankruptcy at the time so the Legion very decently withheld a "condemned" rating.

**No Escape** — Air pollution does an estimated half billion dollars worth of damage to farm crops and animals each year, according to a recent federal study. The investigators said it is a popular

misconception that industrial pollution remains in the cities.

**Solution** — According to *Modern Photography*, photography buffs who have trouble with dust on their slides might be interested in Marshall's Air Sweet. The magazine describes it as "actually a spray-type can containing not insect repellent, shaving cream or window cleaner, but just plain, clean air under high pressure." They're available in camera stores for about \$2.25 a can. It struck us that, if they could bring down the price a little, it might be an effective method of combating pollution.

**Dog's Life** — Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt recently submitted a budget in which he explained that the government simply couldn't afford to increase the \$13 a week dole to old age pensioners. Two days later the press reported that a wealthy businessman had left his dog a pension of \$20 a week and indicated the figure was probably inadequate. His niece, charged with care of the dog, agreed. She said: "By the time you feed him, take him to the vet and buy tablets for him, there's nothing left of the \$20."

Gravy meat costs 45 cents a pound . . ." The Labor Opposition has indicated the dog will prove a good issue in the coming elections.

**Cure-All** — William Brent, of Portland, Ore., has filed a \$450,000 damage suit in federal court. He charged a drug called Kynex caused him to lose all his hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, fingernails and toenails.

**Nobody's Perfect** — E. H. Clardy of Little Rock, Ark., was bounced as warden of the Cummins Prison Farm because he turned up drunk at a church where he had taken several model prisoners to tell the stories of their rehabilitations.

**Funniest Headline of the Week** — "Johnson Urges Public to Press for Tax Increase." — The Oct. 7 *New York Times*.

**Shopping Tip** — Pace/Jil Associates, New York interior decorators, are featuring a specially designed library ladder which, it seems to us, would also be handy in the kitchen pantry. It's stainless steel with glass steps. Only \$1,000. Treads extra.

—Harry Ring

## Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

BIWEEKLY RADIO COMMENTARY over KPFK (90.7 FM) by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman, SWP. Mon., Oct. 30 and Nov. 13 at 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tues., Oct. 31 and Nov. 14 at 9:45 a.m.

NEW YORK

THERE WILL BE NO FORUM OCT. 20 Because people will be leaving for Washington very early the next morning our regular forum will be canceled. We will resume our schedule on Oct. 27.

SAN FRANCISCO

DINNER AT CONNIE'S—1466 Haight St. Mon., Oct. 16, 6 p.m. Meet Robert Davis, socialist candidate for mayor of S.F. and Clyde Cumming, candidate for supervisor. Entertainment: Jan Tangen, guitarist, currently appearing at "The Drinking Gourd." \$2 per person. For reservations call: 552-1266. Sponsored by: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

The National Guardian dedicates its 19th anniversary to



**THE THIRD WORLD**  
its aspirations  
its spokesmen

**ROBERT ALLEN**, Guardian staff writer, from Hanoi  
**JUAN MARI BRAS**, MPI, from Puerto Rico  
**H. RAP BROWN**, SNCC, from the ghetto  
**CARL DAVIDSON**, SDS, from the campus  
**CLIVE JENKINS**, from the British Trade Unions

**FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 8 P.M.**  
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## Court Fight Set in Ohio Against Viet Vote Ban

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Oct. 6 — The demand that the issue of withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam be placed on the Cleveland ballot is growing, and the ruling today by the Ohio Supreme Court that the issue is not within the jurisdiction of a municipality will not end the efforts of the local Vietnam Resolution Committee (VRC). The decision will be appealed to the United States Supreme Court, Mrs. Bonnie Holt, secretary of the committee, said.

The Cleveland resolution, similar to the one on the Dearborn, Mich., ballot last November and the one the California Supreme Court ordered on the San Francisco ballot this November, states:

"Be it resolved by the people of the city of Cleveland that: The President of the United States should bring all American troops home from Vietnam now so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own affairs."

### Signatures

Initiative petitions signed by 9,954 registered voters were submitted to the clerk of the city council Aug. 29, asking that the council pass the Vietnam resolution or place it on the ballot. Additional petitions received by the committee bring the total to more than 10,000.

"The petitions were circulated by 96 Ohio electors, most of them 'new people' who had not been active in the antiwar movement before," Mrs. Holt pointed out.

Two days after accepting the petitions, the clerk of the city council notified the electors that she would not process them because the city law director and the chief counsel did not consider the issue proper for the ballot.

### "Unreasonable"

In appealing to the State Supreme Court for an order placing the resolution on the ballot, VRC counsel Jerry Gordon stated that the City ruling was "arbitrary, unreasonable, illegal, and in violation of the city charter, Constitution of Ohio and Constitution of the United States."

He cited examples of previous resolutions on matters of foreign and national policy by the city council, particularly one passed June 23, 1946:

"An emergency resolution memorializing the President of the United States as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States to take proper steps to insure the return of members of the Armed Forces to their homes and families as rapidly as is consistent with the safeguarding of the integrity and security of the United States of America."

### Good Response

Mrs. Holt, coordinator of the successful campaign to secure the 10,000 signatures (double the number required for an initiative petition under the city charter), told *The Militant* that the response of the people has been overwhelming.

The idea of initiating the resolution, which came from the Dearborn referendum of 1966, was proposed at a regional antiwar conference at Western Reserve University last May 6. The petition campaign started at a kickoff meeting of the VRC June 16, and concluded Aug. 29 with the filing of the completed petitions following a press conference on the steps of City Hall.

When the clerk of the council refused to process the petitions, a picket line was held at City Hall before the council meeting Sept. 11, calling on councilmen to pass the resolution or place it on

the ballot. Some 70 pickets marched in the first local antiwar demonstration this fall.

On Sept. 19, the appeal was filed with the Ohio Supreme Court, and received front-page headlines together with the announcement of the California decision.

That night TV Channel 8 conducted a poll from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m., asking the public to call in their votes for or against the resolution. Some 14,000 calls were reported by 11 p.m., 60 percent for withdrawal, 40 percent against. The next night Channel 3 conducted a similar poll. Seventy-two percent were recorded favoring the resolution, 28 percent against.



**FILING PETITIONS.** Mrs. Bonnie Holt, secretary of Cleveland Vietnam Resolution Committee, being interviewed by TV reporters at City Hall Aug. 29 before filing petitions for Vietnam war referendum.

## S.F. Peace Forces Waging Major Drive in Referendum

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO — The eyes of the world will be focused on the Vietnam war referendum in San Francisco on Nov. 7. Help is needed right away as the campaign to win a majority antiwar vote swings into top gear.

On Nov. 7 San Francisco will make a historic decision with worldwide repercussions when voters go to the polls to vote "Yes" or "No" on the following proposition:

"It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate

cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese can settle their own problems."

Such a vote has never before been taken during wartime at the popular initiative.

Every individual and group opposed to the war here is turning out with a will to participate in the gigantic task of winning the vote and defeating the campaign of opposition, intimidation, and red-baiting which has already begun. That is why money and support from all over the country are beginning to pour in, and must continue to pour in faster and faster between now and the election.

It took a California State Supreme Court decision to get the antiwar proposition on the city ballot after more than 22,000 San Franciscans signed the petition circulated by Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam. Only 12,000 signatures were needed, but the registrar of voters balked at accepting the petition until the high court ordered him to do so.

It will now be Proposition P on the November ballot, and Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam is campaigning for a "Yes on P — Yes on Peace" vote. Already three groups have been formed to oppose Proposition P. One is led by a local rightist, Tom Collins, who withdrew from his campaign for supervisor to launch a vigilante crusade against the measure, and who reportedly can bank on substantial sums of money and the backing of the local Hearst paper, *The Examiner*. It is expected that even stronger opposition may develop as the campaign goes on.

But the Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam has already developed the nuclei of hardworking teams to implement their campaign strategy of mass rallies, mass meetings, neighborhood meetings in public schools, benefit dances and antiwar film showings, and dis-

tribution of masses of literature, window posters, bumper stickers, and buttons.

A rally held on Saturday, Oct. 7, in San Francisco's predominantly Spanish-speaking Mission District drew a crowd of several hundred in response to a leafletting and sound truck appeal immediately beforehand. Ed Farley, chairman of the Citizens group, was the lead speaker. Asher Harer, also of the Citizens staff, addressed the crowd in Spanish. The Agit-Prop theater performed from a flatbed truck. Members of the group were besieged with questions and requests for literature and campaign material, as well as invitations to speak at other Mission District meetings.

The performance of the Agit-Prop theater drew four carloads of San Francisco's "finest," who succeeded in ending the meeting several minutes before the scheduled wind-up. The group and the crowd voiced their anger, and the Citizens will have legal aid on hand at all future street rallies to test and prevent such harassment by the cops.

Day after day more and more people show up at the Citizens office at 55 Colton Street, ready to go out and campaign for a large "Yes" vote. The Student Mobilization in San Francisco is making Proposition P the focus of their work.

Last week Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam filed a nine-page ballot argument for a "Yes" vote. Presenting a closely reasoned argument for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, this statement will reach every voter in the city before election day.

You can help by sending money and a statement of sponsorship and support. The address is Citizens for Yes on Peace, 55 Colton Street, San Francisco 94103, California. Phone 415-861-1866.

## Another Soviet Writer Reported Facing Trial

Soviet officialdom seems determined to mar the celebrations of the 50th year of the October Revolution with more persecution of antibureaucratic writers. A trial similar to that of authors Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel in February 1966 seems again in the works. Chief defendant is said to be Aleksandr Ginzburg, sparkplug of the underground magazine *Phoenix 1966*. (An associate of Ginzburg had already been sentenced to three years' imprisonment last month; see the Sept. 11 *Militant*.)

The chief grievance of the bureaucrats against Ginzburg is that he circulated a "White Paper," containing the transcript of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, together with letters of protest against the trial made by prominent Soviet intellectuals. Ginzburg's "White Paper" was apparently the source for the texts of the trial proceedings and protest statements published outside the Soviet Union.

The resourcefulness of young Soviet rebels, in being able to get hold of such documents and circulate them in semi-underground conditions, does indeed bode ill for Soviet bureaucrats. Rebels like Ginzburg have undergone imprisonment, sometimes several times, only to return and resume their oppositional activity. That is why they use the title *Phoenix* for their underground journals, which keep reappearing after being

suppressed by the bureaucrats.

Those sister spirits of the Soviet bureaucracy, the men who run Czechoslovakia, are also encountering defiance from intellectuals protesting the lack of socialist democracy in their workers' state. This defiance found especially strong expression at the Czechoslovak Writers Congress last June. The speech by novelist and

party member Ludvik Vaculik was particularly strong. He said for example: "When I criticize the regime, I do not criticize socialism, because I am not convinced that what happened here was necessary, and because I do not identify the regime with socialism, in the way it tries to identify itself."

Now the Czechoslovak Communist Party has struck out against the rebellious writers. On Sept. 27

it announced the expulsion from the party of Vaculik and two other writers, Ivan Klima and H. S. Riehm, and the removal from the central committee of Jan Prochazka, a hack writer heretofore favored by the regime. The main organ of the writer's union, *Literarni Noviny*, was put under direct control of a government ministry, in order to silence its increasingly independent voice.



**SOVIET WRITERS' TRIAL.** Yuli M. Daniel (left) and Andrei D. Sinyavsky sit in prisoner's dock in 1966 trial of dissident writers.