

# 76,000 Say Withdraw In S.F. Vote on Vietnam

#### By Fred Halstead

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 8 — Proposition "P" which called for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, received 36½ percent of the votes in the municipal elections here yesterday.

The "yes" vote was 76,632 and the "no" vote was 132,402 on the proposition which read: "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 people can settle their own problems."

The vote climaxed one of the most extensive antiwar actions in any U.S. city since the Vietnamese war began. Some 2,000 campaigners mobilized by the Citizens Committee for a Yes Vote on Peace participated during the seven weeks since the proposition was placed on the ballot after a California Supreme Court ruling Sept. 28.

"This is only the beginning," declared Mary Louise Lovett, executive director of the committee. Miss Lovett said "We are going to continue to fight against the war until it is over."

Committee Chairman Ed Farley, speaking before hundreds of campaign workers gathered at the committee's headquarters last night said: "We are going to hold together and build on the unity of antiwar forces that has come out of this campaign until this war is stopped and we, the American people, are going to stop it." The press was well represented at the meeting as well as national and international television.

Farley invited all campaigners to a special meeting of the committee to plan further broadlybased antiwar actions.

Asher Harer, a member of the group's ten-man executive com-

mittee, speaking before NBC-TV cameras at the campaign headquarters declared:

"This vote shows a growing and deepening opposition to this hideous and immoral war and proves that a huge section of the American population has already accepted the only basis upon which the war can be stopped and the killing of American GIs and Vietnamese ended — the immediate withdrawal of U.S. military forces. This vote of over one-third in solid. unequivocal opposition to U.S. involvement in the war proves there is no U.S. consensus on our brutal interference in Vietnamese affairs. This solid mass opposition to the war, which will keep growing, is the basis upon which we will continue."

A preliminary analysis of the voting patterns revealed that the heavily black districts of Hunters Point and Fillmore voted overwhelmingly "yes" on Proposition P. Three days before the election six mailbags filled with sample ballots destined for the heavily black Bay View district which includes Hunters Point were found dumped in a ravine.

The post office announced it put on extra help to deliver this recovered mail. But it is possible that there were other bags that were not recovered. "If the bags had not been recovered," said the Nov. 5 San Francisco Chronicle, "some voters could conceivably have been disenfranchised because the sample ballot mailings also included locations of polling places."

An unofficial straw vote taken at 15 polling places throughout the city for youth over 18 but not yet 21 showed an overwhelming support for Proposition P. With returns in from 13 of the unofficial polls, the vote ran 2,912 "yes" and only 272 "no."



HIT CIA RECRUITERS. Some 400 students protested recruiting by CIA and Dow Chemical (which makes napalm) on Berkeley, Calif. campus on Nov. 6. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, joined demonstration (at extreme right).

## Black Panther Party Leader Target of Oakland Frame-Up

In the pre-dawn hours of Oct. 28, Huey P. Newton of the Oakland, Calif., Black Panther Party for Self Defense was shot and seriously wounded in the stomach by police. Newton was driving with a woman friend when police apparently stopped him. A struggle followed, and one policeman was killed and another wounded. Newton is being held at San Quentin

fense committee statement explain that "When out on patrol, the Black Panthers would observe the police. And when they saw a policeman stop a black person on the streets, they would leave the car and stand there a few feet away to observe the proceedings. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale [Black Panther Party

the Black Panther Party for Self Defense as his witnesses.

"The cops hated this . . .

"The police want to see Huey and Bobby out of circulation. They want to see the entire Black Panther Party for Self Defense out of circulation. They want to see all the Black Panthers dead. They want especially to kill Huey P. Newton, because they know that

## **Plan to Confront Rusk**

**N.Y. Antiwar Forces** 

NEW YORK — Plans have been announced for a mass antiwar demonstration to confront Secretary of State Dean Rusk at his scheduled appearance here Nov. 14 at a lush banquet in the New York Hilton Hotel.

Rusk and industrialist Charles Engelhard are slated to speak at a dinner at the Hilton commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Foreign Policy Association. Engelhard is a heavy investor in the Union of South Africa and a large property owner in the Newark ghetto. Attending the banquet will be 800 business, government and academic figures.

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee has called for a massive demonstration to confront these men who play so large a role in shaping U.S. domestic and foreign policies.

Thousands of New Yorkers are expected to assemble on Sixth Avenue, between 53rd and 54th Streets, in front of the hotel at 5:30 p.m. Nov. 14. The picket line will be conducted right through the dinner hour.

In addition to providing information on the mass picketing action, the Parade Committee is publicizing plans for Students for a Democratic Society for various direct actions at the hotel for those who wish to participate.

Volunteers who want to help build the demonstration or want leaflets for distribution should come to the Parade Committee office at 17 East 17th Street, or call 255-1075, or 255-0062. State Prison on charges of murder.

#### **Defense Fund**

A Huey P. Newton Defense Fund is in the process of being organized. A statement from the defense committee says, "Black people understand — intuitively the slavery origin of the present practice by cops of harassing them by stopping them when they go out on the streets at night. There is a smoldering resentment that goes deep in the black community over this very point, because it is a clear indication to black people that they are still being oppressed by the heritage of slavery."

It was around the issue of police harassment that Huey P. Newton and other leaders of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense organized. The Black Panthers initiated armed patrols of black neighborhoods at night. The dechairman], who both know the law well of how a policeman is supposed to behave when questioning a passerby, would not say anything if the cop did not exceed his authority. But whenever they observed a cop getting out of line, like bullying some frightened black teenager, abusing him with profanity or calling him nigger, or pushing him around, they would speak up.

#### **Explained Legal Rights**

"They would tell the cop that he was getting out of line and that the black community is sick and tired of it and was not going to stand for it anymore. They would also tell the suspect that he did not have to go for the way the cop was treating him, that the cop had no legal right to do that, and they would tell the suspect who they were and advise him to file a suit against the cop and to call Newton, because they know that he is the soul of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense.

#### Malcolm X

"They are reacting as blind tyrants always react. They think that by killing off a black leader they solve the problem, but as in the case of Brother Malcolm X, this never works — Brother Malcolm X has become bigger in death than he was in life, and when he was murdered all Afro-America became a nation of Brother Malcolm X's. Does America want to create an Afro-America filled with Huey P. Newtons?"

Support and contributions are urgently needed to help expose this police frame-up and provide a defense for Huey P. Newton. Send contributions to: Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif. 94608.



Back in 1776 the American colonists revolted against King George of England under the slogan "No taxation without representation." It is becoming increasingly clear that the slogan could be aptly applied by the working class in present-day United States. For there is no representation for our class under the two-party system, and this is amply demonstrated in two excerpts from the Congressional Record.

On Oct. 23 the "gentleman from Texas," O. C. Fisher (Dem.), took the floor of the House to speak for an hour on "The Undeclared War on J. P. Stevens & Co." Mr. Fisher charges the Textile Workers Union of America, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, the NLRB and the U.S. Supreme Court of conspiracy to drive the "progressive company... which commands the respect and gratitude of its employees" out of business! In almost five full pages of small type, Mr. Fisher paints a picture of persecution that almost breaks one's heart. It is to cry indeed, when one considers:

J. P. Stevens & Co., headed by Robert Stevens, former Secretary of the Army under Eisenhower. operates 71 plants throughout the South, employing about 44,000 workers. The average wage of these workers is \$73 a week - \$31 below the national average factory wage In North Carolina where the majority of its plants are located, this meant a loss of earning power for the workers of over \$70 million last year. For the 600,-000 textile workers in the entire Southern textile industry, the loss was almost \$1 billion.

In 1963 when the TWUA began its organizing campaign, a substantial number of Stevens Co. workers joined the union. A campaign of harassment began. All those workers who did not rescind their union membership — more than 100 - were fired. The company did not stop there. It extended its punishment, with biblical authority, unto the third and fourth generation — in reverse. Fathers and mothers of unionists were threatened, many fired. In the company towns, fired workers couldn't get any kind of a job.

Then Stevens mobilized in all company towns. The ministers, the police department, the wives of supervisors — all moved in on the company's side for confidential chats designed to make the workers see Stevens' side and keep them out of the union.

- each raised their quotas above tory, the labor movement and the with unfair labor practices. Four and sending it to us along with the amount requested by \$200. separate cases, involving four difcolonial revolution, is moving its your "booster 7004 lexas ferent sets of discharged workers, offices and distribution center. Its What kind of people are digging new address will be 873 Broadinto their own slim budgets and resulted in four citations against way, New York, N.Y. 10003, effecthe company. The case, appealed asking friends to raise the money tive as of Nov. 13. Phone: 673-0660. to the courts, brought a decision needed to help the SWP candi-**Fund Scoreboard** Catalogs are free on request. dates present their inspiring, radiupholding the NLRB decision, cal alternative to capitalist mis-Branch Quota Paid rule? Cleveland Most of them are young work-\$1,200 \$800 I Want to Help ers and students who are con-San Francisco 1.200 800 1,395 vinced that no sacrifice is too Oakland-Berkeley 800 great to build a movement capable Philadelphia 340 600 of stopping the warmakers and San Diego 150 75 racists, and bringing about endur-Enclosed is my contribution of \$..... to 500 Twin Cities 1,200 ing peace, equality and freedom help fulfill the \$20,000 Socialist Fund. New York 5,100 2,043 to the American people. Boston 1,200 455 Don't these dedicated young militants deserve support from NAME ..... Chicago 1,500 550 STREET ...... St. Louis 60  $\mathbf{20}$ other readers of The Millitant? 1,200 Detroit 341 ZIP...... STATE...... Fidel Castro has said that a CITY ..... General 600 170 great cause "awakens feelings of Los Angeles 4,000 757 noble generosity in man." It "edu-Send check or money order to: Allentown 125 cates them in feelings of equality Denver 70SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY and brotherhood . . . in the ideal 100 Newark that one's own work, not the ex-873 Broadway Seattle 300 ploitation of others, is the just so-New York, N.Y. 10003 cial way of earning one's living; Totals thru Nov. 6 \$20.000 \$7,651 in the idea of the right of each

ordered the company to put the 100 workers back on their jobs and pay them for the time lost. All this began four years ago. Today not one of those unionists is back on his job.

Yet Mr. Fisher can charge "... and on top of all this, labor problems have been aggravated by Government agencies which have actively helped the unions in their efforts to unionize textile workers even when they don't want to be organized . . ."

In the Oct. 24 issue of the Congressional Record we find Senator Mansfield (D-Mont.) holding forth on the copper strike, now in its fourth month. With a "curse on both your houses" posture, he puts into the record an article from the Wall Street Journal slanted against the union. Mr. Mansfield deplored the "disastrous" effects of the strike in lost state taxes. increased welfare loads, purchasing power lost by the strikers, and resultant loss of sales by consumers-goods merchants.

A letter in the Nov. 6 New York Times sets forth the union's position. Irving Dichter, union cochairman at American Smelting and Refining, answers a company spokesman's letter (printed earlier) with some pointed questions and a bit of statistics: "Industrywide bargaining is not the issue in this strike . . . but does not the union have an obligation to try to eliminate some of the anarchy in bargaining when it adversely affects its membership? Why should workers belonging to the same union have different contract expiration dates, different rates of pay for identical jobs . . .?

. "The company permits no such anarchy when it affects its vital interests. Prices of metal are uniform. Important policy matters affecting investments, expansions, sales and labor relations are decided centrally by the officers of the corporation . . .

"The real issue in this strike . . . is monetary gains for the copper workers. If Mr. Soutar (company spokesman) is prepared to place realistic monetary proposals on the table, he will be well on his way to a contract."

Mr. Dichter gives some very per-tinent statistics: "The American Smelting and Refining Co. more than tripled its net profits in the past five years. In 1961 its net was \$21,422,000. In 1966 it rose

up to \$600. Can we get it? two groups in this lofty status share of devotion. publisher of books and pamphlets Your answer can be given by Cleveland and Oakland-Berkeley on socialism, Afro-American his-The union charged the company clipping the coupon on this page

### **PAUL BOUTELLE REPORTS**

**LeRoi Jones Convicted in N.J.** 

LeRoi Jones and his co-defendants, Barry Wynn and Charles Mc-Cray, have been convicted by an all-white New Jersey kangaroo court on charges of illegal possession of weapons during the Newark rebellion. They face possible three-year sentences and \$1,000 fines. Jones is already in jail, serving 30 days on a criminal contempt charge resulting from statements he made about the jury and the court during the trial.

According to the New York Times, Oct. 25, Mr. Jones told the judge (and I agree with him): "This is not a court of justice. I read your opinion yesterday, and you are not qualified." And to the prospective jurors he said, "They are 100 white people. They are not my peers, they are my oppressors. I'm not going to be judged by you or anybody like you. I'm going to get out of here."

When Judge Kapp ordered the court attendants to take Mr. Jones into custody, he shouted: "Take me into custody for what? Because I won't be judged by this kangaroo court?'

Jones and the defense attorneys claim that the weapons were planted by the police when the three defendants were stopped, beaten and arrested while driving through Newark on July 14. They were driving a friend home from "spirit house," a theater operated by Jones. Although Jones suffered a serious head injury and showed the resulting scar to the jury, the cops who arrested him testified that none of them struck any of of the defendants.

It is a damn shame that one of the most prominent playwrights, poets and literary figures of this generation, a man who is also an outspoken advocate of human rights, should be railroaded to jail with so little response. Jones is the author of several books, including Blues People, and a collection of essays called Home. His short plays, "The Slave," "The



WASN'T BEATEN? This picture of LeRoi Jones, in wheelchair, was taken in hospital, where he had to be sent after "not being beaten" by cops.

Toilet," and "The Dutchman" (which was made into a film), are well-known.

In Washington, D.C., that Pandora's box of evil for black people, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations has opened hearings into the causes of riots. "We undertake to determine whether the outbreaks were spontaneous or if they were instigated and precipitated by the calculated design of agitators, militant activists or lawless elements," said chairman John McClellan, Democrat from Arkansas.

During the past week the attention of this committee has been focused on analyzing the so-called "riot" at Texas Southern University (TSU) in Houston, Texas. Last spring a white policeman was killed during a police raid on TSU campus. As a result five students have been framed up on charges for murder. (My column in the Oct. 23 Militant carries an interview with Lloyd Nichols, one of the "TSU Five.")

On Nov. 2 and 3 the New York Times carried reports on how testimony at the hearings showed that young antipoverty workers in Houston were "fomenting Negro unrest." Then on Nov. 4 an article appeared which admitted that some of those accused of stirring unrest were in reality undercover agents reporting to the city officials on the racial situation!

Walter H. Richter, southwest regional director of the poverty agency, told the committee: "Several times when we were inclined to question activities of certain employes, it was developed that they were doing undercover work for the communication agency and even the Mayor's office.'

to \$69,323,000 - quite some infive weeks of our three-month the creative spirit of the masses.' Lloyd Nichols of the TSU Five flation." If these words arouse your own was specifically singled out in the drive. -Marvel Scholl noble generosity, the best way to subcommittee hearings as one of Public relations firms were hired The 39 percent total collected is the "hard core group" creating express it is through a generous - and they supplied labor spies just about right at this time, and contribution to the "General" col-umn of our \$20,000 fund. We have 'dissatisfaction" in Houston. The who could ferret out secret union it is gratifying to see five areas Merit Publishers Move TSU defendants need to be supat the halfway mark or over. This members \$170 now. This needs to be boosted ported against these attacks and is all the more significant since The news media gave its full Merit Publishers, distributor and they need money to fight their battles in court. Send money to: TSU Five Defense Fund, c/o Stan Write, P.O. Box 88012, Houston, Percent 67 67 57 57 50 42 40 38 37 33 28 28 19 \_ 39%

## **Over One-Third!**

SOCIALIST FUND

#### By Evelyn Reed **Fund Director**

WE'RE OFF — on that exhilarating race to see which group of SWP supporters will come in the "firstest with the mostest" at the close of the \$20,000 Socialist Fund drive. In the scoreboard on this page you can see the results after

nation to the full enjoyment of its natural resources and the fruit of its labor . . . in feelings of love, and not of hatred and discrimination between men . . . It awakens the faith of man in himself, the faith of peoples in a better life,

THE MILITANT

## Intl. Mobilizations October 21

NEW YORK, Nov. 6 — Firsthand reports coming in from around the world continue to underline the overwhelming success of the Oct. 21-22 international mobilization against the Vietnam war. Aside from demonstrations in the U.S., the list now includes London, Paris, Dublin, Stockholm, Oslo, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, West Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Zurich, Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa and many other cities.

In London, police estimated a turnout of around 7,000 but on-thespot witnesses say it was closer to 10,000. The London demonstrators confronted more than 500 cops defending the American Embassy, and in the melee which followed more than 40 policemen were injured. The mood of solidarity was such that when a demonstrator was unfortunate enough to fall into the clutches of the police, he

### Europeans Shift Antiwar Tactics

In a special dispatch from Paris, published in the Oct. 29 New York Times, John L. Hess reports he was told by a spokesman for groups in Europe helping American soldiers to desert that a new policy has been adopted. "They are now urging servicemen to stay in the Army to spread propaganda against the war in Vietnam."

"The spokesman, who calls himself Mr. Cook but does not pretend that that is his real name," continues Hess, "said in a telephone interview that the new tactic had been imported from the United States by American servicemen, who called it 'RITA' and 'AITA' for 'Resist Inside The Army' and 'Act Inside the Army.'" It was also reported that GIs are circulating antiwar literature from the U.S. was often rescued by the crowd. Fights broke out around police

wagons as attempts were made to free those who had been arrested and placed inside. Often single policemen were isolated and surrounded. A police dog and its handler were badly mauled.

In Zurich, a capacity crowd packed an Oct. 21 rally to pass resounding declarations of solidarity with the antiwar forces in the U.S. and the National Liberation Front. The Zurich rally climaxed a day of protest actions including teach-ins sponsored by the Progressive Students of Zurich.

From Copenhagan, news comes that the Oct. 21 demonstration of 15,000 was twice as large as any previously held against the war. The overwhelming theme was opposition to U.S. imperialism and the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. In line with the internationalism of the Oct. 21 demonstrations, speakers at the Copenhagan rally included a representative of the Berlin SDS [Association of Socialist Students of Germany] and Dale Smith, Stokely Carmichael's traveling secretary.

#### Turnout of 20,000

In West Berlin there were over 20,000 participants in a march and mass rally under the slogans "Stop the War in Vietnam"; "Yankees, Get Out of Vietnam"; and "Let Vietnam Live." Berlin SDSers carried hundreds of posters with Che Guevara's picture and the slogan "Create two, three... many Vietnams!"

The West Berlin rally culminated in a massive police assault on a sit-down protest against the rightwing Axel Springer newspaper chain. In a battle lasting eight hours — until two o'clock in the morning — a number of cops and demonstrators were injured, 22 police cars were damaged, and 49 demonstrators were jailed.

By far the largest international demonstration was in Japan, where demonstrations took place in 367 cities. These protests were sponsored by left political, antiwar and trade-union organizations, including Sohyo, the General Council of Trade Unions. The total Japanese turnout has been estimated at oneand-a-half million.

'(The full story of the Oct. 8 confrontation between the Japanese Zengakuren and police guarding the Tokyo international airport is now available, with four pages of photos, in *World Outlook*, Nov. 3, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y., 10010, for 50 cents.)

#### **Bertrand Russell**

The internationalist spirit of the Oct. 21-22 demonstrations was summed up by Bertrand Russell in a statement read at the London demonstration Oct. 21:

"It is fitting that demonstrations take place today in many parts of the world. Those who demonstrate in Washington and London, in Norway and in New Zealand, do so in order to confront a single foe, just as the guerrillas in South America and the partisans of Vietnam oppose the same cruel power. A worldwide pattern of aggression requires international resistance...

"Our debt to Vietnam is enormous. How can we counterbalance the 70 million dollars which America spends every day to enact her crimes? We should not hesitate to proclaim our solidarity with the partisans of Vietnam. We must enlist millions of men and women to our cause. Each of us should accept this responsibility.

"Today's activities are no more than a beginning. So long as a single bomb falls on Vietnam, we cannot be silent. So long as a single American soldier remains in Vietnam, our obligation remains. It is in this spirit that our work should continue around the world. "It is only by this dedication

that we shall know success in the end."

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#### Monday, November 13, 1967

## **Drive Against Recruiters**

The nationwide wave of campus antiwar demonstrations that began as a prelude to the October 21 confrontation in Washington is now entering its fifth straight week.

Student demonstrators at the University of Iowa in Iowa City soaked the steps of the campus Memorial Union with their own blood Nov. 3. The action climaxed three days of protests aimed at Marine recruiters inside the building. Police arrested 108 demonstrators Nov. 1 after a six-hour sit-in on the steps of the building.

More than 150 students staged a sit-in at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia Nov. 1, protesting recruiting by the Dow Chemical Co., manufacturers of napalm, and the CIA.

At conservative Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif., about 120 students marched Nov. 1 against the CIA and Dow.

More than 300 students and 30 faculty members at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor held a sit-in Nov. 1, protesting the university's complicity in the Vietnam war through a classified Defense Department research project.

Dow job interviews were stopped at the University of Connecticut at Storrs after a sit in of 125 on Oct. 31. The *New York Times* reported Nov. 1 that "The university later said the policy of admitting all prospective employers for on-campus interviews without screening might be reconsidered."

ed." Seventy-four students at Harv-

ard College were put on probation the same day for their part in campus protests the week before.

In Madison, Wis., James Orr, 22, was sentenced to 30 days in jail Nov. 3 for participating in antiwar protests on the University of Wisconsin campus.

Thirty-four students blockaded the headquarters of the campus ROTC at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J., Nov. 6. The demonstrators arrived at the office at 6 a.m. and succeeded in preventing army officers from opening the building throughout the day.

ROTC classes were held in other classrooms, although instruction material was locked up in the headquarters building. The demonstrators, organized by the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, demanded that the federal government disband the campus ROTC.

In Chicago, 500 students picketed the Business School at the University of Chicago Nov. 6, demanding an end to on-campus interviews by Dow Chemical. A rival "recruiting booth" was set up to give out antiwar literature and posters of Che Guevara.

At the University of California campus at Berkeley about 250 students of a demonstration of 400 burst through police lines Nov. 6 to protest recruiting by the CIA and Dow Chemical. They picketed the campus placement offices, shouting "CIA, Go Away," and carrying signs reading "Better Killing Through Chemistry."

# REVIEWS

NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL-ISM: Marxist and Labor Theories of Nationalism to 1917, by Horace B. Davis. Monthly Review Press, 1967, 258 pp., \$7.50.

Nationalism, colonialism and self-determination are central questions of world politics today. But the positions and theories about them that now prevail in the Marxist movement did not appear all at once, full-grown and completely developed. They had to be fought out and worked out over a considerable period of time. Marx and Engels made a number of errors in their early years and, although they later corrected some of these and made vital contributions, they also left many aspects of these complex questions unanswered at their death. Here, as in so many areas, it was Lenin and the Bolsheviks who shed the major light and who formulated the analyses and policies that enabled Marxism to remain a living guide to revolutionary action. Horace B. Davis has performed a valuable service in this study of the literature produced on the subject in several languages from the 1840s, when Marx and Engels entered politics, to 1917, when the Russian Revolution provided a test for Lenin's theories. The movements and figures it covers

include the First and Second Internationals, Bakunin, Lassalle, Kautsky, Luxemburg, Stalin, James Connolly and Otto Bauer. (The most serious and unfortunate omission is the author's failure even to mention Trotsky and his theory of the permanent revolution, which was and is more pertinent than many discussed in the book.)

We need not agree with every one of Dr. Davis' formulations to recommend his book enthusiastically. There simply is no other work of scholarship like it in English, and American students of the subject will find it indispensable. We hope its publication and circulation will stimulate a second volume bringing the subject up to date. Students should also consult three collections translated into English in the Soviet Union during recent years: On Colonialism by K. Marx and F. Engels (no date, 382 pp., \$1.50); The National-Liberation Movement in the East by V.I. Lenin (1962), 348 pp., \$1.50); and Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism by V.I. Lenin (no date, 212 pp., 50¢ paperback). These can be ordered from Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N.Y. 10003. ---G.B.



The definitive Marxist history of the Russian Revolution by one of its two principal leaders. From the overthrow of the Czar in February to the triumph of the Bolsheviks in October. Three volumes bound as one in a handsome edition of 1,336 pages. Priced at \$13.50.

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## Lessons From the Rev

#### By Dick Roberts

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 (old calendar) occurred 50 years ago this month. This momentous event, ushering in a new era of history, is being celebrated throughout the world. But much of this celebration, in most of those countries that call themselves socialist or communist, is blandly ritualistic.

With the sole exception of revolutionary Cuba, the official ceremonies have little meaning for the present generation of radical youth engaged in real struggle and confronting real enemies.

The Soviet Union has advanced to the second industrial power and even surpassed the United States in important areas of scientific research and discovery. But the ideology promulgated by Moscow today far from corresponds to the revolutionary caliber of the Soviet Union's origins and economic and social achievements.

What the Bolshevik leaders who launched this giant step in social history really said and did at the time of the October Revolution and afterwards is largely ignored. Although Lenin was long ago elevated to the highest pedestal in the hierarchy of Communist heroes, what his Bolsheviks fought for is not taught in the schools of the Sino-Soviet bloc today nor is it practiced by either the Moscowor Peking-oriented Communist parties.

Leon Trotsky — who first explained the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution in Russia, directed the October uprising, and led the Red armies in defense of the young Soviet Republic against imperialist intervention — fared much worse. Stalin's henchman pickaxed Trotsky to death in Mexico in 1940. Trotsky's writings are suppressed in the Sino-Soviet world and those daring to read such contraband risk stiff imprisonment.

What value does the historical experience of the October Revolution have for today's revolution-aries?

To answer this question, one must begin with the successes of Soviet technological development. A country that 50 years ago lagged far behind the rest of Europe and America, with a population over 90 percent ill-fed and ill-educated peasants, has been transformed into a front-rank industrial and the second military power.

The Soviet Union is free from the economic crises and periodic catastrophes that have plagued the rest of the industrial world. It is free from unemployment. It has gone beyond the capitalist world in the emancipation of women from second-class citizenship.

It has eliminated the nagging poverty and insecurity which afflicts whole regions shunted aside by the march of industrial progress in practically every capitalist nation.

These achievements were made possible and could not have been obtained without the expropriation of the capitalist class, the nationalization of the means of production, and a planned economy. The rule of a few for their own private profit, and all the ravages, oppression and war that this implies, was abolished.

Subsequently, it is all too well known, a bureaucracy and privileged stratum emerged in Soviet Russia, which subordinated all political and economic activity to its own narrow outlook and personal interests. This antisocialist force suppressed workers democracy domestically; it attempted to, and in many cases succeeded in, holding back the world tide of revolution; it purged all the leaders of the Bolshevik Party except Stalin, imprisoning and murdering hundreds of thousands in this bloody process.

.But the fact that these bureaucrats were unable to fundamentally alter the progressive force of the socialist transformation of property testifies all the more to the power and significance of October's accomplishment.

It is monopoly capitalism, not the workers states, that leads the attack on the colonially oppressed and threatens mankind with ultimate destruction by nuclear holocaust. Overthrowing monopoly capitalism, above all in the United States, remains the most crucial task of the present period. The way this was done in 1917 teaches many lessons on how to carry forward the same struggle in 1967.

It is first necessary to understand that the working class was the social force which led the Russian people and peasants Although they represented only a small minority of the total population, the Russian workers strangled Russian capitalism.

They were able to do this because of the strategic position workers occupy in capitalist society. They live in the major cities and work in the major industries. Workers have the power to bring capitalist production to a standstill and their mass organizations have the capacity to confront the capitalist government and its armed forces head on and defeat them.

This fact is all the more significant in the advanced capitalist world of today. In the United States, the peasantry is nonexistent. There is no other sector of the population but the black and white working class — not the students and intellectuals, not the white collar workers and professionals and not even the black workers acting without reinforcement from the white workers that has the power to overthrow monopoly capitalist rule.

Any perspective of defeating U.S. imperialism on its home grounds must be based on recog-

## Che Guevara: Symbol of Bolshevik O

[The following is the closing section of the speech delivered by Tom Kerry at a rally in New York to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and to launch the 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. Tom Kerry is the editor of the International Socialist Review. We print the speech as it was taken from a tape recording.

[He began his speech with a tribute to the accomplishments of the revolution and the Soviet Union in the past 50 years, and then discussed the falsifications of the history of the revolution itself perpetrated by the Soviet bureaucracy, which, under Stalin, managed to usurp power in the first workers state. In the section of his speech before the final one printed below, Kerry dealt with the recent theses of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union entitled "Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution."]

... And most ironical of all, the much-maligned Trotsky and Trotskyism — would you believe it — rates more space in the theses than Stalin and Khrushchev combined! And with good reason.

For it is precisely those issues with which Trotskyism has been identified which remain the burning issues of the day. Let me quote.

The "Trotskyites," the theses say, "using the screen of ultra-left revolutionary phraseology," tried to impose "an adventurist policy of artificially 'pushing' the revolution in other countries and dooming the building of socialism in our country to failure."

Now I submit, friends and comrades, that it would be hard to sum up more clearly in one sentence the narrow, provincial, reactionary view that comprises the quintessence of the kind of thinking that characterizes the bureaucrats.

So that there will be no mistake as to what they are driving at, in the theses they declare, "The principal aim of Soviet foreign policy" — the principal aim of Soviet roreign policy! — "is to ensure favorable conditions to building communism" in the USSR. The instrumentality? "Consistently to implement principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems."

One can understand why --- if the principal aim of Soviet foreign policy is to insure favorable conditions for building communism in the USSR — there has not been rendered adequate material aid to the embattled Vietnamese freedom fighters. Because if, instead of aid merely sufficient to maintain the ability to resist American military aggression, the aid was sufficient to impose a stinging defeat upon the invading force, it would thereby threaten the entire status quo without which they cannot proceed to "build communism" within the borders of the Soviet Union.

Take note of the changed character of the words used in criticizing Trotsky and Trotskyism. Not long ago, when they would not argue with our views and our ideas, they would dismiss us as a bunch of wreckers, diversionists, and counterrevolutionaries, period. Now they set out to argue and they make a very bad mistake in doing so. A very bad mistake, for they are not only arguing with us. On this question and the way it's phrased in the theses, it's deliberately designed to bolster the charge that Mao is a Trotskyist. They've already made that charge. But more ominous and with greater validity, it applies to the decisions made at the recent OLAS conference in Havana, which decided, if you please, to push the revolution in other countries despite what effect that may have on the building of a communist utopia in the Soviet Union.

One of the leading comrades of the Fourth International just recently made an extensive tour of Latin America. He happened to be there at the very time that Che Guevara was murdered.

He reports to us that when he was in Chile he first heard the news of Guevara's assassination. He read it in the Chilean Communist Party organ. He said that along with a ritual obituary there was another article which assayed the task of drawing the lessons and the lesson was that the OLAS line in Latin America, of pushing the revolution in other countries instead of supporting the progressive national bourgeoisie, was an adventure.

You see, the Chilean Stalinists are not adverse to taking a leaf from the book of the bourgeoisie, for we read in the capitalist press how they chortled over the death of Che and drew the conclusion that with his murder the revolution in Bolivia, nay, in the whole of Latin America, has perished.

**Bolivian Puppets** 

body, but the specter of that hand shall haunt them to the day of their death!

For that hand shall yet become the symbol, the banner, the flag around which legions shall rally to finish the job that Che began.

Why is Che regarded with so much warmth and emotion? Especially among young rebels of this and other lands who revere his memory? Because here was a man who said what he meant and meant what he said. Here was a man who epitomized to the nth degree the unity of the word and the deed. Here was a man who not only put his body on the line but his very life.

A man who had no illusions about the nature of the struggle and no hesitations about paying the price, the price that he anticipated when he wrote his own epitaph — "Wherever death may surprise us let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

Che's battle cry has already reached tens of thousands of receptive ears and other hands are already reaching out to take up arms against the oppressor. Thousands, nay, millions, millions more will hear and respond to Che's battle cry for freedom.

And as against the bureaucratic concept of building a communist utopia in a single country and subordinating to it the revolutionary development throughout the world, the main thrust of the decisions reached at the recent OLAS conference was to counterpose in action the basic premises of the Permanent Revolution, the hallmark of Trotskyism. In their struggle for survival the Cubans place their main and ultimate reliance on the extension of the socialist revolution first to Latin America and then to the world. As John Gerassi puts it in the recent issue of Monthly Review. "Cuba's revolutionaries don't talk much of the Permanent Revolution, but they live it." In the spirit of Che they live it, and that's what counts. And here also we must not only talk about it but live it. For to think that this American ruling class, the most savage, the most brutal, the most ruthless of all in history, that this ruling class will peacefully surrender its position of power and privilege, will roll over and play dead when confronted with the unassailable



IN RED SQUARE. Lenin addresses crowd in Moscow. Trotsky is standing just to right of speaker's stand.

No, my friends, I think they're a bit premature. The murderous Bolivian puppets of Yankee imperialism took a more sober view. First they said that they had buried Che's body and even invited his relatives to come to Bolivia to view the remains in order to confirm the fact that Che was dead.

Upon second thought they changed their minds. They feared, and with good reason, that the very ground in which Che was buried would become an international shrine and a symbol of man's eternal struggle against oppression. So they cremated Che and disposed of his ashes.

But eager to provide some confirmation of his death, they amputated his hand so that the prints of his fingers could be compared with those on file in Argentina, his homeland. They burned Che's



nition of this fact. It must be based on forging an anticapitalist movement of the black masses and white section of the working class. But the Russian Revolution also

demonstrated that it is not enough simply to recognize the potentially revolutionary role of workers. It is also necessary to build a vanguard party that is capable of leading workers to power. Lenin's singular contribution to revolutionary theory and practice is precisely that he built such a party and showed future revolutionaries how this should be done.

Three aspects of Lenin's party merit particular attention: its program based on the science of Marxism; its proletarian internationalism; and its democratic-centralist organization.

Marxism has nothing in common with the viewpoint that nothing more is needed for a successful revolution than to step in at the right time and expound the right slogans. Revolutions do not crystallize out of thin air; they have to be organized.

On one side, Marxism holds a long-range perspective of the inevitability of capitalist crises on

## October

logic of the superiority of Soviet communism (if and when it is built), is a soporific pipe dream, an utter fantasy.

Now comrades, I submit, as a matter of elementary social hygiene, if not of human survival, it will be necessary to grasp — figuratively you understand — it will be necessary to grasp our capitalist rulers by the scuff of their neck and the seat of their pants and forcibly hoist them out of their seats of power. That's the meaning of Che, and that's the meaning of the Permanent Revolution.

#### Leninist Party

For this it is an indispensable prerequisite that we here in this country build a revolutionary party, a Leninist party, a combat party, a party that means what it says and says what it means, a party comprised of the best of the black liberation fighters, the rebel youth, and the revolutionary working class, because it is right here on this soil that the decisive battle will have to be fought. Nowhere else! Nowhere else.

For so long as the power remains in the hands of the American capitalist ruling class, all of the achievements and advancements made throughout the world, including the Soviet Union, remain tentative and insecure, under constant menace of thermonuclear annihilation.

It is here through our action, and only here, that we can grasp from the hands of the capitalist ruling class this frightful weapon. all levels and of the necessity of working-class revolutions to end these crises. On the other side, it emphasizes the necessity of fighting for immediate working-class interests at all times in order to advance the working masses toward the program of revolutionary socialism and the struggle for state power.

The day-to-day work of a revolutionary party is just as important as its long-run objectives. Without participating in the smallest struggles and without providing the best solutions to concrete problems, the Bolshevik Party would not have been in a position to lead the insurrection itself, nor to lead the workers and peasants in the even more difficult task of consolidating and extending the revolution after power had been achieved.

#### Internationalism

Internationalism is better understood by young radicals today than ever before. They see that the defeat of U.S. imperialism cannot be limited to one country, either in the United States itself or in the underdeveloped nations facing the guns of Washington's domination. They support this struggle from continental North America to Latin America, Africa and Asia.

The Bolshevik program was correspondingly internationalist. In fact, the Bolshevik leaders relied on and supported workers revolutions in the rest of Europe, expecting them to come to the aid of economically weak Russia. Stalin's rise to power on the back of a prostrate economy was in no small part due to the ability of capitalism to contain working-class revolutions elsewhere at that time.

The Bolsheviks viewed capitalism as a world system and they expected no peace from it. They established the Third International to coordinate and lead the fight against capitalism on a world scale. And they did not spread the illusion that either world imperialism or the world revolution would or could wait for socialism to be built in one country.

#### Democratic Centralism

The democratic-centralist organizations of a Leninist party corresponds to the perspective of defeating imperialism on a world scale. Its democracy reflects the fact that only majority rule truthfully represents the aspirations of the masses involved in struggle. But centralism is required to make democratic rule effective.

In essence, democratic-centralism means democracy in decisionmaking and unity in action. Only a unified party fighting for a common program could realistically





FRONT PAGE HEADLINE. The New York Times announces Bolshevik victory in October revolution. Bourgeois press had no misunderstandings about profound anticapitalist significance of this historic event in 1917.

carry through the task of combating world imperialism.

Overthrowing Czarism and defending this accomplishment against the invading armies of Eastern and Western imperialism was no small task. But it pales in comparison to the task of overthrowing U.S. imperialism today. Young militants are gaining an inkling of the gravity of this problem in their confrontations with cops on the streets and campuses across the country in recent weeks and when they stared down the gun barrels defending the Pentagon October 21.

Anyone who is serious about the job of defeating these militarists, expropriating the monopolies and displacing the bureaucrats in the organized trade unions, must take seriously the question of what kind of party can do this. Lenin's party offers the model upon which such a combat political organization can and must be built.

#### **National Question**

One further lesson of the October Revolution is especially pertinent for Americans. This is the role of the national minorities in the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik program on the national question. The Czarist Russia of 1917, a "prison house of peoples," contained not only the Great Russian nation of Moscow and St. Petersburg but also the Polish, Ukrainian, Georgian and many other minority peoples.

Without a proper understanding of the relationship between the specific interests of the national minorities and the struggle for socialism, the Bolsheviks would never have succeeded in overthrowing capitalism and landlordism on an all-Russian scale. Bolsheviks. It was a direct extension of the ideas of the October Revolution to the strategy of the coming American revolution.

The second aspect of the national question was embodied in Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. This explained why the struggle for self-determination could find satisfaction only through anticapitalist action and socialist revolution.

Neither the vast peasantry nor the national minorities, Trotsky pointed out, could obtain their democratic demands under any form of capitalist rule: The movement for national liberation, carried to the end, irresistibly passes over into revolutionary opposition to the capitalist regime.

This concept and its fruition through armed struggle was one of the great innovations in theory and achievements in practice of the October Revolution. It directly links the Afro-American struggle for black power in this country with the Vietnamese fight for selfdetermination, and with the traditions of the Russian Bolsheviks.

#### Tribute to Che

These tradition are much closer to rebelling American youth than they realize. On October 21, a demonstrator painted "Che lives" across the Pentagon wall. Hundreds of posters of Che were carried by the marchers. Three times in the course of the rally preceding the Pentagon confrontation, tribute was paid to Guevara by speakers from the podium.

This respect for Che Guevara and homage to the Cuban Revolution testifies to a profound desire for a just, moral society and a deep respect for those willing to put their lives on the line in the fight for its achievement. These same aspirations also belong to the tradition of the leaders of the October Revolution, no matter how Stalin and his followers subsequently distorted, warped and suppressed their socialist humanism. The traditions of October have nothing whatsoever in common with those "Communists" and "Socialists" who shamefacedly support coalition politics with the Democratic Party of imperialist America. They have nothing in common with those who envision a peaceful road to socialism and preach peaceful coexistence with world capitalism in order to justify agreements with "progressive" bourgeoisies at the expense of the working class and the colonial revolution.

Those who carry forward the spirit of Lenin's Bolshevism are those who stand for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution against U.S. imperialism; who support the Cuban Revolution and its extension through Latin America by means of armed struggle; who fight for black control of the black communities in the United States: who understand and support the young communist rebels in the Sino-Soviet bloc fighting against bureaucratic regimes for socialist democracy and internationalism.

#### Main Lessons

The central lessons of the October Revolution are eminently applicable today. These are: the necessity for a Marxist program aimed at overthrowing monopoly capitalism and replacing it by workers power; the paramount revolutionary role of the working class; the indispensability of a combat party organized along democratic-centralist lines; the revolutionary character of the struggle of oppressed peoples for self-determination and the necessity of the international coordination of this struggle against the common enemy

In this country, the movement that defends the ideas and achievements of the Russian Revolution is the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. The YSA and SWP fight most consistently on all fronts against the domestic and foreign policies of U.S. imperialism and for a socialist America.

#### Socialist Campaign

This is attested to by the revolu-

With Che, with the Cubans, with Trotsky and Lenin, not to speak of Marx and Engels, we remain firmly committed to the view that only those dedicated to the task of making revolution can be considered revolutionaries. And it is to this end, my friends and comrades, that we of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, consign our strength, our energy and our very lives. It is this, and only this, that gives real meaning to our commemoration of the 50th anniversary of that great historical event, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, which heralded the dawn of a new day for all mankind. A dream that will come to fruition only when the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, the revolutionary Leninist party, leads the American masses to their October here in this country.

V. I. Lenin

Two aspects of this relationship were emphasized: the democratic right of self-determination and the revolutionary character of the struggle for self-determination.

The Bolsheviks respected and supported the complete justness and validity of the democratic demand of the oppressed minorities for self-determination, self-rule. It is a little-known aspect of American radicalism that it took the victory of the Bolsheviks to drive home this lesson concerning the black population to the revolutionary vanguard in the United States. Whatever its later vicissitudes

under Stalinist misleadership, the recognition by the Communists in the early 1920s of the just right of black Americans to independent struggle for their own liberation was imparted by the Russian tionary character of the presidential campaign just launched by the SWP. The campaign will challenge the capitalist parties and programs on all issues, above all those which most vitally concern America today: the Vietnam war and the oppression of black people.

These two issues expose the real nature of the capitalist system and the impossibility of removing its evils at home and abroad without changing the system itself.

There is no better way to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution than by carrying forward the anti-imperialist and socialist struggle it embodied. Today that struggle extends from the black ghettos of the United States to Vietnam. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are dedicated to leading that struggle to the end. We urge you to join us.

## **UAW-Big Three Talks Entering Second Stage**

#### **By Frank Lovell**

document governing labor-management relations in the auto industry for the next three years passed one stage of the drafting process when Ford Motor Company and the United Automobile Workers reached agreement on wage scales at the end of the 48day Ford strike.

The second stage of negotiations, now nearing completion, is being conducted by Chrysler Corporation and the UAW and centers upon the question of standard wages in the industry for auto workers in both Canada and the United States.

The third stage and final ratification will occur when General Motors, which dominates the industry and exercises veto powers over all matters within the councils of the Big Three, comes to negotiate with the UAW.

The agreement on wages and fringe benefits signed by Ford amounts to an overall average increase of \$1 per hour spread over the next three years

**UAW** President Walter Reuther was forced to comply with the demand of the corporations to limit the cost-of-living "escalator" clause so that in the coming three years wages will not rise more than 16 cents per hour above the base scale regardless of how high prices may skyrocket.

Spokesmen for Chrysler and General Motors have expressed satisfaction with the wages and benefits provisions of the UAW-Ford contract and agreed to it within their own councils before Ford signed.

During the past week auto workers in Ford's 45 supplier plants have been pressured by top UAW officials to ratify their "local issues" contracts and end the strike. These "local issues" have to do with union control of working conditions and often are more important and harder to resolve than the question of wages.

Ford and the UAW have announced that agreement has been reached at all parts plants. At six of Ford's 16 assembly plants no agreement has yet been reached.

The UAW has set Nov. 8 as the strike deadline for Chrysler. However, Reuther was quoted as saying, "We obviously are committed to do everything possible to avoid a strike," thus leaving open the possibility of further postponement

Even though Chrysler is the smallest of the Big Three, the scope of negotiations is no less complex.

One of the biggest "local issues" problems at Chrysler is the present drive by the corporation to cut down the number of union stewards in its plants. UAW workers have traditionally demanded more stewards as a means of ex-

### **Draft Resister**

DETROIT, Nov. 5 — The basic ercising greater control over production standards. Chrysler, in line with industry policy, is firmly opposed to union interference with what it calls "management prerogatives." Chrysler wants to reduce the number of stewards in order to conform with General Motors standards — where there are fewer stewards.

These matters, which are closest to the lives of the workers, do not loom large in "top table" negotiations. The overriding question there at this juncture is equal pay for U.S. and Canadian auto workers. This is a very far-reaching question having to do with national differences imposed and maintained by the auto monopoly in the service of its own interests. It entails tariff regulations between the two countries, currency exchange, and inflationary pressures within the Canadian economy. But most of all it threatens. the present cozy arrangement, resulting from the 1965 U.S.-Canadian agreement, which allows the auto monopoly to manufacture in a common market, and gives it the advantage of selling on both sides of a tariff wall.

Canadian auto workers earn an average of 43 cents an hour less than their UAW brothers here. Cars in Canada sell for much higher prices.

This is an injustice to the Canadian workers and a threat to UAW members here, because the auto monopoly can exchange assembled units as well as parts freely across the border while taking advantage of lower wages and higher prices on the Canadian side.

An advantage the UAW has in this present dispute is the support it receives from the New Democratic Party of Canada, which is a labor party supported by the Canadian unions.

Spokesmen for NDP in the Canadian parliament have declared their full support of the proposition of equal pay for equal work and opposition to monopoly control of prices.

The auto industry, quite naturally, does not choose to pursue such questions. Reuther introduces them into the negotiations and industry spokesmen readily agree they are knotty problems and try to push them aside.

Reuther, for his part, is content simply to raise such complex issues, hoping in this way to wheedle a small concession in another area.

Negotiations between the UAW and Chrysler Corporation are expected to reach agreement without a general strike there. However, the settlement of local issues will surely provoke some walkouts

General Motors will negotiate with the UAW for final settlement of union contracts in the industry. In preparation the union has instituted a program of local job action designed to limit GM pro duction, and workers in many locals are refusing overtime. The union contract with GM will be tailored to the profit demands of the industry and will set the pattern for working conditions and production standards in the shops. For this reason it is considered likely that the UAW will be forced to strike GM and that such a strike will be lengthy. The general attitude and concern at the moment of UAW officials was revealed in a letter of Nov. 1 by UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey to all UAW Chrysler and General Motors local unions: "I urge you to immediately send to my office the Emergency Strike Fund Dues collected during the month of October 1967. The International Union needs this cash immediately in order to avoid the necessity of turning some of our investments into cash . . .

## **Black Liberation Notes**

In Daytona, Fla., pro-black power students at Bethune-Cookman College are running up against strong administration resistence to their activities. School authorities are so anxious not to offend white financial contributors that they are even cracking down on natural hair styles and the use of the world "black."

Early in the school year an Afro-American Student Union was formed, but the administration refused to recognize it on the grounds that a black power organization wasn't needed on campus and that the campus NAACP chapter (which is inactive) should suffice to coordinate political activity. The real reason for the refusal, probably has more to do with the fact that after Stokely Carmichael spoke on campus last year one rich white lady withdrew a \$20,000 contribution.

#### \* \* \*

Even the clergy are organizing for black power. The National Committee of Negro Churchmen, until now a loosely organized group of about 300, has held a conference in Dallas aimed at increasing the influence of Afro-Americans in such organizations as the National Council of Churches.

If it becomes well organized the black organization could have considerable influence, perhaps even veto power, over church policies in urban areas.

recently about a South African who was "reclassified" from white to colored was a reminder of the depth of the psychological sickness in that country which the U.S. treats as part of the "free world." In South Africa there is sometion board." It decides in borderline cases, largely on the basis of how a person looks, in which of white, black, colored or Asian. How a person is classified deterileges he will live under.

#### \* \* \*

A recent New York Times article carried the headline, "Study Finds Gain in Negro Income Johnson Asserts Statistics Answer the Extremists." The article reported on a "statistical portrait of the Negro" done on orders from

Fort Hood Three Case Two justices of the U.S. Su-Stewart. Stewart's vote came as a preme Court voted, in separate surprise and in his dissent he

Supreme Court Rejects



parity in incomes even tends to grow as the level of education increases: an Afro-American college graduate averages \$5,928 a year while his white counterpart earns an average of \$9,023.

Another fact revealed in the survey is that black families with two or more jobholders still earn less money than an average white family with one.

#### \* \* \*

The tirade against black power recently presented at a Southern Regional Council dinner by Afro-American psychologist Kenneth Clark served to show just how brainwashed and removed from reality this man is.

Clark claims that black power is based on a "fear of the removal of racial barriers." What are black power advocates afraid of? According to Clark it is "the tests of free and open competition" which are open to Afro-Americans through integration. The "vulnerable egos" of black people, he says, are afraid to meet "a single standard of competence."

The problem, it seems, is not that black people have never been afforded for one minute "a single standard of competence there isn't enough "will" to make it in this competitive, dog-eat-dog, racist society.

## \* \* A story appearing in the press lions. "the diagnosis of blackness and

thing called a "race reclassificafour catagories he belongs mines his whole existence, including where he lives, whom he can marry, what jobs he can hold and what general oppressions or priv-

## **Loses in Appeal**

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in an Oct. 5 decision in Seattle, Wash., upheld the conviction of Russel Wills for "refusing to submit to induction" into the Army. Wills is facing a five-year sentence for destroying his draft card and pledging noncooperation with the Selective Service System in protest of the war in Vietnam.

Wills, 25, is working on his Ph.D. at the University of Washington. He began his fight more than two years ago with a letter to his draft board in October, 1965, announcing he had destroyed his draft card. He was one of the first opponents of the draft to receive such a stiff sentence. He plans to appeal to the Supreme Court.

dissenting opinions Nov. 6, that the Supreme Court should rule on cases contesting the legality of U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam.

The decision before the court was whether or not to hear the appeal of the Fort Hood Three, Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. David Samas and Pvt. Dennis Mora. The three antiwar GIs are serving threeyear terms at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., for refusing to serve in Vietnam on the grounds that the war is illegal and immoral.

The rules of the court require that four judges must vote to hear an appeal or the court will not take it up. Since only two judges voted in favor of hearing the case, the three courageous GIs will be denied even a hearing before the Supreme Court.

The two dissenting judges were William O. Douglas and Potter

raised a number of serious questions for the court that were posed by the case of the Fort Hood Three:

despair: that there has been no

recent progress for Negroes in

America and that violence is

A close look at the statistics,

however, gives an insight into just

how much "progress" has been

achieved. While it is true that

there has been an increase in the

number of black families earning

over \$7,000, the standard of living

in the city ghettos is getting no

better and often worse. In Cleve-

land's Hough district, for example,

the median family income has de-

creased from \$4,732 to \$3,966 be-

tween 1960 and 1966. During that

same period the number of fam-

ilies below the poverty level has

According to the survey the

increased from 31 to 39 percent.

therefore a logical remedy."

Is the present United States military activity in Vietnam a 'war" in the Constitutional sense? If so, can the President send soldiers to fight there when no war has been declared by Congress?

Was the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which Johnson has used to "legalize" the war in Vietnam, "a Constitutionally impermissible delegation of all or part of Congress's power to declare war?'

Justice Stewart said in his dissent that the three GIs had raised "large and deeply troubling questions," and he added that "we cannot make these problems go away simply by refusing to hear the case of three obscure Army privates."

#### -Elizabeth Barnes

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P.O. Box 2303 New York, N.Y. 10001

## 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.]

#### Protest at Irish Consulate

New York, N.Y.

On Nov. 11 a demonstration will be held at the Irish Consulate here for Joe Dillon, 22, an Irish republican, who was sentenced to five years in prison last May, charged with attempted armed robbery of a Dublin rent office. The circumstances of Dillon's sentencing cast grave discredit on the conduct of justice in Ireland. Before his arrest for the alleged crime, Dillon had stated that he had been offered bribes by the Special Branch (the Irish Political Police) to inform on the Irish Republican Army and that when he refused he was told by them that they would "get him."

Six months after the robbery attempt of which he was accused, Dillon was taken from his home by the Special Branch and brought before witnesses along with two other IRA men. None of the witnesses identified him.

A year later he was brought to trial and charged with taking a car without the owner's consent, attempted armed robbery and illegal possession of a revolver. The only evidence was a thumbprint found on the gateway car which, according to a state witness, bore 14 points of resemblance to Dillon's print (Scotland Yard normally demands 21 points of resemblance before they will make a positive identification). No revolver was found.

An appeal has since reduced his sentence to three years, but the matter cannot be allowed to rest there. This man is innocent and should be released immediately. Those wishing to protest this injustice, can come to the demonstra-

Weekly Calendar

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is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent dis-

count for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to

BOSTON

DEFEND LATIN AMERICAN POLI-TICAL PRISONERS. Speakers: Rogelio Reyes, professor at U. of Mass.; and

Richard Garza, co-chairman, U.S. Com-

mittee for Justice to Latin American

Political Prisoners. Friday, Nov. 17, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Hall 307.

. .

DETROIT

50 YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVO-LUTION. Speaker: Tom Kerry, editor, International Socialist Review. The im-

the date of publication.

Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

tion that will be held at the Irish Consulate (on 50th St., between Park and Madison Avenue - One block east of St. Patrick's Cathedral) on Saturday, Nov. 11 from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m.

#### Brian Scanlon

#### Che: An Inspiration Ottawa, Canada

Congratulations on your October 23 issue; it contains the finest articles I have ever read on one of the great revolutionaries of our time. It is very gratifying to see the story of Che Guevara handled with such honesty and integrity. It is in fact a true inspiration. as he was, to those of us committed to the changing of our present society.

Keep up the excellent work. Venceremos. M.S.

#### Learned Librarian

New York, N.Y. I heard Paul Boutelle speak Oct. 30 at the Socialist Workers Party election rally, and found the material he quoted from W.E.B. DuBois' A.B.C. of Color so interesting that I betook myself to the New York Public Library a few days later, thinking to browse through the book.

But I was unable to find that particular title in the library's card catalog and, after making a thorough search, decided that I would seek help.

"I am looking for the A.B.C. of Color, by W.E.B. DuBois," I said to an erudite-looking gentleman at the information desk. "I can't find it in the card catalog and have a feeling that it may be part of a larger work whose title I don't know. Can you help me?'

"What is the author's first name?" he inquired.

"Well, his first name is William, but he's known as W.E.B. DuBois. And the title I'm looking for is the A.B.C. of Color."

"I suggest you try the Art Library," the gentleman said. "Material about color would be there." R.S.

#### Oct. 21 in Toronto

Toronto, Canada The demonstration of Oct. 21 in Toronto has brought out a few interesting facts.

First: The crowd was ten times as big as it ever was in the antiwar movement on this side of the border. Five thousand marched to city hall.

This represented a real escalation. The Mobilization Committee must prepare for a new escalation in 1968, for Johnson is probably planning another escalation at this stage of the game," as he puts it. The press gave more publicity

than ever before, at least prior to the day of the demonstration. The police were quite stiff, however, and the municipal government quite hostile. Coming down Yonge Street with our signs we were interfering with the daily life of the city, we were in the way of traffic and shoppers.

We were showing the people what is more important than shopping or going places for the weekend. Next time we should have loudspeakers or sound trucks and call on Torontonians, the Canadian people, to wake up and protest with us. We need hundreds of thousands, not only 5,000. C.D.

#### To the Chief Dictator

Midlothian, Md. I am one of the millions of people who have learned the true facts of why the U.S. has got men in Vietnam murdering and incinerating innocent people with bombs and napalm.

I wrote a letter to President Johnson, the "Chief Dictator," to show that we have to be bold enough to stand up to the dictators in Washington and let them know that we know why we are in the war in Vietnam.

I told Johnson that the U.S. capitalist class has billions invested in South Vietnam and we are acting as copartners with the South Vietnamese capitalists. We know the Ky government is completely controlled by the U.S. And we also know that the South Vietnamese capitalists exploit the workingclass people and poor people so that they cannot exist, and they had to rise up in revolution.

The U.S. government goes ahead, obeying their masters, the capitalists, not caring how many children and innocent people get murdered with U.S. bombs, just so they keep their masters' profits protected.

I wouldn't have the blood of any person on my hands for all Wall Street's wealth.

The U.S. capitalists owned all of Cuba, and had the people exploited so bad that it took a revolution led by Castro to emancipate Cuba from under Batista and the

U.S. dictatorship

The U.S. capitalists have spilled blood in most countries of the world or have caused it to be spilled. How much more bloodshed are the leaders of the U.S. going to get us in?

I thank God that the people in the U.S. are waking up by the millions each month and learning why men are being sent to Vietnam. A nine-year-old boy would have had more brains than to get the U.S. involved in Vietnam. Most people in the U.S. know the government is not spending millions of dollars each day in Vietnam to "free" anybody.

The U.S. should completely withdraw from Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people determine their own government.

William Cecil Midlothian, Md. 21543

#### Thought for the Week

"The intriguing thing about folks in Lyndon Johnson's executive branch of Government nowadays is not what they're doingvery little new-but what they're suffering: Disenchantment. Exhaustion. Resentment. Listlessness. Terror. Disorientation. Suspicion. Joylessness. Hate. A sense of being misunderstood by the populace, persecuted by Congress, debauched by the White House and betrayed by colleagues. Worst of all, a loss of self-confidence." — Wall Street Journal, Nov. 8.

## It Was Reported in the Press

Calling Dr. Strangelove - Reporting on how the Vietnamese guerrillas dropped a few mortars on the Saigon presidential palace during the Humphrey visit, the New York Times described Gen-Westmoreland's reaction: eral "General Westmoreland, resplendent in black tie, gold braid, a short white jacket and medals, did not so much as blink. He finished a sentence in conversation with friends without interrupting himself, and then commented evenly, 'It sounded like recoiless rifle fire to me, and incoming."

Morality - Rep. William Cramer, (R-Fla.) urged more "wiretapping and electronic surveil-"We need a moral renaislance." sance in America," he explained.

Creative Non-Creativity --- Lawrence D'Aloise, director of creative review boards at the J. Walter Thompson ad agency, warned against too much creativity. "It can be fatal," he explained, creatively, "to let technical excellence overwhelm sellence excellence."

Art and Reality - Approving a University of West Florida decision to remove MacBird from the list of productions by the student drama group, the Pensocola Journal said the play was "a scurrilous attack on the man who is, after all, the president of the United States." Or, as MacBird put it, "I know I am not immune to personal attacks . . . I will suffer much slander myself, suffer in silence. But I will not permit attacks upon our President."

Mixed Bag — Your junk mail may include a 7-cent--off coupon for a \$1,000 crocodile attaché case by Fabergé, filled with "Brut products." We checked around and apparently Fabergé is a perfume house while Brut seems to suggest champagne. At that price it might well be a perfume you drink, or a champagne you use for the scent.

LSD on Formosa? — We're a little late in reporting it, but apparently there's still time. On Oct. 10 Chiang Kai-shek predicted that there would be a swift, decisive victory over the Red Army when his troops got around to invading China.

Public Notice — We are not anti-steak and we can no more vouch for the reliability of the

National Enquirer than we can of the New York Times. So we are merely reporting that an Enquirer article states: "Are you among the millions of Americans who enjoy charcoal-broiled steaks in backyard cookouts? If so, you may be courting deadly cancer. For a scientific study shows that a welldone charcoal-broiled steak contains as much benzpyrene — a substance that produces cancer in animals — as a smoker would inhale by breathing in 3,000 cigarettes.

Fashion Tip-A patent has been issued for a woman's purse designed for a pistol, ammunition, handcuffs, badge and other police accessories. It's intended for "lady peace officers," whose conventional bags tend to bulge with the tools of the trade, making surveillance work more difficult.

Biggest Fear of the Week -Lynda Bird confided to newsmen: "It's hard as the President's daughter to go to another place. You're afraid people will like you because you're the President's daughter, not because you're a nice girl."

-Harry Ring



FOR



The November-December issue of the International Socialist



significance tor baay radicals. Friday, Nov. 17, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

pact of the Russian Revolution and its

LOS ANGELES LESSONS OF THE RUSSIAN REVO-LUTION. Speaker: Milton Alvin, national committee member, Socialist Workers Party, Friday, Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m. 1702 Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK MASS ACTION AND CONFRONTA-TION — A discussion by student lead-ers in the antiwar movement. Friday, Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18tr St.). Donation \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. 

TWIN CITIES GREECE TODAY — The political re-ality and the struggle against Greek re-action. Speaker: George Tselos, U. of Minnesota History Dept. Friday, Nov 17, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Mpls. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Review is a special issue on the Organization of Latin American Solidarity conference (OLAS) recently held in Havana.

It contains the complete text of Fidel Castro's speech to the closing session. Castro not only deals with the problems of the Latin American revolution, but expresses the solidarity of the Cubans with the black struggle in the U.S.

In addition, the ISR reprints the General Declaration on Revolutionary Policy unanimously adopted by the OLAS delegates.

Finally, it contains an evaluation of the OLAS conference by Joseph Hansen, editor of The Militant, who attended OLAS as a reporter for this newspaper.

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# THE MILITANT Boutelle Riles Racists On La. Election Tour By Doug Jeness Paul Boutelle. Socialist Worker at the campus Union Theater.

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers at the campus Union Theater. Party candidate for Vice President, stirred up considerable controversy during a campaign speaking tour in Louisiana. Even before he arrived, there were front-page articles in the Daily Reveille, the student newspaper at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge describing the sensation the socialist candidate had created a week earlier at the University of Oklahoma.

Boutelle was scheduled to speak at LSU on Oct. 31, but the meeting was called off at the last minute. The sponsors of the meeting, the University Christian Movement and the Student Liberal Federation, had gone through all the prescribed channels to get permission for Boutelle to speak. Then, a day or two before the meeting, the two organizations were informed by the university administration that a second speaker, Jack L. Welch, statewide coordinator of the John Birch Society, was to be included in their program.

This abrupt departure from normal procedure was the result of strong pressure on the administration from a group of local rightwingers called the "No-Never-No Corp.'

In addition, State Representative Barry Christian threatened to cut the university's budget if Boutelle spoke.

Refusing to go along with this flagrant violation of students' rights to organize a meeting without administration intervention, the two sponsoring organizations canceled the meeting.

In its place another meeting was held, off campus, under the auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union. Over 350 people showed up for this meeting, which was televised by a local station. There was some heckling from right-wingers and someone kept blinking the lights off and on. A few smoke bombs were thrown into the audience.

Nevertheless, by the time the meeting was over, Boutelle had won over many of the neutral members of the audience and even a few of the hostile ones.

Meanwhile, 1,300 students who didn't know the meeting on campus had been canceled, showed up

### **Cleveland YSA** To Celebrate Oct. Revolution

CLEVELAND - The Young Socialist Alliance will sponsor a Midwest Fall Conference here Nov. 18 and 19 in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolu-

The president of the Student Government Association and the editor of the Daily Reveille came out strongly against the administration's policy toward the Boutelle meeting. SGO President Roger Ogden announced he was calling a president's cabinet meeting where he would ask the chancellor to clarify the administration's speaker policy.

Members of the Student Liberal Federation announced they were filing a complaint with the Southern Accreditation Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges.

While in Baton Rouge, Boutelle also spoke to 250 enthusiastic students at Southern University, an all-black school. A considerable amount of socialist and black power literature was sold there.

Boutelle won a number of new supporters to the SWP ticket while in Louisiana, and vigorous efforts are now under way to get the ticket on the ballot in that state.



**Paul Boutelle** 

NEW YORK — More than 350 people squeezed into the hall of the Militant Labor Forum here Nov. 3 to pay tribute to the fallen Latin American revolutionary, Ernesto Che Guevara.

The crowd heard Pedro Juan Rua, of the New York branch of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Julius Lester of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Elizabeth Sutherland, author of a forthcoming book on Cuba; Edward Boorstein, an economist who worked in Cuba under Guevara; Derrick Morrison, a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance; Paul Sweezy, coeditor of Monthly Review; and Edward Shaw, national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Pedro Juan Rua, the first speaker, said it was necessary to follow Che's example, and not merely pay lip service to him as a martyr. He also castigated some ultraleftists in the U.S. who denigrate Che and other Cuban leaders as "petty bourgeois."

The SNCC representative, Julius Lester, recalled all the other revolutionaries who have fallen in the struggle, many unknown, and the contribution they have all made. He spoke movingly of the sacrifices of the ordinary rank and filers who carry on the revolutionary struggle in its most difficult days and often die before the glorious and tumultuous victories are achieved. He was given an ovation by the crowd.

Che's abilities as an administrator, organizer and economist were discussed by Edward Boorstein from his first-hand experience with the revolutionary leader. He described some of Che's personal characteristics.

Elizabeth Sutherland quoted



RALPH SCHOENMAN. Secretary to Bertrand Russell speaking at New York memorial meeting for Che.

from a moving letter Che sent his daughter on her 10th birthday, and pointed to Che's qualities as a humanist. She also chided those who, at other meetings or in articles, had used the occasion of Che's death to attack his ideas.

Che's qualities as a thinker as well as a man of action were discussed by Derrick Morrison of the YSA. Morrison also discussed the guilt of U.S. imperialism in the murder of Che, and in the murder of Malcolm X.

Paul Sweezy recalled his visits with Che in Cuba and in New York when Che came to address the United Nations. He placed special stress on Che's ability as a revolutionary thinker.

An unscheduled speaker was Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell, who had just arrived in New York after being expelled from Bolivia by the Barrientos military dictatorship.

Monday, November 13, 1967

Schoenman had been in Bolivia to seek information concerning the violations of civil rights and of the Bolivian constitution in the case of Régis Debray.

The military regime confiscated his passport (he is a U.S. citizen), preventing him from returning to his work in England. They turned his passport over to U.S. authorities, who claim it is no longer valid because Schoenman had traveled to North Vietnam in connection with the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal; and they put Schoenman on a plane bound for Miami.

Fresh from seeing Régis Debray in Bolivia, Schoenman described the agony Debray felt over Che's death after having lived with the guerrillas headed by Che.

#### **Other Martyrs**

Schoenman referred to two other martyrs of the revolutionary socialist movement, Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky. Like them Che set an example that had real meaning only if it were followed.

Edward Shaw contrasted the honesty of Che and the other Cuban leaders with the lying propaganda and hypocritical attitude of the capitalist rulers of this country. He explained that Che's position on armed struggle in Latin America, the same position affirmed by the recent OLAS conference, was in actuality the only position possible for those seeking genuine social change. The conditions in Latin America, he said, make armed struggle the only possible form of struggle, and to be against armed struggle means to be against struggle, period. Shaw said that revolutionists in the United States must not allow the ruling class to determine the tactics of the movement for social change. With Che and Malcolm X, he said, the SWP stands for struggle "by any means necessary."

## International Salute to Che

An indication of the love and admiration for Che Guevara among revolutionaries throughout the world has been manifested in the weeks since his death in memorial meetings in many countries.

In Cuba, where he was known best, hundreds of thousands came to hear Fidel Castro pay tribute to Che on Oct. 18. Cuba was the only government to pay Guevara the respect he deserved, declaring a month of mourning and dedication to Che's example.

More than 1,500 students at the National University of Mexico in Mexico City paid homage to Che Guevara Oct. 19. The meeting was held in the auditorium of the aculty of Ph ilosophy and Leaders of all the different revolutionary groups were on the platform (with the notable exception of the Communist Youth, the organization of the Mexican Communist Party).

Santiago Diaz, a representative of the Cuban embassy, was on the platform, but did not speak. When he was introduced, the audience gave him an ovation that lasted 10 minutes.

The major address at the meeting was given by Stan Newens, member of Parliament for Epping. Some 1,600 revolutionists, mostly youth, packed a large meeting ball at the Mutualité in Paris Oct. 19 to mourn the death of Che Guevara.



The meeting was organized by the French revolutionary youth organization Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [JCR - Revolutionary Communist Youth]. The meeting was originally planned in honor of the Cuban revolution and the first conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity.

But when the reports about the death of Che Guevara were confirmed, the organizers changed the main theme of the meeting to an evaluation of Che's contribution to the world revolution.

The meeting was chaired by one of the JCR leaders, Henri Weber. The main speakers were Alain Kriv ine, the political secret arv of the JCR; Jeannette Abel, a member of the JCR who lived in Cuba for some time; the well-known French literary critic, Maurice Nadeau, who visited Cuba at the time of the July 26 celebration this year and the OLAS conference; and the Belgian revolutionary socialist, Ernest Mandel, who also visited Cuba last summer. Ernest Mandel devoted most of his speech to recollections of a long interview that Che Guevara had granted him; and he stressed the stature of the great revolutionist in the development of both the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism. "To honor the memory of Che Guevara," he concluded, "we should not weep nor mourn for our dead comrade and brother. Che would have wanted us to do but one thing: to continue his struggle, on all fronts, until the final victory is won."

tion. Speakers for the celebration will include:

Tom Kerry, editor of the International Socialist Review, who will talk on "The October Revolution — Lessons for Today."

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP speaking on "The American Working Class and the Russian Revolution."

Judy Watts, national committee member of the YSA, who will speak on the topic "Is the Russian Revolution of 1917 Significant for the Black Struggles of Today?"

Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP candidate for President, who will speak on "The Russian Revolution and the Fight for Peace."

The Saturday speeches will begin at 11:15 and 2:30 and will be followed by a party at 8 p.m. Sunday talks will begin at 9:30 and 12 noon. The conference will be held at Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Behind the platform, an enormous banner stretched across the stage, bearing a portrait of Che, a Cuban flag and black crepe.

The meeting sent greetings to the demonstrators in the United States scheduled to go to Washington Oct. 21 for the confrontation with the war-makers.

Afterward, at a vigil on the main esplanade of the university, the huge portrait of Che was raised and the flag was lowered to half mast.

In London, 600 people attended a meeting Oct. 24 sponsored by the New Left Review, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

**Che Guevara** 

### **Jobless Rate Up**

Unemployment rose sharply in October for second straight month to highest level since October 1965. Hardest hit are teenage unemployment at 15.1 per cent, up from 13.8 per cent, and non-white unemployment at 8.8 per cent, up from 7.9 per cent.