

# THE MILITANT

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U. S. napalm attack in Vietnam

## Nixon's Vietnam threat

### PAUL BOUTELLE for Mayor of New York

### Vote Socialist Workers



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SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE  
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This poster initiated New York socialist campaign. Story page 9.

#### An Editorial

President Nixon's declaration that "we will not tolerate attacks which result in heavier casualties to our men at a time that we are honestly trying to seek peace at the conference table" has the sickening ring of the big-lie technique.

With U. S. bombs raining down on South Vietnam to an extent never before known in war; with more than half a million American men stationed in that country to carry out a genocidal war for the petty dictators in Saigon; it is clear who bears the blame for American and other casualties in that country.

The administration's hypocritical outrage over the NLF response to their continuing warfare shows that now, as when Washington first launched its invasion, the purpose is to crush a national liberation struggle. Nixon is apparently indignant because the Vietnamese refuse to yield despite Washington's bombs.

He also resents the fact that the NLF actions help expose Washington's lying face in Paris. Nixon — like Johnson before him — is using the Paris talks to lull the American people into believing that the end of the war is near and that Washington is seeking peace.

In reality, Washington is stepping up its aggression against South Vietnam.

On Feb. 11, just three weeks before the new NLF offensive, the *New York Times* carried an analysis of U. S. objectives in South Vietnam, written by its chief Saigon correspondent, Charles Mohr.

Mohr stated "the South Vietnamese plan to bring the number of hamlets with some security protection [read "Saigon control"] to more than 8,000 by April. There are approximately 12,300 hamlets in South Vietnam . . ."

In addition "there are about 2,500 villages in South Vietnam. Only 1,100 have elected [read "Saigon controlled"] village councils . . ."

"The allied command plans to continue its *highly offensive* operations (emphasis added) meant to pursue Vietcong units and political agents," Mohr concluded.

Two days later, Feb. 13, the *New York Times* revealed that a U. S. Marine "Search and clear" operation in Quangtri province had been launched Jan. 22. "The Marines reported that by last Monday they had killed 57 enemy soldiers and that their losses were 18 dead and 63 wounded."

That is the shooting war, the war of aggression that the vast majority of American people want brought to an end. To do so requires nothing less than removing every last GI from Vietnamese soil. No confidence can be placed in the Nixon administration or the Paris talks to carry out this task.

The antiwar movement must continue to build massive protests against the war like the April 5-6 demonstrations set for Easter weekend. Such actions show that the American people will not be tricked by Washington's lies and hypocritical blusters, that they know all too well the war, death and destruction continue as Washington directs. Such actions show the American people want the troops brought home now.



# Berkeley TWLF appeals for aid

"Legitimate and reasonable demands"

Berkeley, Calif.

As many of you know, the Third World Liberation Front (an alliance of Black, Brown, Red and Yellow students) of the University of California at Berkeley has been striking against the university for the past four weeks. The strike was called after nine months of pleading with the university, faculty and administration to address themselves to the needs of Third World students and their respective communities. All efforts have been fruitless.

It is important that the members of our communities and all other people who believe in human dignity understand that we are engaged in a just struggle for legitimate and reasonable demands. We need everyone's help. The central issues of the strike are issues which affect Third World students and their communities — university employment practices, increased Third World enrollment, university sponsorship of community programs, and the establishment of a Third World College of Ethnic Studies are all issues of tremendous importance and consequence for Third World communities and society in general.

If we are to succeed, we must have the help of everyone!

There have been 81 arrests since the struggle began. In almost every case we have had to pay excessive bail to free those arrested. While our spirits will not be broken by any tactics — we are near to being broken financially. We will appreciate contributions in any amount to our bail fund from any concerned groups or individuals. All checks should be made payable to "Legal Defense Fund" and sent to 1141-B 9th Street, Albany, Calif. In return for your support, you can rest assured that we will continue to struggle in your behalf.

All power to the people.

TWLF

## 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.

### Article cleared up

### much confusion

Philadelphia, Pa.

I would like to thank you and George Breitman very much for his article entitled "Is It Wrong for Revolutionaries to Fight for Reforms?" (see *Militant* Feb. 28).

This article is excellent in that it points out clearly the distinctions between reform and reformism, revolution and reformism, utopianism ("you have to just sit still until the revolution comes") and practicality ("you have to struggle to gain certain reforms in order to make the revolution come as soon as possible").

I recently talked to a member of the Socialist Labor Party and I now understand exactly where the difference between that party and the SWP lies. The SLP knows that the capitalist system must be destroyed, knows a socialist revolution is necessary, but turns its back on having anything to do with the building of that revolution.

It can be seen very clearly from the antiwar movement and from the black struggles taking place on university campuses, as well as from other struggles in this country today, that fighting for reforms is tremendous tool in the building of that revolution.

It must be accompanied by an awareness that this system will never reform itself into being a socially, politically and economically productive system. It must also be accompanied by an unflagging education of the masses about the kind of system that is needed and the revolution needed to bring it about. But that struggle to gain whatever can be gained — right here and now — is necessary.

Many people are confused about the place that reform has in the radical movement, and I think this article has cleared up much of this confusion in many radical minds. This kind of educational article is one of the most important things your newspaper has to offer to its readers.

Thanks again.

C. L.

### Harry Who?

Los Angeles, Calif.

The *Militant* is really great, especially with all the improvements and the expanded size.

A sports editor is definitely needed, however, to clue Harry Ring in on those esoteric facts — i.e., Joe Who? and Bart Starr.

C. and P. S.

### Wants consolidation

Royal Oak, Mich.

The most urgent task facing the left today can be easily cited as that of consolidation. With all its apparent fervor and dedication, the left as a loosely drawn coalition has, I feel, been disappointingly inefficient in battling the injustices of the plutocracy.

This solidification, including any movement wishing to join, would have to first contract a truly revolutionary constitution. It would follow that all the white bourgeoisie and black Toms who lack the conviction to detach themselves from the oligarchic structure could withdraw.

One would need not agree com-

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The closing news date for this issue was March 7

pletely with the principles of the constitution, he need only feel that he would have a better chance advancing his ideas if such a revolution were successful and therefore, lend himself to the revolution with hand and soul.

This new party would then have to draw up a list of specific demands, and raise hell if they were not met.

T. S.

### PL school of debate

New York, N.Y.

I wrote a letter to the Feb. 7 *Militant* defending the idea that nationalist struggles can and do grow over into socialist revolutions, refuting the Progressive Labor thesis that all nationalism — especially black nationalism — must be reactionary.

To prove my point I gave three examples of struggles that began as movements for national liberation and developed into socialist revolutions: Yugoslavia, Cuba and North Vietnam.

About a week later a Fordham University student showed me a copy of an SDS campus publication named *Serve the People*. From its contents, the editorial policy is determined by Progressive Labor.

In a feature of the magazine entitled, "Review of the Fake Radical Press," I found that my letter to *The Militant* had been reproduced — partially, that is.

Faithful to the thoughts of Chairman Mao, including the thought that Yugoslavia is a "capitalist" state, the PLers on the magazine apparently felt my use of the Yugoslav example was a weak one, so they left that in. However, they must have regarded the Cuban and Vietnamese examples a bit trickier to deal with, so they solved the problem very conveniently. They simply snipped off that portion of the reproduction of my letter.

They accompanied it with a truly devastating political reply — one that is worthy of the tradition of old-line Stalinism.

Their reply stated: "In a letter to *The Militant*, the organ of the Trotskyite 'Socialist' 'Workers' Party, a group which although it might be a party is hardly social-

ist and much less workers, a certain A. G. writes in praise of SWP's tailing of every black nationalist in sight. One of the examples he uses reaches the nadir (even for Trotskyites, who have made a principle out of opportunism) of the scholastic, bellycrawling Trotskyite school of fabrication." (Emphasis and punctuation in original.)

I wonder if there's anything in the thoughts of Chairman Mao about people who use tricks and epithets as a substitute for reasoned political debate simply demonstrating their political bankruptcy?

Alfred Gordon

### We can't please

everyone . . .

Berkeley, Calif.

I just wanted to let you know that after two months of your newspaper, I think it stinks. Particularly the articles on Israel. They are a pile of inaccuracies, distortions, and 1/8th truths.

I'm so disgusted by your paper that I won't even use my own postage to reply. Nor will I stoop to disprove your facile and glib equating of Arab guerrillas with the NLF, of Arab socialism to progressive socialism, and so forth.

J. B.

### . . . but some like us

New Hyde Park, N. Y.

I have been an ardent reader of *The Militant* for more than six months now. As a student-worker I find the paper to be of very great value. Your coverage and analysis of people, ideas, and events on the left fills in the conspicuous and intentional void created by the capitalist press.

I am enclosing \$1.00 for an introductory subscription for two of my friends. I am sure that their response to *The Militant* will be as enthusiastic as mine. You will find their names and addresses on the enclosed order form.

Thank you.

R. J. S.

## Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

**ARIZONA:** Tempe: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, 1010 Lemon St. #12, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

**Los Angeles:** SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

**San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 552-1266.

**San Diego:** San Diego Labor Forum, P. O. Box 2221, San Diego, Calif. 92112.

**CONNECTICUT:** New Haven: YSA, c/o Richard Adams, 332 Sherman Ave., New Haven, Conn. 06511.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: YSA and bookstore, 187 14th St., Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-3887.

**ILLINOIS:** Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffet, 209 N. Springer, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

**Champaign-Urbana:** YSA, P. O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.

**Chicago:** SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667.

**De Kalb:** YSA, c/o John Votava, 329 N. 1st St., 3rd fl., De Kalb, Ill. 60115.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Russell Block, 207 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Evansville:** YSA, c/o Ronald Hicks, 1619B E. Franklin St., Evansville, Ind. 47711.

**MAINE:** Brunswick: YSA, c/o Ted Parsons, Senior Center, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine 04011.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, c/o Bill D'Angelo, 712 W. Huron, #307, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

**Detroit:** SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

**East Lansing:** YSA, P. O. Box 9251, East Lansing, Mich. 48909.

**Ypsilanti:** YSA, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**MISSOURI:** St. Louis: Phone EV9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brod, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N. J. 17104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State, Albany, N. Y. 12210.

**Binghamton:** YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N. Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-3977.

**New York City:** SWP and YSA, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Chapel Hill: Adolph Reed, 108 Hillsborough St., Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514.

**OHIO:** Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Tel: (216) 791-1669.

**Kent:** YSA, P. O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

**Yellow Springs:** YSA, c/o Alan Wald, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Tel: (513) 767-5511.

**OKLAHOMA:** Norman: YSA, c/o Sudie Trippet, 1320 Garfield, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

**OREGON:** Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Trainor, 5203 S. W. Pomona, Portland, Ore. 97219. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila., Pa. 19130. Tel: (215) CE6-6998.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Warwick: YSA, c/o Nick Stevens, 44 Brinton Ave., Warwick, R. I. 02889.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Rd., Austin, Texas 78703. Tel: (512) 476-0850.

**Houston:** YSA, c/o David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston, Texas 77019. Tel: (713) JA9-2236.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.

**Salt Lake City:** YSA, c/o Shem Richards, 957 E. 1st Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah 84103.

**WASHINGTON, D. C.:** YSA, c/o Terrill Brumback, 1801 16th St. N.W., Apt. 610, Washington, D. C. 20009.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.



"Get more fresh air, stay indoors."

# Chicago student fights expulsion

By Naomi Allen

CHICAGO—"I'm tired of being harassed," was the simple statement that incurred the charge of insolence and insubordination upon 17-year-old Paula Smith, a junior at the Academy of Our Lady Catholic High School and a member of High School Students Against the War (HSSAW) and the Young Socialist Alliance. Paula was expelled from school on Monday, Feb. 24, after the school refused to give a formal explanation of cause other than that Paula was "defiant, militant, and revolutionary."

A meeting at the YMCA Hotel on March 2 attended by some 40 concerned students, parents, and clergymen called for a demonstration next Saturday, March 8, at the Chancellery office of the Chicago Archdiocese. The demonstration will demand Paula's reinstatement as a student at the Academy and a stop to all infringements of the right to free speech and the right to distribute literature within the parochial schools.

## Mandel, Novack on U.S. workers in Merit pamphlet

Ernest Mandel's "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism" and George Novack's "Can American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution?" have been issued as a pamphlet by Merit publishers.

The two articles deal with different aspects of a central problem of world politics today: Does the working class have revolutionary potential and does socialism have any realistic chances of victory in the centers of imperialism?

These questions have been sharply posed and hotly debated by young radicals who are turning against capitalism on an international scale, but mainly based on university campuses.

Novack and Mandel explain the concrete reasons why modern capitalism, despite many changes since the second world war, will necessarily end up with the working masses struggling against it.

Mandel's arguments are placed in the context of world imperialism and primarily deal with economic attacks on Marxism which have been put forth by various apologists for the capitalist system.

Novack narrows the scope to the American working class and takes up the history of its organization in relation to the history of U.S. imperialism. He pays particular attention to the uneven rates of radicalization between black and white workers, in the past as well as at present.

Both articles, originally presented as speeches, and printed in the *International Socialist Review*, have already received wide attention in the radical movement.

Mandel's talk was given at the Fourth Socialist Scholars Conference at Rutgers University, last Sept. 7. Novack delivered his speech to the 1968 convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Chicago Nov. 28.

Available from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10003, the pamphlet is entitled "On the Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class" and costs 65 cents.



Ernest Mandel and George Novack

Paula's is the second case since September of harassment and expulsion of antiwar activists in the city's Catholic schools. Last autumn, Laura Miller, a leader of the city-wide high-school antiwar organization, was forcibly "graduated" from Trinity High School in the suburb of Oak Park after her name appeared in an article on HSSAW in the right-wing *Chicago Tribune*. A wave of suspensions and expulsions has been the answer from both the city and the Catholic Church to the rising antiwar sentiment among high-school students.

Present at the March 2 meeting were Jay Miller of the American Civil Liberties Union; Tony Yazzolino of Maryknoll Seminary; Father Hogan of St. George's Church and Loyola University; Sister Maria Livia, former president of St. Xavier's College; Staughton Lynd, antiwar activist and professor; and representatives of HSSAW. Students came from high schools around the city. Sister Mary Lenore, principal of the Academy of Our Lady, was invited to defend her actions, but declined to attend.

### Defense committee

The group resolved to form a city-wide defense committee to defend the first-amendment rights of high-school students against future attempts to victimize them for their political views. Both the public and parochial schools are expected to attempt to stem the massive high school organizing for the April 5 GI-Civilian antiwar demonstration in Chicago.

High-school students comprised an easy majority of the participants in Chicago's April 27 and Sept. 28 demonstrations last year, and the estimates are that this year's turnout will be equally impressive. The defense committee plans to provide legal and financial assistance to harassed students, in addition to gathering support for them from the community and publicizing the cases widely.

About two months ago, after distributing a leaflet put out by High School Students Against the War, Paula was forbidden to leaflet or pass out literature on the school grounds. She complied with these strictures, and proceeded to organize by word of mouth an antiwar committee of some 30 students that met off-campus on Saturday nights.

About a month ago, Concerned Students Against the War invited a speaker to address the group on the history of the Vietnam war. The following week, students from the committee were called into the principal's office where Sister Mary Lenore warned them not to continue their activities because "their education was at stake," and told them that they would be "picked out one by one." Paula herself was accused of charges like "inciting to riot," and "creating racial tensions."

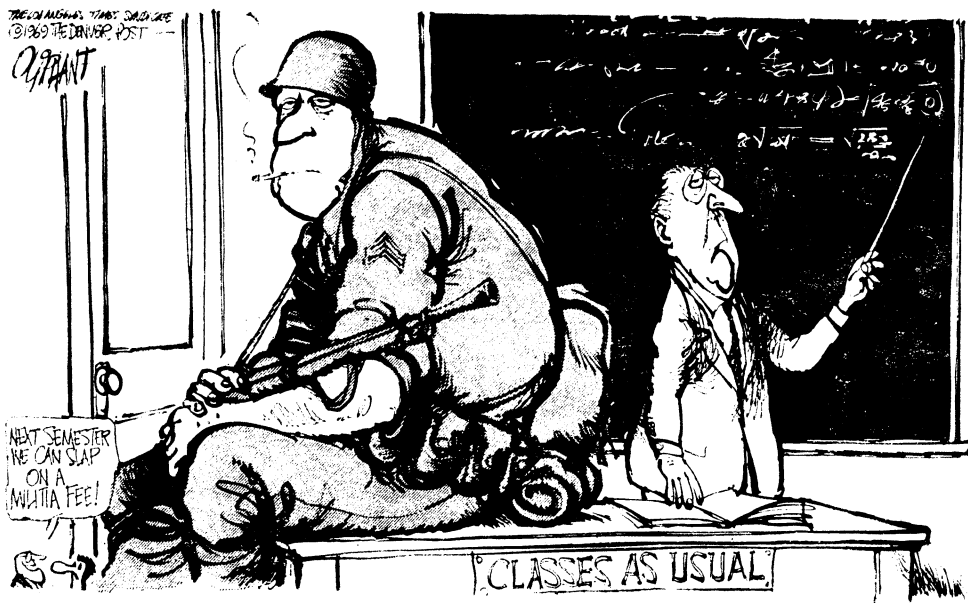
The final act of suppression came on Wednesday, Feb. 19. Without provocation, Paula was pulled out of study hall in the early afternoon, and told she was suspended. The school refused her request for a written note of suspension, would give her no explanation, and refused to say when or if she would be allowed to return.

By Thursday morning, HSSAW had prepared a petition which was being circulated in Paula's school and in several other Catholic schools, demanding Paula's reinstatement and the right to organize and distribute literature. Several local clergymen and teachers in the network of Catholic schools and colleges in the area phoned the school's principal to protest the summary treatment. Sister Mary Lenore complained of a deluge of mail objecting to the suspension.

By Friday, the principal had verbally conceded the right of students to distribute literature, but refused to discuss the question of Paula's reinstatement. On Monday morning, Feb. 24, Paula reported to school with her mother and learned that she was expelled.

The defense committee had slated a press conference for March 5. Spokesmen for the committee said that they plan to file suit against the school for damages to Paula's academic record resulting from the school's actions.

Telegrams and letters of protest against the political harassment and victimization that have taken place at the Academy of Our Lady should be sent to Sister Mary Lenore, Principal, Academy of Our Lady, 1309 W. 95 Street, Chicago, Ill. 60643. Copies should be sent to High School Students Against the War, 9 S. Clinton St., Chicago, Ill. 60606.



# Black students press fight at Chicago State

By L. P. Johnston

(The author is a student at Chicago State College.)

HARVEY, Ill.—Black students at Chicago State College took control of the administration building here Feb. 26. At 11:00 a.m. six students representing the black student body attempted to obtain the signatures of the assistant to the president, H. Rick Haar, the dean of faculty, Irwin Suloway, and the dean of students, Theodore Stolarz, on a written agreement to meet their demands for improving the college. It had been their intention to discuss the matter with the president of the college, Milton B. Byrd; however, he was not present on campus at the time.

Approximately 300 students moved into the building after only one of the demands was agreed to. The Chicago State students received the support of students from Wilson Jr. College in Chicago, Parker Grade School, Parker High School, and the Black Panther Party of Chicago. All employees except Haar, Suloway and Stolarz were asked to lock the rooms of the building and to leave. The three remaining administrators were not held as hostages, but were free to go at any time and were told so.

The number of students in the building diminished to 145 as the Parker students were asked to leave for their own protection. They and other students congregated outside to watch the gathering Chicago police.

Illinois law prohibits intervention by local law enforcement on a state campus unless specifically requested by the person in charge of the college or if students hold a hostage or become "violent." The takeover was orderly and no one was held inside against his will. The request for police interference could not legally be made since the college's president was said to be in Washington D. C., and was not yet informed of the situation. Students had already asked plainclothesmen and private detectives to leave.

However, at 3:00 p.m. more than 15 squad cars and two police wagons began lining the street in front of the campus and filling a parking lot. Police could be seen distributing cans of mace and donning riot gear. At 3:30 over 25 police entered the campus to forcibly evict the students.

It was only after the students proved to the remaining administrators that they could not be scared off by the threat of police confrontation that the documents of the demands was signed. The police were told to go. Only after this did the students leave the building. They had been prepared to remain there overnight or as long as necessary.

Demands made by the students were that a fully accredited autonomous black studies department be instituted at the college, that the black community of Englewood in which the college is located by given access to the college facilities, that the students and faculty have equal power in the hiring and firing of the faculty, and that racist faculty members be immediately dismissed. The students also demanded that a black cultural center be established.

The students, tired of their previous treatment by administrative heads when they have asked that the college be made more relevant to them and the community, are demanding that the college administrators at last commit themselves instead of avoid-

ing their responsibilities. "No longer will we say there is no racism on this campus." "No longer will this institution dehumanize or immortalize any more black people." "Change or get out." These statements were made by spokesmen of the black students.

Students met later to discuss further tactics if the demands are not fulfilled soon. They are still not certain if the president of the college has heard of the situation or if he will respond positively to the wants of the students. But, as one woman student said during the occupation of the building, "Byrd may have flown the coop again, but we won't wait for him to lay another egg."

## Cuba, Mexico to discuss pact on hijacking

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Cuba on Feb. 15 issued the following communique:

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has informed the Government of Mexico that it is willing to take part in an agreement between the two countries whose object shall be to draw up norms to assure the reciprocal returning of any persons presumed responsible for the detouring of aircraft or other vehicles of transportation to the territory of either one of the two states.

"Such an agreement would also establish regulations to guarantee the immediate return of crew, passengers and cargo, as well as of the vehicle itself. In the talks to work out a draft agreement, which will take place soon in Havana between the delegations of Cuba and Mexico, special care will be taken not to contravene the principles of the right of asylum. The Mexican delegation will be presided over by H. E. Miguel Covian Perez, Ambassador of Mexico to Cuba."

## Play on Rosenbergs to open in Cleveland

CLEVELAND — A play entitled "The United States vs Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" will be presented here by the Cleveland Play House beginning March 14, in the Brooks Theatre. It is written by Donald Freed and will be published by Random House following the Cleveland production.

"The United States vs. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" examines the world-famous frame-up trial of the American couple who were charged with espionage, found guilty and executed in the heyday of McCarthyism.

Mr. Freed reports that the play is drawn entirely from documented sources: "Even at its most bizarre," he stated, "the text contains not one invented word." The playwright will be in Cleveland for the opening weekend, March 14-16.

Freed has written several books, including *Freud and Stanislavsky* (Vantage Press), *The Angry Arts* (Grove Press) and *The Theatre of the Future* (Minnesota Press).



# SDS discussion: How do programs develop?

By Gus Horowitz

The past year has been one of worldwide youth radicalization. Whether the country be France or Vietnam, Mexico or the USA, Japan or Czechoslovakia one fact has become apparent: revolutionary youth throughout the world see themselves engaged in a common revolutionary struggle.

The intertwining of national and international developments is clearly evident in the United States. Here, three of the main factors in the radicalization of American youth have been the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions and the U. S. black struggle, which, in turn, has drawn much of its inspiration from national liberation struggles in Africa and the rest of the Third World. Likewise, the black struggle and the antiwar movement in the U.S. stimulated the process of radicalization in other countries.

A new generation, international in scope, is developing in a revolutionary direction. The actions they have organized are part of the historic process which is transforming the world from capitalism to socialism.

In the U. S., SDS members and others are presently thinking out the question of how to organize the revolutionary youth movement. Past issues of *The Militant* have pointed to the experience of previous revolutionary struggles which have underlined the need for a revolutionary party based on a well-defined program. Both party and program, it must be added, should start from the international point of view.

No socialist group in history has ever been able to maintain a revolutionary outlook while focusing solely on the struggle in its own country. The great issues in world politics are all-encompassing. Experience has shown that, to be effective, a revolutionary party in any one country requires a world view.

It is not accidental that great international events have always been tests for revolutionaries, that the great issues dividing revolutionists from reformists have been international in scope. World War I, the Russian Revolution, Stalinism, World War II — all have been watersheds in the history of the socialist movement. One's attitude towards international events invariably reflects one's position on the revolution at home.

## Teachers return to their jobs at S.F. State

By Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif., March 5 — The membership of the American Federation of Teachers Local 1352 voted March 2, 112 to 97 with seven absentions, to return to teaching at S.F. State College. While Reagan continued to maintain that AFT had won nothing at all, it is apparent that they forced the trustees to meet with them and forced through at least a settlement on some of their demands.

However, a solid core of at least 75 teachers decided to stay out knowing it meant being fired. Their decision was based on sympathy with the four-month-old student strike. However, Third World leaders counseled the teachers to go back to work, pointing out that fired faculty could do little to help the strike. The teachers did so on the understanding that they would continue to aid the strike from inside the classroom.

The last mass picketing occurred on March 3 when 400 pickets were forced to leave the campus or face arrests under injunctive order. On that day too, over 50 oil workers, wearing their hard hats, demonstrated their endorsement of the Third World Liberation Front led strike by joining the picketline.

The campus is a virtual police state, with all activity banned and the continued presence of a large police force. Yet, while there is little evidence of a strike, even most of the students attending class wear strike buttons and support the demands of the TWLF. At this time it is impossible to have mass picketing and rallies, but the strike in one form or another will continue. It will be very difficult to "return to normalcy." After all there has been a deep-going radicalization over the last four months and the lessons that have been learned will not be unlearned.



IMPACT OF VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION. Foreground previous someone showing up with such a slogan would placard was carried in Boston during October 1965 Inter-national Days of Protest Against Vietnam War. A while have been scoffed at by students for "old left jargon."

### Where to start

Of course in every country there are particular national characteristics of the struggle to take into account. But to start from the national peculiarities and proceed to an international approach is a politically false and costly method. To simply make an arithmetic calculation, to add up separate national strategies and call the sum an international program is an inadequate understanding of the way in which revolutionary struggles are interrelated. By way of analogy, it would be as if the problems of the American revolution could be understood by simply finding the sum of the problems that local groups face in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Detroit, etc.

The notion that American problems are "exceptional" has been a fault in the thinking of many Americans over the years, including many American radicals. But whether or not some would prefer to believe that American political developments are not affected and shaped by world events, the fact is we have all been affected by them. Great events in Russia and China have helped to shape the American radical movement; they continue to do so today. So do events in France, Cuba, Vietnam, and other countries where great issues are posed.

In searching for an effective approach to organize the revolutionary movement, we do not have to begin anew. Fortunately there is a large body of experience, experience of both victory and defeat, from which revolutionary youth of today can draw lessons.

The need for a revolutionary party, the programmatic basis for the party, and the international character of the program dictate the course which revolutionary Marxists have always taken — the building of an international party to tie together the world-wide struggle for the socialist revolution.

Marx and Engels, the founders of the revolutionary socialist movement, were more than theoreticians. Much of their energies and efforts were devoted to the building of an international revolutionary party to coordinate the activities of the various national parties—more accurately, national sections. The International Working Men's Association, the First International, was one of their crowning achievements. Unfortunately, because of the onset of reaction in the 1870s, the First International disintegrated.

In 1889, in the time of Engels, the Second International was founded on the same concepts as its predecessor. It saw the growth of large and powerful national sections.

### Second International

The Second International was founded on, and drew its strength, from the concept of internationalism. Losing its international perspective at the outbreak of World

War I, the Second International destroyed itself. Each party placed its own "national" interests ahead of international solidarity.

French and English socialists, playing on the fear of a "Junker-Habsburg" victory in the war, supported their own governments' war aims. German socialists, pointing demagogically to the implications of a victory by Russian Czarism, did likewise. All was justified in the name of preserving "socialist opportunities" in their own countries.

The revolutionary internationalists, few as they were, regrouped their forces and set out to rebuild the international revolutionary party, even as the war went on. To do so they had to make a definitive break with the social-democratic betrayers of internationalism. By 1919 the victorious Russian Revolution, had drawn enough supporters to form a Third International. In every country, the "foreign" issue of the Russian Revolution proved decisive in reshaping the radical forces. In the U.S. it was the Russian issue that definitively divided the Socialist Party and led to the formation of the Communist Party.

The Third International set itself the task of completing, on an international scale, what the Bolsheviks had accomplished in Russia. Support to the Russian Revolution was one of its cardinal principles; but that support never meant subservience. The member parties spoke to each other as equals. Their common goal was the victory of the international revolution, a great aid in which was the victory in Russia.

### Rise of Stalinism

Stalin's coming to power in the Soviet Union, marked a new turn not only internally, but within the world communist movement. "Socialism in one country," Stalin's contribution to anti-Marxist theory, really meant subservience by the international socialist movement to Soviet national interests, as Stalin saw them. By identifying the interests of the world working class with the political and diplomatic interests of the privileged Soviet bureaucrats, Stalinism departed drastically from revolutionary internationalism. Maoism today, merely substituting Mao's thought for Stalin's "genius," represents the same phenomenon.

That type of subservience, whether it be to Moscow, Peking, or even to a revolutionary government like that in Havana, has nothing in common with internationalism. The best defense of those victorious revolutions is, as Che Guevara said, by creating "two, three, many Vietnams," by a coordinated international revolutionary strategy.

In reaction to the default of the Third International, a left-opposition in the Soviet Union and throughout the world, sought to regroup the revolutionary forces into a new, a Fourth International. Despite its small size — for this time there was no victorious counterpart to the Russian Revolution to draw large numbers of ad-

herents — the Fourth International was founded in 1938. Like their predecessors, the revolutionary internationalists began by elaborating an international program and founding an international organization around which national sections could be built.

### Three tendencies

The three main ideological tendencies in the world socialist movement — social democracy, Stalinism, and Trotskyism — represent the only consistent long-term trends in the international socialist movement. Other tendencies are either transitory, confined to single countries, or relatively insignificant.

In contrast to the decades of the 1930-1950s, when the bulk of revolutionary-minded workers followed the lead set by the Communist parties, the 1960s have seen the emergence of a new generation of revolutionary youth. The most striking characteristic of this new generation is its independence from social-democratic and Stalinist corruption. Not surprisingly, significant numbers, those with a serious international perspective, have allied themselves with the Fourth International's program of revolutionary Marxism. They are working to build the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance whose political views are reflected in the pages of *The Militant*, and the *Young Socialist*.

## High schoolers at Detroit forum

DETROIT — A panel of high school revolutionaries spoke at the Militant Forum Feb. 26. The panelists were Beverly Bell, president of the Association of Black Students at Murray-Wright high school; Victor Stuart, of the Black Panther Party; and Gordon Fox, chairman of the Detroit High School Student Mobilization Committee and a member of the YSA.

Beverly Bell called attention to the attacks on the *Black Student Voice*, which has been very influential in Detroit high school struggles. The paper has come under heavy fire from school administrations and was recently banned at Murray-Wright.

Stuart said that more and more high school students were getting serious about fighting against their oppression and spoke of the problems of organizing high school students.

Fox attacked the police patrols in the schools. He called for turning the schools against the present system — "change them from instruments for capitalism into instruments against it."

All three speakers attacked both form and content of the education taught in the high schools. They agreed that most of their education was irrelevant to them and that high school is simply a training ground for their future exploitation.



# Striking Richmond oil union wins pact

RICHMOND, Calif. March 4 — Three days after Local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union here appealed to students and Third World peoples throughout the world to join in a massive international boycott of all products of the Standard Oil Company of California and its subsidiaries, Standard changed its tune and agreed to a settlement of the strike at its refineries here.

However, the union is continuing the boycott because its members at the Chevron Chemical plant here, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Standard, are still out on strike. The company is trying to get rid of the union shop at Chevron Chemical which is rumored to be the only union shop left in the "Standard family."

Commenting on the settlement at the Standard refinery, G. T. (Jake) Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of Local 1-561, said that he considered it a "victory for the union."

"Considering what we were up against we did pretty well," he said. "We got double the original offer of the company and we forced the company to rescind the firings of the workers who were fired for strike activities and to agree to take no further reprisals. And anytime you can do that with Standard, it's a victory."

Local 1-561 has established a mutual aid pact with striking students and teachers



G. T. Jacobs and picket supporter. Dog was jailed. Fine was \$15.

in the Bay Area and this has helped the union considerably, according to Jacobs. "We wouldn't have been able to make these gains if it weren't for the help we received from outside such as the Third World and other students and Longshoremen," he said.

In continuing the boycott against Standard Oil, Local 1-561 hopes to stop the drive of the company to do away with

the union shop at the Chevron Chemical plant. This is now the main issue in the continuing strike there. The union intends to make this a very thorough-going boycott, similar to the nation-wide boycott of California table grapes started by the farm workers of California. They hope to establish boycott committees in every major city.

The union has called on students and Third World people all over the world to join in on making the boycott successful. Results are already coming in. For instance, on the day the boycott was announced, students at San Jose State College demonstrated against the presence of a Standard Oil recruiter on campus. The oil workers are continuing their mutual-aid pact with Bay Area students. Yesterday a contingent of oil workers joined the students on the picket lines at S. F. State.

The tentative settlement which still has to be approved by the OCAW international union policy committee provides for a six and one-half percent raise immediately and another four and a half percent on Jan. 1, 1970. The proposed two year contract also includes a classification adjustment of 10 to 25 cents per hour for all employees above the level of operator (about 400 men).

The company has agreed to review the wage scales of all those at the level of operator and under and bring them up to equal the rates of any two higher paying plants in the industry on the West Coast. Other features of the proposed settlement include a shift-differential increase from 10 to 15 cents on the swing shift and from 15 to 30 cents on graveyard.

There is also a one percent reduction in the employee contribution to the pension plan from three percent to two percent of wages. There are other minor benefit plan improvements such as an increase in the maximum coverage of the medical plan from \$20,000 to \$40,000.

Most important, Standard agreed to rescind the firings of those employees fired during the strike and to take no further reprisals against those who struck. The company has also agreed to take no further legal action against the union.

## Malcolm X Day widely marked by Detroiters

By Michael Smith

DETROIT, Feb. 28—Malcolm X Day in Detroit was so well supported that one could not help but feel that the city which Malcolm once called home was continuing to do him proud.

Young people in particular lent enthusiastic support to the activities. The **Black Student Voice**, the organ of black revolutionary high-school students, ran a three-week series of articles on the life of Malcolm and called for a student strike on Feb. 21. During the week it became increasingly clear that strike sentiment was building. The Board of Education, realizing it would be impossible to keep the students in school Friday, took a soft position on the impending absenteeism. Likewise under pressure, the American Federation of Teachers recommended that school be held only for teachers who would come to the buildings to discuss "community problems."

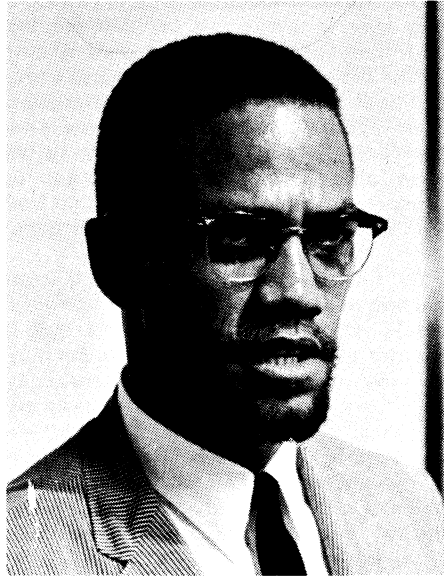
Meetings and memorial services were planned. People were seen wearing the green, red, and black Malcolm X Day buttons.

The Board of Education issued a special pamphlet on Malcolm. The pamphlet's foreword stated, "recognizing the social and political role of this man, the Detroit public schools are presenting this statement to administrators and teachers to provide them with some basic information about him. This should be helpful in class discussions and school activities."

The student militants, however, did not need their help. On the day preceding the strike the Association of Black Students at Northwestern High School extracted from the principal permission to hold their own assembly. Excused from class, some 500 students heard Malcolm linked with Che Guevara and Karl Marx as men of magnificent example.

The next day, the day of the strike, Northwestern was renamed Malcolm X High School. Well over 1,000 people gathered on the front lawn—where troops were assembled last summer after the King assassination—to hear speeches and raise the black nationalist flag.

Absenteeism that day ran over 50 percent in the high schools. Many workers stayed away from their jobs. Memorial



Malcolm X

services were held on both the east and west sides of town.

That night 250 people packed Debs Hall to hear representatives of the Black Panther Party, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The week's activities gave Detroiters not only a sense of their own power but a chance to absorb and reabsorb the lessons of this city's greatest citizen, a man who had been called "Detroit Red."

High school students in Chicago honored Malcolm X on Feb. 21 by skipping classes and holding special memorial services. At Englewood High School, absenteeism was approximately 50 percent and at a number of other schools it was around 40 percent.

The Crane campus of Chicago City College canceled all classes. Earlier in the month, students at Crane had ignored the observance of Lincoln's birthday and had attended classes on Feb. 12.

The classroom building at Wilson Jr. College was nearly empty on Malcolm X Day, and students there conducted a seven hour-memorial service to Malcolm.

## Racist goons in assault at S.F. meeting

By Jim Kendrick

SAN FRANCISCO—At a Board of Education meeting here Feb. 25 attended by some 1,000 people to discuss a proposed school busing plan, a well-organized squad of right-wing goons attacked and seriously beat three members of the Progressive Labor Party and a San Francisco **Chronicle** photographer.

One witness testified that "two men selling copies of the left-wing Progressive Labor Party newspaper **Challenge** were suddenly set upon by perhaps 10 men in 'casual clothing.'" Another witness, Mrs. Dorothy Baylin of Concerned Parents for Quality Education, told of feeling "totally powerless as thugs and goons, some wearing black leather gloves," broke up the meeting. She said she saw a woman in a seat ahead of her open her purse twice "to pass out weapons, possibly brass knuckles."

Others testified before a meeting of the Human Rights Commission of San Francisco that the men wore special armbands and appeared to operate by special hand-signals. The **Chronicle** photographer, Vincent Maggiora, who was kicked and beaten, said "These guys did it professionally. They knew each other and they knew who to get and who not to get." The goon squad was variously estimated at 20 to 30 men.

**No police protection**

Robert Jenkins, superintendent of schools, said "We asked for police help several days before the meeting. I had seen [right-wing] flyers go out earlier." Only five uniformed police and two plainclothesmen were on hand. Alice Leung of Concerned Chinese for Action and Change said she saw policemen cheering in the balcony. Mrs. Ream, president of the Sherman School PTA, said she saw no police reinforcements before she left the auditorium at 11 p.m., although she put in a call to the police station herself when the attacks began.

The beatings occurred sometime after 9 p.m. when the microphone was opened to the floor. James De Sha of WACO, a black community group, said two policemen, after pulling off men who were beating up a young man, "allowed the man to be taken away and be beaten at least three times more." Police were seen laughing outside the auditorium.

**Teamster official implicated**

Present at the meeting was Jim Rourke, a business agent for Teamsters Local 85, which is carrying out an organizing drive of policemen in San Francisco. Rourke is president of a group called Americans Against Crime, Communism and Corruption. Witnesses say he was seen talking with some of the men involved in the beatings.

Rourke and a number of his men put in an appearance three weeks earlier at Jefferson Elementary School, where Rourke stated to the gathering that he had come to "protect you ladies." Officials of Teamsters Local 85 have been leading the attack from within the labor movement against the striking State College Third World students and the AFT teachers.

To date the police inquiry into the Board of Education attack, as reported in the **Chronicle**, has uncovered a gymnasium where police, including Tactical Squad members, and teamsters "let off steam." The gymnasium also teaches karate. Alexander Laguillo, who operates the gym, is a member of Americans Against Crime, Communism and Corruption.

San Francisco's famous Tactical Squad was no where in evidence the night of the attack. But three days later, when a well disciplined, well organized, and calm delegation of black high-school students paid a visit to the Board of Education building to present 13 demands for school improvement, the Tactical Squad arrived in seconds.

Meanwhile, 96 hours after the goon-squad attack, no one involved in the attack has been identified or arrested. Even Mayor Alioto suspects members of "San Francisco's Finest" were involved.

## CALENDAR

### DETROIT

See "A Plague on Your Children," film on government-sponsored research in biological warfare. Fri., March 14, 8:00 p.m. Contrib. Employed 75c, Unemployed and students 35c. A usp. Militant Forum.

### BOSTON

Trade Union Movement vs. Black Struggle? Speaker: Jeff Mackler, of New Coalition opposition in New York Federation of Teachers. Fri., March 14, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

WHAT SOLUTION FOR THE MIDEAST PROBLEM? A panel discussion. Speakers: Theodore Edwards, Socialist Workers Party; Michael Ben Levi, Israeli, leader in progressive Zionist movement; Representative of the Arab Student Union. Fri., March 14, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1.

### NEWYORK

TEN YEARS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION — A Balance Sheet. Speaker: Dan Rosenshine, member of Young Socialist delegation in Cuba for the 10th Anniversary celebration of the Cuban Revolution. Fri., March 14, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) Contrib. \$1. High-school students with I.D. 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

### TWIN CITIES

Who Is the 'Ruling Class' in America? — Speaker: Paul Chelstrom, veteran unionist. Sat., March 15, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Rm 240. Mpls. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

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# Socialist tasks in the movement

[The following is an edited version of a report on the antiwar movement approved by a meeting of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party in New York last week. The reporter on the question was Lew Jones.]

A few weeks from today, on Easter weekend, April 5-6, there will be mass demonstrations in the streets against the war in Vietnam. These demonstrations, like those preceding and those that will follow, will be the focal point of our activity against the war. Mass antiwar demonstrations, held in the midst of the imperialist war, have helped shake up the entire political fabric of U.S. society and strike blows to the heart of imperialism—its ability to oppress and subjugate the colonial world.

The perspective of this report is that of anticipating intensified antiwar sentiment throughout the country and of a renewal of mass actions against the war.

The proposals in this report are based on four essential features of the present situation: 1) the intensification of the war in South Vietnam; 2) the temporary lull in the movement against the war, due to the Paris talks and the bombing halt; 3) the temporary divisions within the organized antiwar movement; 4) the development of antiwar sentiment and protest activity by GIs.

What began in Vietnam, in the eyes of the ruling class, as a simple policing action turned into a full-fledged war, into quite a long war in fact. It is now four years that the U.S. has had large numbers of troops in Vietnam, a longer time for the United States than either World War I, World War II, longer than the Korean War, longer even than the Civil War.

## Problem remains

The war continues to drag on. Yet the problem for the U.S. ruling class remains the same: how to win a political victory. The U.S. has had no victory. Nor has it been defeated, although failure to gain victory in four years can be considered a kind of defeat for the most powerful imperialist nation in history.

In the last year the U.S. has readjusted its methods of conducting the war, its methods, not its aims. American imperialist aims in the war have not at all been readjusted, they remain exactly the same: The aim of trying to control Asia or part of Asia; to try to win a victory over the NLF and thereby a symbolic victory over the colonial revolution; if possible, to try and overturn the revolution in North Vietnam.

What is basically new in U.S. policy is not a cutback in the war effort, but an addition. The U.S. is now combining a war of diplomacy along with the military war, trying to win at the negotiating table what it has so far been unable to achieve on the battlefield.

By halting most of the bombing of North Vietnam, the U.S. mollified public opinion at home and around the world, not an unimportant consideration.

Washington also found that it made good military sense to halt the bombing of the north and concentrate its military efforts in the south. And that is exactly what it has done. The tonnage of bombs dropped is approximately the same as it was before the bombing pause in the north. Now all of the bombing is concentrated in South Vietnam. In addition, the war has spilled over more into Cambodia and Laos.

## Intercontinental Press

In 1968 *Intercontinental Press* published 1,176 pages of reports from correspondents in 30 countries. This included 125 pages of dispatches direct from France during the May-June revolt; 54 pages of eye-witness accounts from Mexico during the student strike; and 50 pages of reports and translations from the radical press in Czechoslovakia. *Intercontinental Press* is the only source in the U.S. for many documents of interest to the radical movement, including official statements of the Fourth International. Subscriptions are \$7.50 for 26 issues.

*Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.

The bombing halt allowed the U.S. to start moving troops from the demilitarized zone into the southern regions where they have opened up a general offensive. According to the journalist, I.F. Stone, the U.S. increased the number of its combat missions exactly at the time of the bombing halt last November. Since then, 2,000 GIs have been killed, and just since the first of the year, according to today's *New York Times*, 1,200 have died. All evidence points to an actual intensification of the war in Vietnam, not its diminishing.

## Main result

Indeed—and not accidentally—the principal result of the Paris talks so far has been to deescalate the protests against the war. Charles Mohr, writing in the *New York Times* on Jan. 3, said speaking of the government officialdom: "One important factor on which the present optimism is based is the hope that a decision to continue to prosecute the war can be reconciled with the domestic American desire to 'ease the pain.'" In other words, by their war of diplomacy they have hoped to disarm their critics and deactivate the protest movement, while actually continuing the war.

Large sections of the antiwar movement had—and some still have—illusions in the Paris talks. That simply reflects what the whole population is thinking. One might say there has been a temporary vote of confidence in Nixon and the peace talks. People are willing to give him a chance, willing to wait and see if the talks will bring an end to the war. But it is a highly temporary vote of confidence. The Paris talks are a kind of political "time bomb," one which can explode in an unintended manner.

The vote of confidence has masked a deeper, broader antiwar sentiment in the population than existed when the Paris talks began. Any great escalation of the war, rising casualty figures or the prolongation of the talks could very swiftly bring that antiwar sentiment to the surface. We can therefore expect a change, a shift in the mass attitude towards the war. We will again see a wave of righteous indignation—the kind that we have seen throughout the history of the antiwar movement when people discover that they have been lied to once more.

The April 5-6 demonstrations can go a long way in preparing for that coming tidal wave of protest. What is done now will be very important in helping to organize that wave of righteous indignation when it does actually occur. Even now there are signs of disillusionment in the Paris talks, among the GIs and among sections of the antiwar movement that had temporarily withdrawn from the struggle.

## GI response

The GIs have had a decidedly different reaction to the negotiations than most other people. Once the U.S. conceded that it was not going to win completely by military means, the average GI naturally thought: why the devil should I waste my life unnecessarily in a war like this?—a war that he most likely did not support or did not understand. As a result, since the Paris negotiations there has been a significant increase in GI protest activities throughout the country.

We have long pointed to the important potential of GI antiwar sentiment. For a long time we alone in the antiwar movement urged that an orientation towards the GIs be part of antiwar activity. Now, with the beginnings of GI antiwar protests, and if the April 5-6 demonstrations can measure up to expectations, that orientation can become a permanent feature of the antiwar protest movement.

Our approach to GIs is linked directly to our basic approach in the antiwar movement, the building of massive actions against the war reflecting the interests of the majority of people. Mass actions, rather than the actions of isolated individuals, are the motor force of social change. Ac-



Feb. 16 GI-civilian demonstration in Seattle where more than

cordingly, our line of approach towards GIs has been threefold.

First, we do not advocate that GIs take moralistic, isolated individual action against the armed forces—desertion, disobeying orders, or whatever. Such acts simply expose GIs to victimization and can effectively wipe out the leadership and cadre. Moreover, they are not a program acceptable to the great bulk of GIs. Whether cloaked in terms of pacifist moralism or ultra-left ardor, isolated individual acts are simply ineffective.

Second is our concept of the citizen-soldier, that is, the GI is a citizen who is temporarily in uniform. While serving in the armed forces he maintains his full rights as a citizen. GIs have the right to their own beliefs, their own opinions, to free speech and assembly. These rights exist and can be fought for successfully, despite the attempts of the brass to prevent their exercise. It is the duty and obligation of the antiwar movement to do everything it can to support those GIs whom the brass attempts to victimize for exercising their constitutional rights.

## GI rights

Third, the war in Vietnam is the question around which GIs are exercising their rights. The war is the most important question to them, the question they can agree upon, the question on which the antiwar movement must approach them. Moreover, the war is the question around which GIs can get the most civilian protection, should the brass attempt to crack down and take away their rights.

On the basis of that threefold approach we can look forward to the building of effective antiwar actions by GIs.

While embracing the new development of GI antiwar protests, we should have an absolutely clear understanding of their character and pace of development. We do not anticipate, for example, that in the near future there will be massive GI uprisings like those that took place after World War II. GI antiwar sentiment is in a gestative stage right now. At this point the actions of antiwar GIs are the actions of the

most politically conscious—though they reflect very graphically the deep antiwar sentiment that generally exists.

Our view is that the political consciousness and activity of GIs is totally connected to that of the whole population. We do not think that GIs are so isolated from the rest of society that there will be a mass radicalization and massive protest in the armed forces prior to a big change inside the whole population. There will be no such thing until the mood within the population itself is such that massive GI protests can be defended and identified with.

Nor do we think that antiwar GIs are about to displace the civilian antiwar movement as the central component in the struggle against the war. No, they are a major reinforcement, and vitally important new component of the general movement against the war, but not a substitute for it. As vital as they are, the GIs cannot be the central axis of the antiwar movement.

In our view there is a very intimate interplay between the civilian population and the GIs. There may be political changes in one sector that momentarily outstrip the other, but ultimately there will be an interrelated, a parallel process in the development of antiwar sentiment and of general anticapitalist radicalization in all sectors.

## Interpenetration

History shows that there is a most intimate interpenetration between the ranks of the military and the civilian population in a period of social unrest and political turmoil. This is because of the present character of the army. The army is not narrowly based, composed of an elite officer corps with social misfits in the ranks. By virtue of the draft and wartime expansion the men in uniform represent a cross-section of the population, only with a different set of specific problems. The war is a most acute question to them because they know they can get hurt in that kind of business.

According to *Fortune* magazine, 20 percent of all male youth between 18 and 24 are presently in the armed forces. That is a very active age bracket. The per-

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# nt against the Vietnam war



GIs led 4,500 civilians in city's biggest antiwar action.

centage of Afro-American, Mexican, Indian, and Puerto Rican youth is much higher and increases as you get closer to the front lines. By this June, 30 percent of the draftees will be college graduates. And if the *Fortune* article on youth is accurate, half of that 30 percent are going to be people with attitudes very similar to the antiwar movement, or who have had contact with the antiwar movement. So the men in the army are not a body of mercenaries, paid killers, or willing crusaders as some have tried to picture in the past.

So we see a fundamental identity of the political climate in a draftee army and the civilian population. We should not be confused by the change in form just because one segment of the population now wears a uniform and is put in a position of special jeopardy. That is the basis for our orientation in attempting to reach GIs. That is why we emphasize the importance of antiwar GIs, but not to the point of isolating them from general antiwar activity.

Our antiwar perspective is to build and remobilize the antiwar movement after the disorientation done by Johnson's withdrawal, the McCarthy campaign, the Paris negotiations, and the Nixon election. We want to bring the mood that exists in this country against the war in Vietnam into open expression in action—the first steps in which are the April 5-6 demonstrations. We want massive numbers of people, civilians and GIs, to march and demonstrate against the war in Vietnam, to bring the troops home.

#### Kickback

What we are looking towards we know is bound to happen, that is, the kickback from the period of waiting to see what will happen in Paris, waiting to see what Nixon will do — the explosive resentment and opposition to the war that the American people will express at some stage when they see that Nixon won't end the war, when they see through the Paris talks. That is our general approach. To accomplish that is realistic. That is why the April 5-6 demonstrations are so important.

Seen in this light, the visible rise of antiwar dissent within the armed forces has become important for two reasons: 1) the GI component of the antiwar movement is potentially very powerful in and of itself; 2) GI antiwar activities have become the important central new factor to inspire and remobilize large sections of the American people into the struggle against the war.

Throughout the pre-election period the organized antiwar movement suffered numerous defections. The national antiwar coalition and a number of local coalitions splintered or fell apart. A large section of the antiwar movement abandoned the fight against the war in favor of campaigning for what they saw as peace candidates, for the most part the McCarthy campaign. Illusions in the Paris talks reinforced the trend away from mass action.

The default of a section of the antiwar movement increased the political weight of the ultra-left. The ultra-leftist theory of "confrontation" street actions by a dedicated few was gradually able to exert considerable weight, especially in the apparatus of the National Mobilization Committee, resulting in its demise as a coalition.

Throughout this entire period, we sought to rebuild coalitions around antiwar actions. We sought, especially, to rebuild the student wing of the antiwar movement to ramrod the actions. The SMC, with our support, has sought to rebuild and re-inspire the antiwar movement. The antiwar protest of GIs has been a key ingredient in that process.

#### Called conference

The SMC initiated the Dec. 27-29 GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference which called for GI actions of April 6, supported by massive civilian participation. Naturally that formulation did not anticipate that the predominant participation would be from GIs. It was a means of re-inspiring and rebuilding the entire antiwar movement, by calling attention to the important new component, the antiwar GI.

What we are trying to do is to organize the largest possible demonstrations this

spring to display the breadth of antiwar sentiment that exists in the general population, and among GIs in particular. It is an important responsibility on our part to try to bring out the largest numbers of people against the war and in support of those GIs who participate. For that, a coalition effort of all groups in the antiwar movement is necessary.

Until a short time ago there was an apparent contradiction between the perspective of building mass, coalition-organized demonstrations and its actual accomplishment. There were difficulties in getting the actions off the ground, involving coalitions in the organizing efforts, and getting the student wing rolling again. The reasons were understandable, of course. They have already been described: misunderstanding of the war, divisions in the antiwar movement, the disenchantment of the moderate groups, the disproportionate weight of the ultra-leftists, etc.

One mistake we were careful to avoid: the idea that because there were difficulties in convincing other groups in the antiwar movement, we should just go it alone, avoid the internal wrangling in the antiwar movement, and organize the action ourselves, along with only a few allies. We don't want to substitute GI work by ourselves for the building of mass demonstrations—to the detriment of both. Building truly broad-based mass actions involves more than the necessary tasks of setting time, date, place, and getting the leaflets out. We did not want to lose the essence of what we were hoping to accomplish in the course of those routines.

Within the past week, there have been a number of significant developments, which definitively get the April 5-6 demonstrations off the ground, which make it the spring antiwar demonstration for the entire antiwar movement.

#### Seattle march

In Seattle 200 GIs marched and 300 attended a rally. The demonstration involved 4,500 participants altogether. At Ft. Jackson, S. C. a large group of antiwar GIs are circulating a petition to hold a meeting where they could discuss the war. Their example is gaining national publicity. What the movement needed all along was a couple of victories like those, examples that could be pointed to, to convince people—and inspire them with what is possible.

In the past few weeks there has been a rebirth in local and regional antiwar coalitions, and, in embryo, of the national coalition. Just last week the New York Parade Committee decided to organize the demonstration here in New York. In all

seven regional centers chosen for the demonstration, coalitions are now involved or becoming involved in the organizing of the actions. April 5-6 is now off the ground. The demonstrations are definitely going to take place.

It is difficult to foresee the size of the demonstrations. Undoubtedly they will not be as large as some of the previous ones. But their political importance, their role as a central building block in the antiwar movement, overrides their relative size.

#### Central task

The central task of the Socialist Workers Party in the next few weeks will be to help build those demonstrations as successfully as possible.

Of major importance in building for April 5-6 and beyond is the Student Mobilization Committee. The entire history of the antiwar movement has dictated the importance of its organized student wing. The youth have been the cutting edge throughout the history of the movement. They have set the militant tone and helped to push the rest of the coalition along in building the mass actions. Without the student wing, the antiwar movement would not have accomplished what it has.

In building for April 5-6 one of the most important things will be to build the SMC. There is every possibility that the SMC can become the central organizer, nationally and locally, of youth involved in antiwar actions, an organization based on withdrawal that mobilizes students in action against the war in Vietnam. Part of the campaign for April 5-6 should be a campaign to build the SMC. High school youth, we should note, will be of particular importance in doing this.

Looking beyond April 5-6, we want to rebuild the national antiwar coalition and the local coalitions. Part of our effort for April 5-6 will be precisely that. The vitality of an antiwar coalition can be restored. But it won't be quite the same as it was before. Some of the old parts will be missing and some new ones added.

The aspect of GI protest is something that must be added into these new coalitions—not as a substitute for what the antiwar movement has always done, but as an important addition. The massive demonstrations against the war in Vietnam will include the GI aspect from now on.

In conclusion: we look to the dispelling of the illusions in the Paris talks. We look forward to another upsurge of antiwar action.

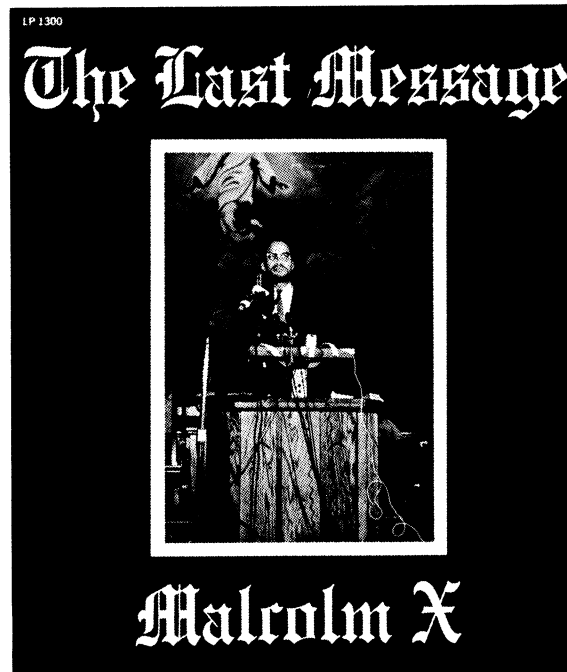
Our work in building the April 5-6 mass demonstrations will prepare the way for that wave of protest and help to organize it effectively.

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Feb. 16 GI-civilian demonstration in Seattle where more than 4,500 GIs led 4,500 civilians in city's biggest antiwar action.





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# April 5-6 moving ahead

## 7 regions plan marches, rallies

Chicago's April 5 demonstration will assemble 3 p.m. at State and Wacker in the Loop, then march to a mass rally in the Coliseum. On March 29 a GI Day rally will be held near Great Lakes Naval Base. Sponsors are Women Strike, Vets for Peace, and the SMC. A GI paper will soon be published by several sailors and a former editor of the Ft. Sheridan **Logistic**, whose organizers were recently transferred out by the brass. There will be a city-wide high-school rally on March 30.

**New York:** assemble 1:30 p.m. at Bryant Park (6th Ave. and 40th St.) for a march to Central Park. Antiwar GIs are meeting March 9 to plan out GI participation. Students are holding antiwar basic training days on the campuses.

**Boston:** a Free the Presidio 27 demonstration is slated for March 18 — it follows a Feb. 22 picket organized by the Resistance. On March 22 there will be a city-wide antiwar basic training day. **Top Secret**, the paper of the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace, is organizing for the New York demonstration.

**Detroiters** are planning a fund-raising rock concert on March 23 and antiwar basic training sessions at Wayne State on April 3. GIs from Southbridge Air Force Base are helping in the organizing efforts for the Chicago demonstration.

In **Seattle**, mass rallies on April 5-6 will include a trial of the brass — Gen. Beverly has been invited to come defend them, if they dare.

The Washington Mobilization Committee in **D. C.** is helping to organize for the New York demonstration. GIs Against the War in Vietnam has been formed in the Washington area and have already issued a paper, **Open Sights**.

## Set southwider Easter action in Atlanta, Ga.

By Doug Jenness

Plans for a Southwider Mobilization Against the Vietnam War and for Self-Determination on Easter weekend, April 4-6, are going ahead at full speed. At a conference held in Atlanta on Feb. 15-16 nearly 100 antiwar activists representing 24 organizations from five Southern states, decided to call the action.

The weekend of activities will include commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr. on April 4 which is the first anniversary of his assassination and the second anniversary of his Riverside Church antiwar speech. On Saturday, April 5, there will be workshops on poverty, racism, imperialism, non-violence, GI organizing, and other topics. The climax of the weekend will be a mass march, calling for an end to the racist war in Vietnam, in Atlanta on Easter Sunday, April 6.

The format of the action came out of a joint proposal submitted by members of the Atlanta Workshop in Non-Violence, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Young Socialist Alliance, Em-

ory SDS, and three other groups.

There was a counter proposal submitted by members of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) which called for an action on April 5 around the theme "Liberate the South." Opposing the concept of uniting a coalition around common action against the Vietnam war they argued for building a "radical movement in the South." The SSOC proposal was overwhelmingly defeated. Although they indicated they would go ahead with their action on April 5 anyway, they have since abandoned this project and have also ended their participation in the Southwider Mobilization Against the Vietnam War and for Self-Determination. They feel the Easter action will cut across their "community organizing."

Among the groups participating at the conference were representatives from GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Jackson, S. C. Pvt. Andrew Pulley, Curtis Mays, Joe Cole, and Jose Rudder discussed the petition campaign organized by GIs at Ft. Jackson.

Committees are now meeting regularly to plan the program, raise funds, get out publicity and involve more groups. A fund appeal signed by Georgia legislator Julian Bond and former SNCC chairman, Rev. John Lewis, is being sent out. A press conference will be held on Tuesday, March 4.

A new organization called the GI-Student Antiwar Action Committee was launched on Saturday, March 1 to help involve university and high-school students and GIs in the action. The group is planning to hold a GI teach-in at Emory University on Sunday, March 30.

## GI teach-in at U of Penn

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA—About 15 GIs were among the participants in the March 1 GI Day here at the University of Pennsylvania organized by the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement. The featured speaker was Fred Halstead, of the New York Peace Parade Committee who recently visited the troops in Vietnam as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

The event was chaired by Sp/4 Ken Willis, a member of the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement. In addition to an ABC documentary entitled, "The Agony of Vietnam," the meeting heard greetings from Paul Golden of the Philadelphia Resistance, Charles Krause, editor-in-chief of the **Daily Pennsylvanian**, the University of Pennsylvania campus newspaper, Harold Feldman of Philadelphia Veterans for Peace in Vietnam and Mike Walker, staff member of the Philadelphia GI-Civilians for April 5.

Without exception the speakers emphasized support for the GI-Civilian antiwar demonstration to take place in New York April 5. Paul Golden of Resistance emphasized the change in his attitude toward GIs in the past year.

"A year ago," he said, "I thought that GIs were baby-killers, but its now obvious to me that GIs are caught in the system just like college students, and that GIs who speak out against the war are resisting in as courageous and powerful a way as anyone else."

Willis thanked Golden for the labor and printing facilities that Resistance has donated to **The Ultimate Weapon**, newspaper of the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement. In affirming his support for the April 5 demonstration, Charles Krause said that he doubted that the Paris Peace talks would bring a speedy end to the war, but was certain that mass antiwar demonstrations could bring the GIs home.

## L.A. parley maps April 6

By Jesse Parker

LOS ANGELES, March 1 — On March 1 an antiwar conference was held here to discuss the building of the April 6 GI-Civilian antiwar demonstration. The conference was called by the Peace Action Council of Southern California, The GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Vietnam, and the Southern California Student Mobilization Committee.

Participating were servicemen from the Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps, and representatives of campus and community antiwar groups. Howard Petrick, discharged from the army for his antiwar views, and now touring the country for the National Student Mobilization Committee to build April 5, opened the conference with

## Split verdict for Buffalo 9

By Mark Schneider

BUFFALO, N. Y. — A split verdict in the trial of the Buffalo Nine, which liberal justice John Curtin repeatedly declared to be "not a political trial" has brought the State University at Buffalo to the brink of a student strike.

The nine were arrested at the Unitarian Church last August at a rally where draft refusers Bruce Beyer and Bruce Cline had taken "symbolic sanctuary" ten days earlier. Federal marshalls and FBI men attacked the rally in an effort to seize the two, and arrested seven supporters.

The government, in an effort to intimidate the movement, chose to prosecute four prominent leaders. Gerry Gross, of Youth Against War and Fascism, received a hung jury on two charges of assaulting a federal officer, Ray Malak of SDS the same; Carl Kronberg of Peace and Freedom the same on one charge, and Bruce Beyer of the Buffalo Draft Resistance Union was found guilty on two of three charges. Beyer, 20, faces six years in jail and another five for induction refusal.

The seven-day trial was marked by incredibly contradictory testimony by 24 government witnesses, only five of whom were not government agents. Many of them reversed their testimony from the preliminary and grand jury hearings, claiming that their memory of the event has improved in six months! Under the withering and precise cross-examination of Emergency Civil Liberties Union lawyers Mike Kennedy and Gerald Lefkourt, one beleaguered agent denied that there had been FBI surveillance of the church, then confessed that he had directed it.

The defense showed, in what all defendants declared to be a movement victory,

a national report on the progress of the April 5 action.

Jim Boggio, a coordinator of the GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, gave a local progress report. The conference then divided into four workshops including GI defense, publicity, rally and logistics of the march. A steering committee was set up to follow up the work begun by the conference.

Among the groups there were Women Strike for Peace, Emma Lazarus Clubs, The American Friends Service Committee, Peace Action Council, Fellowship for Social Justice and students from 11 campuses and two high schools.

## GIs, civilians meet in Ohio

FAIRBORN, Ohio, March 2 — Almost 150 people, including 32 GIs and a dozen veterans, attended a GI-Civilian Conference Against the Vietnam War held at Wright State University. The conference, which was sponsored by a broad coalition of antiwar organizations in the southern Ohio area, was planned in conjunction with antiwar GIs from the near-by Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, a Strategic Air Command headquarters. GIs from Ft. Benjamin Harrison, Indiana and Ft. Knox, Ky. also attended.

Featured speakers included Carl Rogers of LINK; Matilde Zimmermann, GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee; David Portugal, of the GI newspaper, FTA; and Syd Stapleton of the Student Mobilization Committee.

At the close of the conference Bob Nagler, leader of the Wright State University Committee on Decisive Expression, announced the formation of a regional organizing committee to undertake building the April 5-6 mobilization. The conference secretary announced that over 80 people had already signed up to go to the Chicago demonstration.

During the open mike a GI from Wright-Patterson announced the founding of a new GI paper, "USAF," (United Servicemen's Action for Freedom). Printing facilities were immediately offered by members of the audience.

Michael Cullen, of the Milwaukee 14, and Jeff Morris, of the Dayton Anti-Draft Project, also spoke.

Sponsors of the conference included: Ohio Peace Action Council, Ohio Resistance, Antioch SMC, Antioch SDS, YSA, Yellow Springs Peace & Freedom Council, Prof. Sidney Peck of the National Mobilization Committee, officials of the American Friends Service Committee, Yellow Springs ACLU, professors at Antioch, Wright State U., Central State U., Ohio State U., and the president of Antioch College.

that the trial was essentially a political frame-up. Before the bust, right wing elements had counter-picketed, sent bomb threats, hurled tear gas and fired twice at the church with a rifle. Federal agents knew that supporters feared a right-wing attack. Thus they made minimal attempts to identify themselves and charged 30-40 supporters massed in the front entrance when a side entrance was readily accessible.

Judge Curtin hurried the jury on in its verdict, refusing to clarify "reasonable doubt" after six hours of deliberation. When the split verdict was read, the disappointed liberal revealed his true colors and ruled that the four not be allowed to address public rallies, as they had done nightly during the trial. Malak and Beyer angrily shouted their refusal to comply, and the 40 supporters allowed in court, all standing with raised fists, joined in. "What about the First Amendment!" and "Fascist!" supporters yelled. Curtin relented.

Nearly 700 supporters had been involved in the daily demonstrations outside the court, and many of these returned to the university that night. Thirty-seven draft cards were burned and eight demands adopted. Mass meetings packed the largest room on campus Thursday and Friday to discuss the possibility of a strike. Demands included that construction of the new campus be done by an integrated work force, ROTC be abolished, defense research be abolished, and that students have an equal voice in departmental decision making.

At present the demands are very diverse, the leadership uncertain as to implementation, extent of support, and the situation changes from moment to moment.



HARLEM, USA. Denied pools and playgrounds, children of ghetto take their recreation in streets. SWP ticket is out to make some changes in that situation.

## A veteran socialist dies

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 28—Hildegard Swabeck, for many years a member of the Socialist Workers Party, died here last month. She was 76 years old.

She became attracted to the ideas of Trotskyism in 1934 while a member of the Socialist Party in Wichita, Kansas. After reading Trotskyist literature, she wrote to and made contact with Trotskyists in Chicago. She then became a member-at-large of the Trotskyist organization, since there was no branch in Wichita.

It was her custom to come to Chicago from time to time, as her finances permitted, to conduct political activity there. In 1948 she moved to Chicago and was active in the work of that branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

In 1956 she and her husband Arne Swabeck came to Los Angeles to live. From that time on she was active in that branch of the party.

Several years ago she became identified with a small group in the Los Angeles branch of the SWP that developed towards support of Maoism and opposition to the views of the overwhelming majority of the Socialist Workers Party. These views were rejected by the party. Her position on the Chinese question eventually led her to resign from the party in 1967.

Although she chose to take another road in the last years of her life, her many years in the Socialist Workers Party and her work there are remembered with gratitude by those who knew her.

## Gusanos assault YSAer at Ohio State meeting

COLUMBUS, Ohio—David Prince, a member of the Young Socialist delegation just returned from Cuba, was physically attacked by Cuban counterrevolutionaries, disrupting a talk in support of the Cuban revolution at Ohio State University.

Prince, who is presently on a speaking tour of Ohio and Kentucky, delivered his talk at Ohio State to a standing-room-only audience of more than 150 people, including about 50 Cuban emigres. The spirited question and answer period that followed, was brought to an abrupt halt when one of the Cubans ripped down a red banner of Che Guevara that decorated the podium. Stomping on the banner, he called Che a "murderer" and "assassin"; then other gusanos [worms] began to tear down Cuban revolutionary posters and rip up pamphlets and books.

When Prince tried to prevent one of them from destroying the literature, he was attacked and dragged into the hall where he was kicked and punched while on the ground. People in the audience who respect-

ed the right of free speech intervened to halt the attack.

The following evening a smaller informal meeting was held for those interested in learning more about the Cuban revolution. A defense guard was organized for this meeting, but none of the counterrevolutionary Cubans showed up.

In a letter to Dr. Fawcett, president of the university, Prince stated: "I am sure that the university will issue a statement condemning the disruption of the meeting as a violation of free speech. A university is a place where all divergent viewpoints should be presented. And the university should defend its role as a forum where different ideas can be presented and fully discussed." The letter asks for reimbursement from the university for the literature and the cost of glasses for Marta Prince whose glasses were smashed during the attack.

The letter is now being circulated as a petition among the students and faculty at Ohio State to be presented to Dr. Fawcett.

# SWP candidates join N.Y. mayoralty race

By Mary-Alice Waters

NEW YORK, March 4 — At a press conference held here today, the Socialist Workers Party announced its slate of candidates for the fall municipal elections, headed by Paul Boutelle for Mayor.

Boutelle, who has been a lifelong resident of Harlem and the Bronx, was a founding member of the Freedom Now Party, a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity before the death of Malcolm X, and was the 1968 SWP candidate for vice-president.

Explaining why the SWP had decided to enter the municipal elections, Boutelle pointed to the crushing problems of New York City — police brutality, inferior and racist education, air and water pollution, slum housing, inadequate transportation, soaring costs of living, scandalous hospital and medical care. "What progress has been made on solving these problems? None. And none will be made as long as this city is controlled by private interests who profit from these same conditions.

"The Socialist Workers Party ticket will be the only one that has concrete solutions to offer, because we stand for a total change in this system. We will take the power out of the hands of those private interests and stockholders, and let the people decide for themselves what needs to be done and how."

When asked how he, as mayor of New York, could bring an end to the war in Vietnam, Boutelle pointed out that the war was not caused by one person, but was rooted in the capitalist system itself. Neither he nor any other one person could end it, but as mayor of New York, he explained, he would use the resources of the city to encourage opposition to the war, and also to assure black and Puerto Rican control of their own communities, and to run the city in the interests of the vast majority of its inhabitants.

Two of the other five candidates on the SWP ticket were also present at the press conference. Jeff Mackler, candidate for President of the City Council, is a school teacher in the city and a member of the United Federation of Teachers. As a member of the executive board of the New Coalition, the opposition party to Albert

## Boutelle assails forged letter in New York paper

NEW YORK — The following is the text of a letter which Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for mayor, sent to the *East Village Other*, an "underground" newspaper.

Editor:

Your issue of March 1 carried an anti-Semitic letter in my name. It stated in part: "... the black citizens of this city have taken enough from the jews. If you were brought up in my neighborhood you would hate the jews also."

This letter is a straight forgery. I did not write it and it does not in any way represent my point of view.

I would assume it was a provocative act by someone who would wish to slander me for the stand I have taken in support of the fight for black and Puerto Rican control of the schools in their community or, perhaps, because of the anti-Zionist stand I have taken in regard to the Mideast conflict.

My stand in favor of community control of the schools and my opposition to the reactionary course of the Teachers' Union officialdom has, of course, nothing in common with anti-Semitism. Nor does my support of the Arab revolution and political opposition to Zionism.

I oppose the imposition of a Zionist state on the Palestinian Arabs because it tramples on their right of self-determination. I also oppose Zionism because I regard it as a means whereby the imperialist powers use the Jewish people as a pawn in their Mideast power game — a game that can result in disaster for the Jewish people.

One of the reasons I oppose the policies of the officials of the Teachers Union is because I believe they are contributing to a situation that inevitably feeds anti-Jewish prejudice.

As a revolutionary socialist I am opposed to all forms of racism and prejudice, including anti-Semitism.

Paul Boutelle

Shanker within the union, he opposed the racist strike of the UFT last fall and worked for the implementation of black and Puerto Rican control of the schools in their communities.

Patricia Grogan, candidate for Councilman-at-Large, is a student at Barnard College and was active in the student strike at Columbia University last spring. She is the organizer of the Manhattan Young Socialist Alliance.

Two candidates who were unable to attend the press conference were Alfredo Pena, candidate for Comptroller, and Tony Thomas, candidate for Manhattan Borough President. Pena, who has lived all his life in the Puerto Rican community of the South Bronx, has just returned from a one-month visit to Cuba where he was a guest of the government during the 10th anniversary celebration of the revolution.

Thomas, who is a member of the National Executive Committee of the YSA, was the editor of the *Afro-Americans* for Halstead and Boutelle *Newsletter* during the 1968 SWP election campaign, and was a founding member of the National Black Antiwar Anti-Draft Union.

During the press conference, which was attended, among others, by NBC and CBS TV, AP and UPI, the *New York Times*, and WHB News, the candidates commented on the various issues facing New Yorkers in this election, and explained how they intended to use the campaign to help mobilize the people of New York for the April 5 antiwar demonstration and to continue the fight for black and Puerto Rican control of the schools.

## Panthers hold defense panel

NEW YORK — Over 300 people attended a panel discussion on "Law and Order For the Blackman???" sponsored by the Black Panther Party Legal Defense Committee on Feb. 27. The meeting was the first of what is projected to be a monthly series of informational and fund-raising sessions to build a broad-based defense committee to aid all black political prisoners.

All present were encouraged to join, regardless of political persuasion.

The speakers included Irving Johnson of SNCC (substituting for H. Rap Brown who was ill); Mae Mallory; Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Mayor of New York City; James Johnson of the Ft. Hood Three; Julio Rosado, representing the Puerto Rican community; Attorney Flo Kennedy; Herman Ferguson, Minister of Education of the Republic of New Africa; and Les Campbell (of radio station WBAI "anti-Semitic" poetry reading fame), a teacher in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district. Although the BPPLDC bears the name of the Black Panther Party, it is open to all.

## N.Y. rally hears Dr. Spock, Myers

NEW YORK — A large and enthusiastic crowd more than filled the auditorium of P.S. 41 on Feb. 27 to hear speeches by Dr. Benjamin Spock, Sp/4 Allen Myers of the Fort Dix Free Speech Movement, and the noted draft lawyer Conrad Lynn. The theme of the meeting, sponsored by the Intercity Block Committee, was "What can we do for peace?"

Conrad Lynn blasted Nixon for his evident intention to continue trying to win a military victory in Vietnam.

Allen Myers, pointed out that the struggle conducted by the antiwar movement during the last four years had already made significant progress by legitimizing dissent from government policies, making it possible for GIs to organize against the war. He urged a massive turnout for the April 5 demonstration in New York.

Dr. Spock was introduced to a standing ovation. He discussed the background of his indictment and trial and involvement in the antiwar movement. "I don't feel like a criminal," Spock said. The real illegality is connected with the war itself, he pointed out, a war which is nothing less than an attempt by the American government to seize control of Vietnam against the wishes of the Vietnamese people.



# 6,000,000 hungry Americans

By Constance Weissman

A survey on hunger and disease in the U.S., reported on the front pages of the *New York Times* for five issues, revealed that the nutritional level of the people examined was as low as that found in similar surveys in poverty-stricken Central America. It is officially estimated that at present there are at least six to nine million Americans for whom hunger may be almost a daily fact of life.

Homer Bigart, who wrote these truly horrifying articles about long-denied facts on starvation in what the politicians call this "land of plenty," began the series with a description of a visit to Dr. Donald E. Gatch, a young doctor in South Carolina. Dr. Gatch began losing his white patients two years ago after he charged publicly that he had seen black children dying of starvation, that most black children of his area were infested with worms and that families were living in hovels worse than pigsties.

One of Dr. Gatch's most startling discoveries was that babies were being born with kwashiorkor, a Ghanian word meaning the "disease that takes the child after it leaves the mother's breast. It is a disease of extreme protein deficiency, a starvation often brought on by a mother's inability to breast-feed an infant."

Dr. Gatch fears the damage is irreversible since retardation of the growth of brain cells as well as bones results in the first month of life.

In a visit to one shack which housed 15 people, little children were found lying around listlessly on beds, legs and faces swollen with edematose, the result of Vitamin A deficiency, the same deficiency that impairs vision.

It was thought that rickets had been abolished in the U.S. before World War II due to health programs organized by the federal government. Now rickets has come back. Whole families are characterized by deformed bones. This comes from a lack of Vitamin D which can be easily added to milk. But it is not commonly added in the South.

#### Goiter reappears

Goiter, which can be eliminated by io-

dized salt, has also reappeared. About 40 percent of the grocery stores in Texas do not sell iodized salt.

Pellagra, another diet-deficiency disease, characterized by the four Ds—dermatitis, diarrhea, dementia and death—is suffered by old people who have had to subsist on rice and grits. Thiamine, contained in liver, lean meat, eggs, whole grain or enriched cereal were never seen by these old folks who didn't even know how to go about getting relief even if they were entitled to it.

Children particularly become infested with worms because of lack of plumbing, even outhouses. In the woods and fields, their bare feet are penetrated by the tiny insects which grow to foot-long worms inside them. Children are so full worms that they die of malnutrition because the hundreds of parasitic worms in their stomachs get the food first.

Angered by the damaging revelations about the "free enterprise" system, the Senate committee to which the report was submitted as a preliminary of what is yet to come, decided to stop the survey from proceeding by slashing the funds allocated to it. But this move, coming in the midst of the

newspaper accounts of what the survey had already exposed, caused such a scandal that the Senators felt compelled to restore the appropriation.

Among other examples cited in the survey was the migrant camp in Immokalee, Florida, which consists of 60 or 70 barracks for 10,000 to 12,000 workers who come to pick vegetables during the winter. Because of cold weather this year, unemployment has been high. No relief food of any kind is provided by the county.

"Migrants who run out of money here are out of luck," said Mr. Lee, an energetic young black man who heads the local antipoverty project. Lee received \$500 on Christmas Eve from the Office of Economic Opportunity to distribute emergency food. He doled out \$1 per day to the starving, cutting them off after 14 days.

There are even **grass huts** in Immokalee in which the Seminole Indians live. The photographs remind one of the **bohios** or peasant huts in Cuba before the Revolution.

#### Mississippi situation

A doctor at a hospital in Mississippi stated that people were so hungry that he had seen them eat tar from telephone

poles and even clay. He said he had seen pregnant women pop a piece of earth in their mouths, explaining that they might get some essential minerals from it.

The Indians who live in Arizona are probably in the worst plight of all. About 115,000 live in isolated wasteland. The crude roads were built only about 13 years ago. Some Navajos live 50 miles from the nearest improved road. Last year, 20 infants were brought in dead to two medical stations; at least 18 of these deaths could have been prevented according to the U.S. Public Health Service medical director. One woman carrying a sick baby walked 30 miles from her hogan (the traditional circular huts made of cedar logs and mud,) to the nearest traveled road.

In the children's ward, Dr. Van Duzen observed Navajo infants who, she feared, had suffered irreversible brain damage from undernourishment. She is convinced many are stunted permanently by hunger.

"Some say these are small little kids that won't grow because they are Navajos," she said. "I say these are small little kids that won't grow because they haven't got the food."

Because of malnutrition, Indian children are so weak that their attention span in school is limited. At the first Navajo Community College, the president said that some public school superintendents prided themselves on having eliminated free lunches for Indian children. They did this in the name of "teaching the Navajos responsibility and helping children adjust in the world in which they live." But in the process they are driving out of the schools Indian children unable to pay the \$1.50 per week lunch money.

The Rev. Ralph H. Ruiz, who runs a Catholic mission in San Antonio, Texas, sums up the situation this way: "The whole welfare system in Texas stinks."

#### Mexican-Americans

There are nearly five million Mexican-Americans scattered through the Southwest. Brought up in a proud tradition, they hate the condescending attitude of the welfare workers. And nothing infuriates them more than to have some Anglo suggest that all their troubles would vanish if they would only stop eating beans and tortillas and get on a "balanced diet." If you have one dollar, they say, and you can buy one pound of meat or 10 pounds of pinto beans, and you have the stomachs of 10 kids to feed, what are you going to buy? You are going to fill the stomachs of your kids with beans.

More has been written about the plight of Appalachia where there is mass unemployment among the miners because of the introduction of new machinery and because surface or strip mining has ruined the land for farming. Practically the whole population is unemployed. They live in tar paper shacks. They have no cash so they can't buy the "bargain" food stamps. In Appalachia, most of the starving population is white. There are an estimated 12 million rural poor in the area.



Southern children at play

## 'Black lung' strike in W. Virginia

Things are stirring in the coal industry. On Feb. 8, members of the newly formed Black Lung Association (See Feb. 2 *Militant*.) began walking out of West Virginia coal mines. By the month's end 30,000 strikers had shut down all the soft coal pits in the state.

On Feb. 26 some 3,000 miners marched on the capitol in Charleston, demanding that the Workmen's Compensation Act be broadened to include Black Lung. Late in the afternoon the state judiciary committee passed on an amendment to the act which is expected to pass both houses before adjournment on March 8. The amendment provides:

1. The burden of proof will now rest with the state instead of the claimant. Black Lung does not show on x-rays until it achieves a more virulent form, either emphysema, tuberculosis, or heart failure.

2. The presumption of eligibility would extend to all workers employed for 10 years in industry where dust is a hazard, including coal mining. (A previous amendment, angrily rejected by the miners, would have covered only future workers, excluding the thousands already affected.)

3. Ended the state's practice of paying off silicosis victims with a \$1,000 lump payment. This practice has cut silicosis sufferers off from any further benefits, even though silicosis, once contracted, does not subside when the victim leaves mining.

While the ten year eligibility clause might not seem a victory, it must be remembered that most colliers are in the older age levels. Very few young men are entering the field,

## The National Picketline

except as technicians, most of whom work above ground.

Meanwhile, in Washington D.C. the House Labor sub-committee is holding hearings on amendments to the Mine Safety Act, designed to strengthen the act and to include many safety and health hazards now considered "non-disaster" areas (falling passageway roofs, for instance.)

Among the witnesses were Stephen F. Dunn, spokesman for the National Coal Association, and W.A. Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers.

Mr. Dunn's sanctimonious testimony included the statement: "The industry does not believe profits should be put ahead of the health and safety of mine workers."

In view of the following facts, this pious blathering might be suspect.

Since the Mine Safety Act was passed in 1952, 5,700 miners have lost their lives, most of them in accidents considered "non-disaster" types.

In January, 1969, 29 miners died in the same type of accidents.

During December, 1968, after the Man-nington, W. Va., mine explosion and fire buried 78 miners, a Johnson-appointed head of the Bureau of Mines, John O'Leary, put some pressure on the industry, closing temporarily over 200 mines where safety

regulations, cited often in inspections, were being ignored. The industry was in a furor. It was announced that O'Leary was being removed. Public (and union rank and file) resentment burgeoned. O'Leary kept his job.

The other main witness, W.A. Boyle from the UMW, reflected more his own anger at the W. Virginia miners in the Black Lung Association and Rep. Hechler and Ralph Nader who were instrumental in its organization than in the weaknesses and lack of enforcement of the Mine Safety Act.

He challenged Hechler and Nader to "meet in any alley" to settle their differences with him.

The fact that the W. Virginia coal operators have filed suit for \$1.1 million a day against the UMW may have added to his irascibility. UMW officials maintain they have no jurisdiction over the strike.

The awful truth is the fact that many of the so-called non-disaster hazards (not covered by the federal law) have been prohibited by union contracts, but the union officialdom, which could close mines for violating these safety regulations, has been as remiss about enforcement as the government inspectors.

It is no wonder Boyle is beginning to feel the heat building under his most comfortable seat as president of a once powerful union. The West Virginia Black Lung Association is only one indication of the kind of anger which is building among all the mine workers.

—Marvel Scholl

# Border clash widens Moscow-Peking rift

(IP)—The clash between Soviet and Chinese troops on the Ussuri River March 2 marks a new low in the relations between Moscow and Peking.

According to Tass, "An armed Chinese unit crossed the Soviet state frontier and proceeded toward Damansky Island. The Chinese side suddenly opened fire at Soviet border guards guarding the area. There are killed and wounded. By the resolute actions of Soviet border guards the violators of the frontier were chased from Soviet territory."

The Soviet government protested the action in a note filed with the Chinese government.

The Chinese government rejected the Soviet note and filed a counter protest. According to a Peking radio broadcast, reported from Hong Kong March 3, the Chinese Foreign Ministry said that a large number of Soviet border guards in armored cars and trucks had intruded into "undisputedly Chinese territory" and carried out a "frantic provocation" against Chinese border guards on patrol. The Soviet troops fired first, and "a number of Chinese troops were killed and wounded."

The Chinese note declared that after giving the Soviet border guards repeated warnings without results, the Chinese guards returned the fire in self-defense.

The Soviet government said that the area where the clash occurred was Nizhnekhalilovka. The Chinese specified it as Chen-tapao. It appears to be an island, created by the meandering of the Ussuri River which marks the border between the Northeast provinces of China and the Soviet Union's Maritime Territory. The Chinese government claims that the entire Soviet Far Eastern region was illegally seized by

the Czars through treaties imposed on the weak nineteenth-century Chinese regimes.

Which of the two governments is to blame for this scandalous incident? It will not be easy to determine whether a provocation was committed by one side or the other, or which side fired first. Neither government will likely agree to an investigation by a third party, even one consisting of representatives of "fraternal" Communist parties.

It can be said for the Chinese that they have good cause to be suspicious of Moscow in view of the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the promulgation by Moscow's spokesmen of the doctrine of "limited sovereignty" for any "socialist" country which the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime considers to be slipping toward capitalism. The Moscow press has been loudly charging that Mao is serving the interests of U. S. imperialism.

In addition, Moscow has apparently been moving large numbers of troops into position along the eastern frontier with China. Peter Grose, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, reported March 2 that "Western intelligence analysts" said the military build-up "had been conducted even at the expense of Soviet preparedness in central Europe."

The Chinese government no doubt also bears in mind the ruthlessness with which Khrushchev cut off material aid to China in the opening stage of the Sino-Soviet dispute, not to mention Moscow's policy of seeking an understanding with U. S. imperialism at the expense of China in the field of nuclear deterrents.

On Moscow's side it can be argued that Stalin's heirs are in very good position to judge Mao's capacity for treachery. He



**EMBITTERED RELATIONS.** One of the previous low-points in Sino-Soviet relations was in February 1967 when effigies of Soviet leaders were burned on fence surrounding Russian embassy compound.

stands, as they do, for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. If Washington decides to make an "opening" in Mao's direction, the Moscow bureaucrats have no reason to doubt that he would respond at their expense exactly as they have already responded at his expense and as they would do if they were in his shoes.

The Maoist propaganda depicting the Soviet Union as a "capitalist" power following imperialist policies provides the theoretical justification for reaching an understanding with U. S. imperialism at the expense of the USSR. According to this theory, Mao would merely be seeking to take ad-

vantage of inter-imperialist contradictions which, as Lenin taught, is completely justifiable and necessary for a workers state encircled by hostile capitalist powers.

Only U. S. imperialism profits from this situation. And it will do its utmost to embroil Moscow and Peking still deeper in their fratricidal conflict.

The two regimes, caught up in the narrow national interests of the parasitic Chinese and Russian bureaucracies which they represent, are once again displaying how distant they are from the internationalism needed to defend and advance the world socialist revolution.

## Report on Young Socialist convention is featured in Mexican magazine

"Who Will Make the Revolution in the United States" (Quien Hara la Revolucion en Estados Unidos?) is the title of an extensive article by John McCoy in the February issue of *Por Que?*, the independent radical magazine published in Mexico City (circulation 150,000). The main feature of the article is a report on the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance held in Chicago last November.

McCoy outlines the general background in which the convention took place. The worldwide upsurge of the student youth is, in his opinion, one of the outstanding developments in the current situation.

McCoy appears to have been much impressed by the convention's size, its international ties, as indicated by the presence of observers from other countries, and the revolutionary seriousness of the delegates.

"Among other things," he says, "the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance agreed to: organize demonstrations against the war in Vietnam; develop intensive propaganda among the soldiers in the U. S. army; form action committees, strategic coalitions with the most variegated groups; engage in individual and collective actions."

"Every means must be employed to raise the masses' level of consciousness so that

a popular party can be built in order to crystallize a revolution of the masses."

The article is accompanied by extensive photographic coverage of the convention.

"I am not a capitalist soldier. I am a proletarian revolutionist. I am opposed to every war but I am for that war with heart and soul and it is the war of the social revolution."

EUGENE V. DEBS, JUNE 1918



Scene at YSA convention.

----- clip and mail -----

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# The Great Society

**How Generous Can You Get?**—The federal government is proceeding with a pilot project in two South Carolina counties to provide free food stamps to "qualified" families with incomes under \$30 a month.

**The Conglomerates**—The Real Form Girdle Company of Brooklyn is owned by a Protestant church in Akron, Ohio. (With profits tax-exempt, natch.)

**Progressive Sector of Bourgeoisie**—A help-wanted ad in the *Wall Street Journal* announced an opening for a man in the \$35,000 bracket. It enquired: "Are you a financial vice president in rebellion?" and advised the opening was for "a person who is fed up with living in the corporate jungle among the members of the cult of the number jugglers and the takeover tycoons whose sole preoccupation is with the performance of company stock and the exploitation of people." The ad explains, rather obscurely, that it's an "internal growth" (tumors?) company specializing in a "proprietary type of electrical apparatus." Our guess is electric chairs.

**Wants to Do His Thing**—Phillip, Prince of the British Empire, says he favors student dissent but not demonstrations, which he sees as "mob activity" with no "individuality" about them.

**Heart Problem**—The South African government is grappling with a thorny problem, according to the *Building Worker*, voice of the Building Workers Industrial Union of Australia. The question: what to do with Dr. Philip Blaiberg's new heart when he kicks the bucket. Should the white doctor's transplanted black heart be removed and buried in a colored cemetery? That position is being insisted on, reports the *Building Worker*, by the minister of justice and the chief of security police who says that any concessions on this issue means "falling into the communist trap."

**New Hear This!**—In addition to inducing deafness and psychoses, the excess noises of our contemporary society may also cause constriction of near-surface blood vessels, affect heart action and even electrical activity of the brain, according to various researchers. Some estimate that

six million industrial workers labor under conditions unsafe for hearing. Others put the figure at double that amount.

**The Skinners**—Neiman-Marcus of Texas paid a record \$2,700 for a single mink skin. We assume it will be available at a small mark-up.

**No Sale**—The Free Society Association, Barry Goldwater's brain child of four years ago, dedicated to educating the public to the worth of our free enterprise system has folded for lack of cash.

**Our Crumbling Defenses**—The secretaries of the Army, Air Force and Navy have been instructed to no longer classify newspaper clippings as "secret." The action followed a hulabaloo about a Milwaukee *Journal* article being so classified by the Navy.

**The March of Science**—GE is working on a four-legged truck which it expects to get places and do things too difficult for man or present machines. They feel it opens possibilities for doing jobs which require "the sensing acuity of man but are too tough for the frail human flesh." Numbered among the latter, they said, are the swift and deft handling of bombs and missiles.

**The Consumer Society**—According to a recently published study, currently available goods and services for dogs include psychiatric care, insurance plans, clothing, jewelry, funerals and birth control pills.

**Celibate State?**—We don't know how to explain it, but Connecticut, which bans contraceptive devices, experienced a drop in births for the eleventh year in a row.

**Inflation Note**—The chemicals in the average adult human body, which used to be worth about 98 cents during the depression, has risen to \$3.50.

**Thought for the Week**—"If someone could find a way to make a profit out of better race relationships, it would be solved in four or five days, or a couple of weeks at the most."

—Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics.  
—Harry Ring



# Ft. Jackson GIs stand firm on petition rights

By Dave Thorstad

COLUMBIA, S. C., March 4 — Antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson presented petitions to the commanding general of the post March 3 requesting post facilities for a meeting to discuss the Vietnam war and related issues, such as civil liberties. With Gen. James Hollingsworth and an assortment of undercover agents looking on, Ft. Jackson Public Information Officer Lt. Col. Paul R. Stickel refused to accept the petitions, erroneously asserting that the petition was an instrument of "collective bargaining," and "the Army does not recognize any collective bargaining unit representing members of the Army."

The petitions are being circulated by GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, an informal group of black, Puerto Rican, Indian and white soldiers. The petition drive originated in B Company, 14th Battalion, 4th Brigade, and spread to all corners of the post. Nearly everyone at Ft. Jackson has heard about it.

This includes, of course, the brass. In the last two weeks, they have stepped up their harassment of soldiers in B Company. It has been made very difficult to circulate the petition, so GIs United decided to change the proposed date for the open meeting on the post from Feb. 26 to March 12 to have more time to obtain signatures.

GIs United issued a news release stating their intention to present the petitions to post headquarters at 7:30 p.m. Friday, Feb. 28. The evening before, they sent out flying squads to several companies for a final push to get signatures.

One of the squads, made up of Jose Rudder, John Huffman, Andrew Pulley, Curtis Mays and John Harris, was arrested while circulating the petition. They were threatened with physical violence if they ever came back to that company, and they heard the commanding officer of the company illegally order a GI to cross his name off the petition.

A brass circular also came down from 14th Battalion stating that anyone who was permanent party who signed the petition would be busted to private E-1.

On Feb. 28 the brass' intimidation reached an even higher pitch. Harris was put under investigation by his commanding officer and confined to his company area under 24-hour guard. He was also put on details — KP, and police call (picking up trash, etc.) and given orders not to talk to anyone.

Pvt. Tom Woodfin was told he would be given a summary court-martial the following day for circulating and getting

signatures on a "flyer." Civilian counsel was obtained for him, and his court-martial postponed until sometime this week.

Then, at the last minute, B Company was put on restriction and an inspection was called, thus preventing the main activists in GIs United from going to post headquarters to present the petitions. The purpose of the inspection was to see if the pants on the Class A uniform exceeded the third shoe-string hole of the low quarters (dress shoes)! Everyone passed inspection.

GIs United issued a news release explaining why they were unable to present the petitions, and stating their intention to try again the following Monday.

That same evening all guards on post were alerted to keep an eye out for anyone with a petition. Just what they would do if they caught someone was not clear.

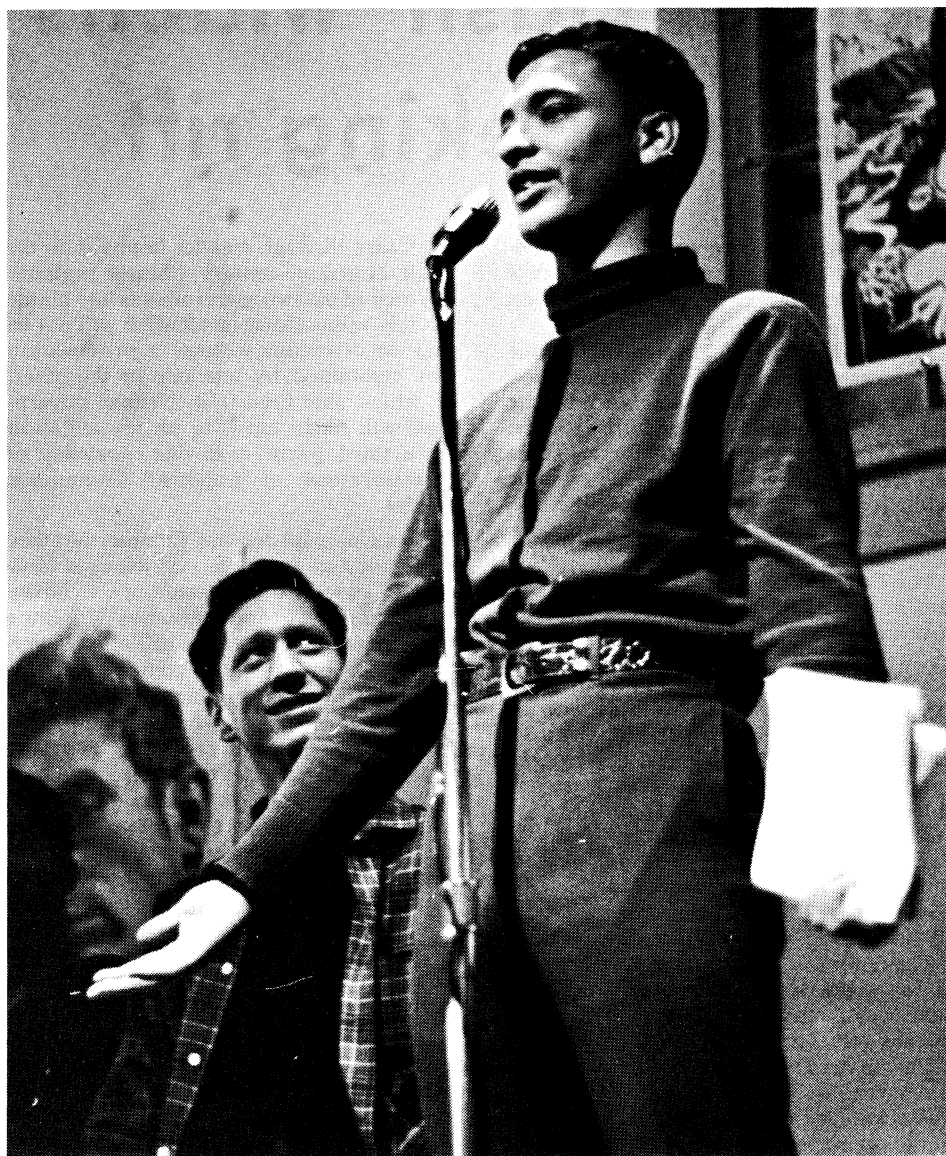
It quickly became obvious that the Ft. Jackson authorities were panicking at the thought of GIs exercising their constitutional right of petition and assembly. When I arrived at Gate 1 to cover the filing of the petitions for *The Militant*, I was stopped by MPs, and told I would not be allowed on post. When I asked why I was being given such singular treatment, all the MP would say was "No comment."

GIs United viewed these bizarre events as confirmation of the significance of their movement. They went ahead with plans to again present the petitions on Monday at 7:30 p.m.

Monday afternoon, B Company was put on restriction, this time for a whole week. An inspection was called for 7:00 p.m., the purpose of which was to inspect the dress greens. Anyone missing would be declared AWOL. The Tuesday inspection would be to make sure everything was marked right; Wednesday, to inspect the wall lockers; and Thursday and Friday there would be mandatory basketball games. The antiwar GIs decided to go ahead and send a small delegation of two soldiers who were not restricted to present the petitions.

By 7:15 p.m. I had joined the press in front of post headquarters where the petitions were to be presented. At 7:30, Public Information Officer Lt. Col. Paul R. Stickel emerged and handed the following statement to the press:

"The Army does not recognize a collective bargaining unit representing members of the Army. Membership in such an organization is not specifically prohibited by law or regulation; however, many actions



Jose Rudder of Ft. Jackson GIs United addresses UFO coffeehouse teach-in at Columbia, S. C.

associated with collective bargaining are inconsistent with the requirements of military discipline. Further, military status is not the equivalent of a civilian employee-employer relationship. Since the petition is considered an instrument of collective bargaining, it will not be accepted.

Shortly, two GIs, Pvts. Joe Cole and Steve Dash, came marching down the driveway to the building. They saluted Stickel, and Cole then stated: "Private Cole reporting to present petition signed by enlisted men at Ft. Jackson, sir." Stickel called up the staff duty officer, Maj. Frank Smith, who said simply: "I'll make one statement." He then read the above statement on collective bargaining, and refused to accept the petitions.

In conclusion, he said, "I hereby order all military personnel to remove themselves to their barracks. All civilian personnel will remove themselves from this reservation." It was all over very rapidly. The GIs, unable to make any statements without violating his orders, marched off into the darkness.

At a news conference later that evening, GIs United answered the brass' argument on collective bargaining: "Collective bargaining is not at all the point. GIs United does not propose to be a collective bargaining agent for GIs at Ft. Jackson. All we want is to exercise our democratic and constitutional rights of petition and assembly. By refusing to accept our petitions, and by constant harassment and intimidation of GIs circulating and signing the petition, the Army is consciously violating our constitutionally guaranteed rights.

"We will make plans to hold a mass meeting of GIs off post to discuss the war and the petition drive. And we will continue to circulate the petition. We will also seek aid, both legal and moral, to help convince the commanding general of Ft. Jackson to uphold the constitutional right of Ft. Jackson GIs to hold the proposed mass, open meeting on post."

These courageous antiwar GIs are determined to carry on their struggle. They urgently need immediate civilian support. They have seen the punitive transfers of fellow GIs in an attempt to isolate and destroy their movement. Some have been arrested and court-martialed on phony charges. And daily they are faced with both individual and collective harassment and intimidation by the brass.

Money is desperately needed for legal defense. It should be sent to GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011.

Telegrams protesting this harassment should be sent to the Commanding Officer, Ft. Jackson, South Carolina, with copies and letters of support to GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, Box 543, Columbia, South Carolina.

## Presidio trial moved to desert

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO, March 5 — The threat of mass protest and publicity has forced the brass to try to move the frame-up "mutiny" trials of the Presidio 27 out of the Bay Area. The brass, using as an excuse alleged danger that "backlash" from actions of supporters of the 27 GIs could prejudice hearing officers, moved the fourth case, that of John Colip, to Ft. Irwin, which is in the middle of Mojave Desert. The Army then "proved" its case by sentencing Colip to four years at hard labor; the first three men tried got 14, 15, and 16 years.

The brass did all this with a straight face, and it was not without effect. Lawyers for the next five of the 27 to be tried are now asking for a change of venue, citing "prejudicial conditions inside and outside the Presidio." Antiwar actions involving large numbers of GIs are spreading rapidly; there is widespread sympathy evident for the 27 in the Bay Area. It is not difficult to see why the brass would like to try all these cases in the middle of the desert.

Several large rallies and candle-light vigils have already been held. On March 15 a GI rally is planned here and on Easter weekend mass actions on a national scale will include support for the 27, who are charged with mutiny for staging a sitdown protest of the murder of a fellow prisoner.

## A Militant reporter meets the brass

FT. JACKSON, S. C. — The following is a verbatim account of an exchange between Ft. Jackson Public Information Officer Lt. Col. Paul R. Stickel and *Militant* reporter David Thorstad just prior to the presentation of GI petitions March 3.

*Stickel (to the press):* "Ft. Jackson is an open post. We welcome any law-abiding citizens that want to come in on this post. Any people that are not law-abiding citizens and that want to advocate the overthrow of the U. S. Government, they're not welcome."

*Thorstad:* "Do you think that's what this petition is all about?"

*Stickel:* "This is not a campus. This is a military installation. We will not put up with this foolishness."

*Thorstad:* "Sir, do you consider the petition to be 'unauthorized activity?'"

*Stickel:* "The last part of my statement answers that question."

*Thorstad:* "Have you read the petition?"

*Stickel:* "No."

*Thorstad:* "Do you know what's in it?"

*Stickel:* "No."

*Thorstad:* "In the statement you passed out to the press, you say a petition is considered an instrument of collective bargaining. Would you elaborate on just what the connection between the two is?"

*Stickel:* "If it's a petition, it has more than one name on it. I consider that to be collective."

*Thorstad:* "Sir, last Friday I understand many of the GIs in GIs United were placed on last minute restriction and were unable to come to the scheduled presentation of petitions. What do you think about that?"

*Stickel:* "There were no restrictions, to the best of my knowledge."

(At this point the Commanding General of Ft. Jackson, Gen. James Hollingsworth drove up in his limousine. A flurry of salutes ensued.)

*Gen. Hollingsworth (booming):* "I understand you had some undesirables around here. Did you get rid of them yet?"

*Stickel:* "No problem sir."

*Thorstad:* "What did you mean by 'no problem, sir?'"

*Stickel:* "I don't know. I can't read the General's mind."

## Aid Fla. students!

By Doug Lord

TALLAHASSEE — Cops broke up an SDS-sponsored meeting of 250 to 300 students here March 4. Fifty-nine students were arrested merely for attempting to exercise their right to free assembly in an effort to break a campus ban on SDS meetings and speakers. We were held in jail for approximately 15 hours incommunicado. Funds are urgently needed for bail and fines. Send contributions to Larry Murphy, 515 W. Call, Tallahassee, Fla.